



THE ANTIQUARY:

*A MAGAZINE DEVOTED TO THE STUDY
OF THE PAST.*



*Instructed by the Antiquary times,
He must, he is, he cannot but be wise.*

TROILUS AND CRESSIDA, Act ii. sc. 3.



VOL. VIII.

JULY—DECEMBER.

LONDON: ELLIOT STOCK, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW.

NEW YORK: J. W. BOUTON.

1883.

CRANFORD

CRANFORD, N. J. 1900. 100 PAGES. 10 CENTS.

CRANFORD

CRANFORD, N. J. 1900. 100 PAGES. 10 CENTS.

CRANFORD

CRANFORD, N. J. 1900. 100 PAGES. 10 CENTS.

CRANFORD, N. J. 1900. 100 PAGES. 10 CENTS.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.



	PAGE
BRITISH COINS	9, 63
THEOBALDS PALACE	18
ANCIENT MARBLES IN GREAT BRITAIN	28, 29
OAK CABINET	42
OAK CHEST	45
DUCKING STOOLS	46, 47
OXFORD CROWN OF CHARLES I.	63
PIVOT HOLE OF A DOOR IN THE TEMPLE AT GIZEH	79
EARLY ORIENTAL COINS	101, 102, 103, 104
CHESS BOARD	111
LABOURER	112
PRIMITIVE AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS	142, 143, 144, 190, 191, 192
MOHAMMEDAN COINS	161, 162, 163, 164
"LINCHES" AT CLOTHALL, HERTS	205
PEPVS'S LOVING CUP AT CLOTHWORKERS' HALL	237





The Antiquary.



JULY, 1883.

A Transitional Period in Arms and Armour.

BY WILLIAM BRAILSFORD.

SO many changes took place in military equipment, and in the fashion of armour, in the days when valiant knights practised their skill in the lists, that it was oftentimes felt to be a difficult task to define at what period a particular form of defence began to be worn, and when it ceased to be used. Of late years the subject has been more studied, and the aspirants to a knowledge of its various ramifications have largely multiplied. Better methods of research have attended intelligent inquiries since the days when Sir Samuel Meyrick gathered together his magnificent collection at Goodrich Court. The careful inspection of fine monumental effigies, occasional opportunities afforded of examining rare examples of the earliest known arms and armour, and the general ventilation of various opinions on disputed points, have done much to elucidate the hitherto clouded character of older critical investigations. A kind of development pervades the history of arms and armour throughout all the ages. The weapons known as celts, made of flint and rude arrow-heads, are found to be succeeded by spear-heads of bronze, these to be followed by iron instruments of warfare. Passing on in the study of one historic period to the other, we arrive at the era of chain-mail, anon to the mixture of mail and plate, finally, so far as armour is concerned, coming to plate armour *pur et simple*. This latter underwent constant diversities of construction. As time went on, the skill of the armourer was taxed, and his ingenuity displayed, in improving and perfecting the different parts of armour worn at tournaments and on the field of battle. De-

ficiencies of workmanship had to be made good, weak places had to be protected, and the varying tastes of the hour had to be regarded. Most undoubtedly, fashionable armour was as much considered as fashionable costume. The armour of the fourteenth century was very splendid and fine. An increase of magnificence characterized progressive reigns. Armour was made so impervious to the attacks of arrows and other arms that the triumph of defensive resistance over modes of offence became complete. One of the best types now in existence may be seen in the brass of Sir Thomas Bromflete, cup-bearer to Henry V.* The freedom and boldness of design shown in this remarkable specimen give it prominence over all others. Although coats of mail had given way to breast and back plates, with their accompaniments of pauldrons, gorget, vambraces, etc., yet sleeves of mail, and even shirts of the same material, were worn by the knights. This is shown by pieces depending below the tassels, and even in lieu of a gorget, round the neck, on their monuments. This may be witnessed in so many instances that it is needless to cite any particular example. Henry V. adopted a sumptuous apparel in addition to his fine suit of armour. Thus, in a poem dated 1418:

On a broune stede,
Of blak damaske was his wede,
A paytrell of golde full brygt
Aboute his necke hyngedown rigt,
And a pendaunte behind him did hong
Unto the erthe, it was so longe.†

Further on, in the latter part of the same century, when Henry VI. reigned, the armour, as well as dress, of his nobles was highly ornamental, and enriched with striking additions. Amongst very many of these, elbow-pieces were worn of great dimensions, and in some suits carried to so great an excess as to resemble little roundels, or shields.‡ The armour worn by Sir Anthony de Grey, eldest son of Lord Grey, of Ruthyn, and of John Daundelion, exhibits very prominent coverings for the elbow.§ In the statue of

* On the tomb in Wymington Church, Bedfordshire.

† Vide *Archæologia*, vol. xxii.

‡ Gauntlets, made with piked cuffs, are sometimes seen.

§ Sir A. de Grey's brass in St. Alban's Abbey, and Daundelion's brass at Margate, Kent.

gilt brass preserved in the Beauchamp Chapel in St. Mary's Church, Warwick, representative of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, we find a notable type of the armour of 1454. Here the elbow-pieces are large, and the entire suit full of richness of detail.* Supplementary pieces found favour during this century. Tuiles and large-sized pauldrons, some with serrated ridges, were constantly adopted. The sollerets were of extreme length. One of the finest specimens still extant measures, from the point of the spur to the end of the toe, two feet seven inches. Civilians, as well as knights, vied with each other in wearing extravagantly-pointed shoes of steel, and spurs to correspond. Upon many occasions plate-armour became most expensive, and could therefore be purchased by rich men only. Remonstrances ensued, and great endeavours were made to restrain its excessive price. The Commons themselves petitioned the King, and received for reply "that the King will appoint the officers of every town to provide therefor." A remedy was sought at the same time† for alteration in the selling of horse-armour. This had become equally superb, and equally costly. The chanfrein, or covering of the horse's head, was composed of the best metal, oftentimes of gold, and even ornamented with jewels. Heraldic devices formed the ornaments. Sometimes these fittings corresponded in every particular with the suit worn by the rider. In the Historical Museum at Dresden, a chanfrein which belonged to Christian II. is replete with arabesques, and has a medallion in the centre, together with a plume-socket, and a spike, or horn. Varieties of design are also common. In the Musée d'Artillerie at Paris there is a chanfrein of which the extremity "présentent un masque grotesque fortement repoussé."‡ In the Musée Royal d'Antiquités d'Armures et d'Artillerie at Brussels, a chanfrein is shown "en acier poli aver bandes et ornements gravés et dorés. Le frontal porte un écusson armorié."§ These, however, are of the latest

* Stothard, in his *Memoirs*, page 124, says of this effigy, "he never saw armour so well made out on any monumental figure."

† See Cotton's *Records*, 43rd year Edward III., Sec. 13.

‡ See G., No. 326, in the collection.

§ See M., 5, in the gallery.

date in the fifteenth century. In the brass of Sir John Say, at Broxbourne, in Hertfordshire, we have a remarkably fine example of the skirt of taces with tuillettes appended. Here, too, the sollerets are pointed, and the long spurs are neatly riveted to the heel. To what an extent of extravagance elbow-pieces could be carried may likewise be seen in the brass effigy of Sir Thomas Peyton, at Isleham, in Cambridgeshire, where their fantastic arrangement almost takes the shape of a fan. In this suit, too, the pauldrons are ribbed, and the genouillieres of great size. Tabards came into use as a covering for the armour, and were probably intended both for use and ornament. As a vestment they were serviceable in protecting the wearer from the rays of the sun shining on the armour, and their adornment served the purpose of displaying the arms of the family to which the knight or wearer belonged. On the tabard of Sir William Fynderne, at Childrey, Berkshire, crosses are emblazoned in every direction. Head-pieces, or helmets, were worn in this century, of vast strength, and many of supreme beauty. Tilting salades, mostly of Italian manufacture, were peculiarly in vogue. Of such, one was to be seen in the collection at Goodrich Court, made in the reign of Henry VI., of very superior workmanship.

Occasionally these salades were covered with a thick mass of velvet, which was studded with heraldic emblems, such as *fleur de lis* and other devices. Tilting helmets, in the reigns of Edward IV. and Henry VI., were often of great weight. Armlets, to which a camail of chain mail was attached, were common in the middle and latter part of the fifteenth century. Most of these were of Italian design and workmanship. The breastplates were of various descriptions, and many of exquisite proportions. They had a salient ridge in the centre, and a lance-rest on the right-hand side. Some were fluted, others were etched and chased with ornaments which went in lines intermediate to the flutings. Fine types of late fifteenth-century breastplates exist in foreign collections of armour. One, in the Royal Armoury at Madrid, forming part of the suit of Gonzalvo di Cordova, and another attached to a suit in the Museum of Sigmaringen, have many distinctive peculiarities. In

a painting in the National Gallery, by Lorenzo Costa,* there is the representation of a fluted breastplate, as worn by Francesco Ferrucci. The artist has fairly enough caught the steely glint of armour. Backplates were frequently composed of reticulated pieces overlapping each other, and forming a strong support and means of protection. The hausse-col or gorget was very universally worn. If the elbow-pieces were of large size, and fantastic shape, so, too, were the genouillieres, or knee-pieces.† In some cases the garter, with the motto of the order of St. George, is seen buckled round the left leg, just below the knee. It is to be witnessed on the brass of Sir Simon de Felbrigge, in Felbrigg church, Norfolk. Another distinction was the collar of suns and roses, but this was worn equally by civilians, and even by ladies; it was, in all probability, a mark of favour bestowed on some zealous adherent or intimate friend of the reigning monarch. It appears on effigies of the time of Edward IV. Jazerine Armour, named so from its resemblance to a clinker-built boat, is first heard of at the latter part of the thirteenth century, and was sometimes worn as late as the fourteenth century. It was no easy matter for knights and men-at-arms to adopt the prevailing fashion. Some were too poor to effect constant changes, and those living in remote places did not think it worth their while to put themselves to the trouble of finding out the modes of the day. Additional defences cropped up from time to time, as well as new-fangled weapons of war.

Once fairly equipped for the combat, skill and chance must attend the issue :—

Nè giova ad Algazzarre il fino usbergo,
Ned a Corban robusto il forte elmetto;
Chè'n in guisa lor ferì la nuca e'l tergo,
Che ne passò la piaga al viso, al petto
E per sua mano ancor del dolce albergo
L'alma uscì d'Amurate, e di Meemetto,
E del crudo Almansor; nè'l gran Cucasso
Può sicuro da lui muovere un passo.‡

A complete example of the armour of this

* Numbered 895 on the frame.

† In the picture in the National Gallery, No. 1119, of St. William, by Ercole di Giulio Grandi, the figure is represented with large elbow and knee pieces. See also brass of R. Quatremayns, at St. Mary's, Thame, A.D. 1460.

‡ *La Gerusalemme Liberata*, di Tasso. Canto terzo, Stanza 44.

century may be seen in the Musée d'Artillerie, Paris, where all the characteristics of the period are together. The suit is in every respect typical of the armour worn by the men-at-arms organised by Charles VII. The *mentonnière*, or chin-piece, attached to the *salade*, and the *palettes* which protected the armpits, the shoulder ridge fastened to the pauldrons, and the articulated and mitten gauntlets, were all part and parcel of fifteenth century armour. The long tilting gauntlet, of plain steel, covering the forearm, is a frequent form worn at this period. The roundels, or *palettes*, protecting the armpits were sometimes ornamented with a boss, in whose centre was a small spike. Portions of armour had inscriptions on silver; some were even jewelled, or adorned with imitation jewellery. Sacred emblems, and figures representing the Holy Virgin and the Saviour, were engraved on breastplates. Knightly crests were occasionally emblazoned.

The arms most frequently seen attached to the knight are the sword and a dagger, called a *misericorde*. The sword is a long straight weapon, which hangs on the left side. The guard took the shape of a cross; the rounded pommel had various signs of the engraver's skill upon its surface.* Some had words of a significance now lost to modern enquirers. The *misericorde*, or dagger, was attached to the same belt as the sword, but it depended from the right side, and was mostly worn to hang behind; this arm had no guard. The shields used as means of defence were of various material—wood, leather, and steel being employed in the construction. Of the spears, or halberds, one of the most common was the *gisarme*, a formidable implement of destruction in laming horses. Specimens are still met with in old halls and galleries, and in the Meyrick collection a very fine *gisarme* was to be seen, with engravings on the blade of real artistic pretension. The bow, in the hands of an English archer, was a powerful arm, and the great service it did for England in the famous engagements in France can never be gainsaid. Composed of strong yew, it

* On a specimen, in the Musée d'Artillerie, Paris, is the name Maria. This sword was discovered at Satory, near Versailles. It was presented by Louis Philippe to the Museum.

could propel a quarrel or bolt to an immense distance, and effected great destruction amongst the cavalry forces of the enemy. In order to insure the continuous production of bows, in the middle part of the fifteenth century, in France, an edict was made for the express purpose of planting yew trees in the churchyards throughout Normandy.* The large crossbows were got into position by means of a stirrup attached, the right foot of the archer being used for this end. This plan, as well as the manner in which the bow was held in directing the quarrel or arrow, is shown in the picture of the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, in the National Gallery.† A smaller kind of crossbow was bent by the use of a lever called the goat's foot. Certainty of hitting and exactness of aim were at all times the distinctive peculiarity of the crossbowmen.‡ Other weapons, such as the halberd, spetum, bill, partisan, rapier, etc., belong to this period. The arrows, or quarrels were of various manufacture, some having single points, others double, and even treble, and most of them being feathered. The shields, or pavoises, were made of wood and leather, some of iron. They were frequently ornamented with paintings of men in armour and representations of tournaments. One long preserved at Warwick Castle measured two feet two inches, and weighed thirty-two pounds. It was perforated in the centre, enabling the bowman to cover his head without interfering with his vision. The pavoise held by St. Michael in the picture by Pietro Perugino in the National Gallery (288) is richly decorated, whilst the shape is of symmetrical proportions.

Thus the progress in perfecting armour as a means of defence, and the continual improvement of arms, with their flow of variety, seems to have known no abatement in the time of the Wars of the Roses. The two mounted figures in the collection at the Tower of London are admirably illustrative of the suits worn by knights when the fifteenth century was drawing to a close. The rule of

violence, and the constant revolutions of society, though not yet terminated, were sensibly lessened after the decisive battle of Bosworth Field. So great was the perfection to which armour was carried, that for once, says an eminent English historian, "the art of defence had outstripped that of destruction."* Authorities differ concerning the losses sustained by rival armies at this period. Some estimate them at a trifling amount, others have heavy records. If we are to credit Hume, as many as 4,000 men were slain out of an army of 12,000† at the decisive victory obtained by Henry, Earl of Richmond. As a measure of protection, archers, as well as javelin men, were accustomed to carry a bowed shield, with a boss on its centre, the shield covering the bearer from the crown of the head to the genouillieres.‡ In the arsenal of Lucerne are targets taken at the battle of Iornico, in 1478. The arms of the first Duke of Milan are painted on these defences, which are made of leather and wood. Some German targets were fitted with gauntlet and lantern, for the object of combating an enemy at night. Such a one is also preserved in the Musée d'Artillerie, Paris, and from its peculiar construction it has elicited the following remark by M. L. Haridon:—

Cette arme singulière d'une construction unique; ne peut être attribuée qu'à un officier dont le bras gauche paralysé sans doute, ne pouvait donner aucun mouvement.

A crest surmounted the salade of a knight during the reigns of Edward IV. and Richard III. Inscriptions referring to holy subjects were often placed on the bassinets at this time. Earlier in the century occurs a remarkable example in the stone effigy of Sir Thomas Wandesley of Wandesby, who was slain at the battle of Shrewsbury. Here, on that portion of the helmet covering the temples, may be read, "I. H. S. Nazaren." The altar tomb supporting the figure is in Bakewell Church, Derbyshire. There is a similar example at Tideswell, in the same county.

Thus, it will be seen that every attempt was made to fit the armour of the fifteenth

* Auguste Demmin on *Weapons of War*, p. 469.

† By Antonio Pollaiuolo, No. 292. See also the bundles of quarrels on the ground.

‡ At the battle of Agincourt the power of the English archers as against the French men-at-arms in their armour was marvellous.—*Monstrelet*.

* Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. i., p. 477, 11th edit.

† Harleian MS.

‡ Horsham was famous for the manufacture of English arrows.

century to the special requirements of the time. That many suits were differently wrought for some possible contingency, is doubtless true. Many variations, however, were chiefly differences of form, and in certain cases differences of taste. These changes took place from time to time, and were in their turn modified. A greater transition was at hand. The armour belonging to the æra when the Wars of the Roses were being fought was elegant in shape, light, and replete with many fanciful details, but the shock given to the wearers of plate armour by the rumours of vast improvements in the construction of firearms led to alterations in their defensive equipment, which altogether changed its character. From being light, and abounding in almost every kind of ingenious device for the safety of the wearer, it became heavy, less fitting to the figure, and as the sixteenth century opened, every new suit exhibited traces of a declining art. The taces are lessened, and the sollerets are no longer pointed. Broad toes prevail, sometimes nearly square, in other suits they are rounded off. Skirts of mail are to be seen beneath the taces hanging down in a straight line. Fluted armour, formerly only occasional, becomes general. The breastplates are globular and fluted. Suits worn in the reign of Henry VII. are engraved with extraordinary care, and a splendour thoroughly different from those in use in earlier days. The introduction of *passe-gardes* to protect the neck dates from this time. For headpiece, the *burgonet* claims notice as possessing cheek-plates and guards, together with the occasional addition of the *mentonnière*. Many other changes might be mentioned, but enough has been said to testify to the style of armour worn at a critical period in the history of the English people.

In leaving the fifteenth century behind us, we arrive at the dawn of civilization and of certainty. The continuance of feudal customs and usages forbade the progress of science and the peaceful arts. Men paid little regard to the cultivation of manners. They were immersed either in offensive warfare or in the constant obligation of defending themselves. A little comment on the life of the preceding period is afforded by the difference existing between the pay of ordinary

workmen* and that of an archer. The one had to be content with the low rate of two-pence a day, whilst the latter was paid six-pence. In the reign of Henry VII. the pay of an archer, whether horse or foot, was the same. Civil distractions kept up a continual sense of unrest in every household and in every town. With the commencement of the Tudor dynasty a brighter prospect arose. With it, too, the historian and chronicler of events is able to indicate with better knowledge the alterations consequent on a greater degree of certainty in life. Antiquaries have been compelled to consult missals, illuminated MSS., monuments of stone and brass, and many other accidental illustrations of past modes of costume and habits. These have been essentially necessary in the elucidation of the armour of the centuries preceding the sixteenth. So many suits of armour, and so many pieces, exist of sixteenth and seventeenth century period, in various collections, both abroad and at home, that the actual objects themselves can be inspected and described without the trouble of poring over books in obsolete or indistinct languages to find out the truth. The end of incessant factious fights was over, and greater security to human life brought with it greater freedom and a care for domestic matters. The progress from the one century to the other was accompanied with a perfect revolution in the order of things, and in nothing more than in the shape and make of warlike habiliments. Hence we may mark the termination of the Wars of the Roses as the transitional period which preceded that later transition which brought armour into total disuse.



Chaucer's Ten-syllable Verse.

BY HENRY CHARLES COOTE, F.S.A.



CHAUCER'S *Troilus* was not only the first heroic poem and the first real display of poetic genius in the language of mediæval England, but was the starting-point and departure from which English metre took its best and still prevailing form.

* 25 Edward III., cap. 1-3.

As sufficient attention has not been given to this interesting point, the following remarks may assist in obtaining for Chaucer a credit which even his professed admirers (and they are numerous) have not taken the trouble to give him. His editors, though not always in perfect accord amongst themselves, have agreed upon two points of his history, viz., that the *Troilus* was translated somewhat freely from Boccaccio's *Filostrato*, and that the English poem was the composition of Chaucer's youth.

In the first of these two assertions there is a slight misstatement, which does not, however, much impair its general truth. The *Troilus* is not only a free rendering of Boccaccio, but it also contains within its four corners a fairly close translation of one of Petrarch's sonnets, and at least two extracts from Dante's *Inferno*.

The Englishman, therefore, who composed the *Troilus* was acquainted not only with the poetry of Boccaccio, but with the works of the two other members of the great Florentine triumvirate.

Such knowledge as this must have been rare, or rather unexampled, in Chaucer's time, and amongst his contemporaries, and there is nothing to lead us to believe that Chaucer, though he at some time mastered the Tuscan dialect, had any means of making this acquisition so long as he remained in England. He must therefore have learnt the aulic Italian somewhere else than here.

Precisely the same difficulty attends the verse which he used in this poem. It is written, as we have said, in lines ten syllables long, but such a form had never been employed or ever been known in England. He did not therefore find it here. How he found it I will shortly suggest.

After his translation of the *Filostrato*, Chaucer turned his attention to the other narrative poem of Boccaccio, *La Teseide*, which was beyond all reasonable doubt then lying before him in close companionship with the *Filostrato*, for he had already invoked a part of it into his translation of the *Troilus*. Having achieved these two great poems, each in the major part the outcome of his own mind, though guided and instructed by the Florentine, Chaucer became conscious to himself that he was a master of English *epos*.

At the same time, as being forcibly under the same literary influences, he must have rendered into English verse of the same metre as the two other poems the sixth *novella* of the 9th day of the *Decamerone*, the Reeve's Tale as it was afterwards called.

With this conviction of the range and variety of his own powers must have come the resolution to employ them all upon some great and comprehensive work which would permit and require their joint and simultaneous application. No better plan for effecting such a grand result could suggest itself than that which was contained in a work lying actually before him—the *Decamerone*. There he read how ten ladies and gentlemen of Florence met during ten delightful days, and told each other on each day ten tales which should illustrate some principle of love and duty.

Chaucer could not transfer the fabled scene of this delightful story-telling, because in his fiction he must perforce place his narrators in England, where there was no *Val d'Arno*, and no Tuscan sky to overhang the enchanting landscape. He did not therefore attempt a slavish copy of the framework of the one hundred tales, but, marvellous adapter as he was, he imagined a company of all classes of Englishmen bent on the common purpose of a fashionable pilgrimage to the most popular shrine of England, who should consent to tell, to the cheerful sound of their trotting horses, a series of tales in his new metre, all in strict accordance with their social character and *ethos*.

This design, once formed, employed all his remaining days, and yet was never completed. The *Canterbury Tales* were thus due to the marvellous Florentine who inspired our antique countryman just as other but lesser Italian *novellatori* are known to have inspired Shakespeare.*

Chaucer was thus the first Englishman who showed that appreciative feeling for Italian

* Besides appropriating the Reeve's Tale, and making other thefts, Chaucer is indebted to Boccaccio for the idea of his unrivalled prologue to *The Wife of Bath's Tale*—one of the novelle of the *Decamerone* has supplied the theme for this marvellous prologue. The declaration of principle made by the Englishwoman is a version merely of what is put into the mouth of the lady of Prato, and is equally with the original untransferable into these pages.

literature which has so largely dominated most Englishmen of genius, which this century found still surviving in Keats and Byron, and which charms us now in Browning and John Payne.

What then brought our great poet within the influences of the awakened but not nascent poetry of Italy? That is a question which I have not even seen asked. It certainly has not been answered if it has been asked. Neither Italian literature nor the dialect in which it was written was cultivated in England; it does not appear that either the one or the other was even at all known.

The guide and ruler of England in all matters literary and æsthetic was France, and, as we know, that country does not willingly encourage or even admit rivals in the arts. As Chaucer therefore would know nothing of himself about Italian literature, France would give him no assistance in such research. It may therefore be unhesitatingly predicated of Chaucer that he was wholly devoid of Italian learning until the period which I will attempt to define.

What then was the epoch, and what were the conditions which introduced Chaucer into such an unparalleled knowledge? The answer is simply this. In the year 1372, Chaucer, being then of mature age, made a journey to Italy, leading to a sojourn of at least a year in that pleasant clime. He went there not as a common traveller, but in all the opulent comfort which would attend the peregrination of the representative of one of the greatest kings of Europe, for he was one of two commissioners dispatched in that year by our Edward III. to the cities of Florence and Genoa, for the purpose of borrowing money for State purposes. A legation thus motivated would necessarily be furnished with introductions to the wealthiest members of these great communities, and such men, it must be remembered, were as respectable for their refinement and high culture as for their unequalled wealth and commercial prosperity. Italy was also at that moment resplendent with a galaxy of poets and prosateurs, such as the world has never since seen surpassed, and all of them were natives of that Tuscany to which the commissioners were bound. The glory of these great men was then as exalted as it still remains. For

Boccaccio had then already written his two delicious narrative poems *La Teseide* and *Il Filostrato*, as well as his more enchanting *Decamerone*; Dante had completed his immortal *Trilogy*; and Petrarch had at least finished his Sonnets.

This mental banquet awaited the English poet, and he, for one, if we cannot speak of his brother commissioner, who was probably a man of figures only, versed in the science of *augrim* and of *cambiali*, did not neglect his opportunities. Can it be supposed that he would? It is demonstrable that he did no such thing. He did not affect to resist the strong temptation to appropriate these sweets.

He straightway set to work to master the Tuscan dialect in which these treasures are enshrined, and it is quite clear that before long he acquired a scholarly and perfect knowledge of it. Of course his thorough knowledge of Latin and French prepared an easy way for this further acquirement.

The curious may best satisfy themselves of this interesting fact by comparing Chaucer's translation of the eighty-sixth sonnet of Petrarch, interpolated into the *Troilus*, with the original sonnet itself.

But translation was not all our poet did, for it was not all which he had to do. At the very threshold of his task (that of rendering the *Filostrato* into English) he had a problem to solve which was not the easier because it was one of his own proposing. There was no English verse at all fit for the transfer of the Italian. He must accordingly invent a new one, like Alcæus or Sappho. A moment's reflection had told him that what sufficed for Partenopex or Horn Child would fall far short of the requirements of an Italian classic; one, too, so solid, that it ranks still as high as it did then. The result would have been as trivial and ridiculous to him as it would undoubtedly appear to ourselves in the nineteenth century. The reasoning which determined Chaucer in fixing what should be his new verse it is not difficult to revive. He knew of two metres only, always excepting those used for ballads and such like, which were of course out of the question here. Of these two metres, one was too short as the other was too long for his taste. I mean, of course, the eight-syllabled distichs of himself and Gower, and the popular twelve-syllable

verse, such as is exhibited in the rough tale of Gamelin. This latter form, however, he had never used on any former occasion, and it is not credible that he would use it then for the first time. He therefore elected to invent for the nonce an entirely new metre of his own, and to apply it to his new task. There was a mean between eight and twelve, viz., ten. He accordingly invented a verse of ten syllables with varying and appropriate *cæsure*; and utilized his new invention by translating the *Filostrato* into it; and posterity ratified his choice by adopting it as the only verse to be employed upon themes either great or graceful.

In the same poem Chaucer made another innovation, equally successful as the other, though not so momentous for English poetry. The original of *Troilus* is in *ottava rima*. Chaucer left out one of the eight lines, and converted his stanza into what I will venture to call *settima rima*. This he repeated afterwards in many charming poems.

The consequences of this invention of the ten-syllable metre it is impossible to exaggerate or over-estimate. The obvious outcome of it is simply this and no other: without it we should have had no Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, or Pope, in the sense in which we now have these great masters. To convince us of this, we have only to imagine *Othello* and *Hamlet*, not as we now have them through the remote leadership of Chaucer in a verse framed upon his model, but told either in the lilting measure of Calderon, or the drawling Alexandrines of France. However revolting the idea may be, there is no escape from this absolutely necessary consequence. Of course, Milton must have been better than Cædmon, and Pope would have done his best to surpass Butler even in his own light measure, but that is all.

From all this Chaucer saved English literature and the English race; and yet for what he has done his only monument is a somewhat shabby tomb in Westminster Abbey, erected by a zealous though not lavish admirer in a later age, and which antiquaries think was not originally intended for him, being merely transferred, to save expense, from a desecrated London friary.

Even the Cockney Valhalla on the Thames Embankment has not yet deigned to com-

memorate this brightest of all departed Londoners.

[The fame of Chaucer has been scarcely so much neglected as Mr. Coote seems to think; for the formation in 1868 of the Chaucer Society is a more satisfactory monument than any statue could be. Although the attention of the society is in the main directed to the text, yet much has been done towards the elucidation of the poet's indebtedness to former authors, as well as of the incidents of his life. Those who wish to follow out the investigation of the influence of Italian literature upon Chaucer should refer to "A Detailed Comparison of *Troilus* and *Creseyde* with Boccaccio's *Filostrato*," besides several papers in the series entitled "Originals and Analogues of some of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*."—ED.]



Coinage of the British Islands.

By C. F. KEARY, M.A., F.S.A.

II.

FROM THE REIGN OF HENRY VII. TO OUR OWN TIME.



THE division which we have made in our subject is not indeed an equal division in respect of time nor even of recorded historical events; but it is obviously the most suitable which could be found. It corresponds generally with the line of demarcation separating modern from mediæval history, and with what we may call the installation of the Renaissance. The line is always more or less shadowy and indefinite, but nowhere is it less so than in England. The Wars of the Roses were the final act in the drama of mediæval English history. When these ended in the Battle of Bosworth the new era definitely began.

We saw in a former paper that this age of the Renaissance was, so far as the coins were concerned, notable chiefly as being the era of portraiture. Portraits begin on English coins with Henry VII. Up to his nineteenth year Henry VII. continued the older forms of silver currency, but in 1504 he made a complete change. He coined shillings in addition to the groats, half-groats, pennies, etc., which had up to that time been current, and on all the larger pieces, in place of the conventional bust facing which had prevailed since the days of Edward I., he placed a profile bust which had not been seen on

coins since the days of Stephen.* The bust appears upon all coins of higher denomination than the penny. A new type was invented for the latter coin, the full-length figure of the monarch enthroned. This portrait of Henry VII. is a work of the highest art in its own kind. Nothing superior to it has appeared since, nor anything nearly equal to it except some busts of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. on the coins of these monarchs. The artistic merit of these pieces is so considerable that on that account alone they are worthy of peculiar study. It has been well pointed out by archæologists that one interest belonging to the study of Greek coins lies in the fact that they are tokens of the art production of many places of which no other art monuments remain. The same may almost be said of the coinage of England during the Renaissance.

In the great artistic movement of those days, England seems at first sight to take no part. While Italy, France, and Germany had each its own schools of artists and each its separate

character of art production, the conspicuous monuments made in England were the work of foreigners; they were the sculptures of Torrigiano or the paintings of Holbein. But as smaller monuments the contemporary coins are an evidence of native talent, for the engravers to the mint during these reigns do most of them bear genuinely English names.†

Next to the evidence of art-culture which the coins afford, comes the evidence of greater wealth, of larger trade and manufacture, and

of an increased demand for a medium of exchange. When Henry VII. ascended the throne, although the country had just been suffering from a bitter and prolonged civil war, the great mass of the community was far from having been impoverished thereby. It was during all this period steadily acquiring wealth, and the wealth of the country, as a whole, was upon the increase (see Rogers' *Hist. of Prices*, vol. iv., Intr., p. 22). The careful reign of Henry VII. fostered this increase. It need not surprise us, therefore, to find an addition made to the coinage of the previous reigns. Henry VII. struck the principal gold coins which were current in former reigns; that is to say, the ryal (now worth ten shillings), the angel, and the angelet. In addition to these pieces he struck for the first time the pound sovereign,

or double ryal, worth twenty shillings, a large gold coin representing the king enthroned, and on the reverse a double rose charged with the English shield. The piece measured more than one-and-a-half



FIG. I.

inches, and weighed two hundred and forty grains; that is to say, twice as much as the present sovereign. It was without question the finest gold coin then current in Europe. It does not appear, however, to have been issued in large quantities.

As we follow the history of coinage under the Tudors, we see the currency gradually increasing in quantity and in the variety of its denominations. Henry VIII. did not indeed make any decided step in this direction, and in one respect, presently to be noticed, he made a conspicuously retrograde step. Nevertheless he struck some two-sovereign pieces, and he largely increased the number of sovereigns. At first this coin followed the type instituted by Henry VII., but later on a second type was introduced, having the king seated on a throne upon one side, and on the other the English shield

* It is worth noticing that Henry VII. was the first king subsequent to Henry III. who used a numeral upon his coins. Some of his shillings read HENRIC VII., others HENRIC SEPTIM. James IV. in the same way introduced (for the first time on Scottish coins) the word QUART. after his name.

† Nicholas Flynte, John Sharpe, and — Demaire, are the names of the engravers during the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., as given by Ruding; the third may, likely enough, be a French name.

supported by a lion and a griffin. Henry coined half-sovereigns of the same type. He coined crowns and half-crowns in gold, having on one side the English shield, and on the other the Tudor rose. He likewise struck rose nobles or ryals, angels, and angelets of the types formerly in use. The older nobles had given place to the ryals which, at first coined to be worth six-and-eightpence like their predecessors, were now worth ten shillings. Henry VIII. issued a new series of nobles at the lesser value. They were called George nobles, from having on the obverse the figure of St. George on horseback slaying the dragon. In silver Henry struck pieces of the same denomination as those of his father—namely, shillings, groats, pennies, halfpennies, and farthings. The earlier groats showed a profile bust like the groats of Henry VII., but in 1543 this was substituted for a bust facing or three-quarters toward the spectator, and the shillings of Henry VIII., which were first coined at this date, were of the same pattern.

In a former paper it was noticed how in the continental coinage heraldic devices begin during the fourteenth century to take the place of the simpler crosses which generally decorate the mediæval pieces. Owing to the stereotyped character of the English coinage between Edward III. and Henry VII., the same change could not be so early discovered here. But it is very noticeable in the currency of the Tudor dynasty. From the time of Henry VII. the English shield (quartering France) is rarely absent from the coins. It is laid over the cross on the reverse, which in many cases it almost completely hides from view. A great number of the heraldic devices with which we are so familiar in the chapel and tomb of Henry VII. in Westminster Abbey, are introduced upon his coins or those of his immediate successors, as the lion, the griffin, the double rose, the portcullis. The latter device was derived from the Beaufort family (the legitimated children of John of Gaunt and Catherine Swynford), from which Henry could claim descent.

One coin of Henry VIII. has a special historical interest. It is the groat struck at York by Cardinal Wolsey when Archbishop of York. On the piece he placed his car-

dinal's hat; and as this act was accounted illegal, and even treasonous, it was included in the bill of indictment against him.

That out of mere ambition you have caused
Your holy hat to be stamped on the king's coin.
(*Henry VIII.*, iii. 2.)

In the actual articles of indictment he is only blamed for, "of his pompous and presumptuous mind," stamping the hat upon the *groats* struck at York, as if the offence lay especially in the issuing of such large pieces with the insignia of his office. In fact, several prelates before his time had placed their own initials and some symbol of their dignity upon the pennies of York, Durham, etc. It may have been considered part of the offence for which, as a whole, Wolsey was held to have incurred the penalties of a *præmunire*; namely, the endeavour to exalt unduly the position of his holy office, and to spread an impression among the people that his legateship gave him a power independent of the power of the crown. The groats and half-groats struck by Cardinal Wolsey have, beneath the shield on the reverse, a cardinal's hat, and on either side of the shield the letters T. W.

Edward VI. still further increased the gold coinage, especially the coinage of sovereigns. He struck triple, double, and single sovereigns. The latter at first followed the type of Henry VII., and the earlier sovereigns of Henry VIII., and Edward's double sovereign was of that type also. Later he adopted a new design—the half-length figure of the king to right, crowned, and holding the sword and orb. On the reverse was a shield. The triple sovereign was of this type. The half-sovereign, either of this type, or else presenting only the bust of the king, with head either crowned or bare, and the reverse as before. In silver Edward VI. coined for the first time crowns and half-crowns. These pieces represented the king riding to right, and the English shield on the reverse. The shillings and sixpences contained a bust crowned, either in profile to right or facing. The coins of this reign are the first of English coins which bear upon them a date.

Mary coined sovereigns of the earliest (*Henry VII.*'s) type, the ryal of the old type,—only that the figure in the ship is the queen,—as well as angels and angelets.

Her groats, half-groats, and pennies were all of the same type, having a crowned bust of the queen to right upon the obverse, and on the reverse a shield. After her marriage with Philip, Mary struck half-crowns and shillings. The former have the busts of the king and queen upon the two sides of the piece, while the latter have the two together, facing one another ("amorous, fond, and billing") on the obverse, and on the reverse a shield.

The number of coin denominations reaches its maximum in the reign of Elizabeth, from whose mints were issued no less than twenty distinct kinds of coin; that is to say, in gold, the sovereign, ryal, half-sovereign, quarter-sovereign, half-quarter-sovereign, angel, half-angel, quarter-angel; in silver, the crown, half-crown, shilling, sixpence, groat, three-penny, half-groat (or twopenny), three-half-pennypiece, penny, three-farthings, half-penny, farthing. Fortunately the varieties of type were much less numerous. It is enough to say that, of the first issue, the sovereign, the ryal, and the angel did not materially differ from the corresponding coins of Mary, and that the sovereign of the second issue, with all its divisions, showed simply a crowned bust to left, with hair flowing behind; on the other side, the shield, as before. The silver crown and half-crown had a crowned profile bust to the left holding a sceptre; and all the other denominations of silver coins had a crowned profile bust without the sceptre. The sixpence and its divisions were distinguished by a rose placed at the back of the head.

Another series of coins struck by Elizabeth deserves particular mention. By virtue of a commission, dated January 11th, 1600 or 1601, a coinage was ordered, "unknown to the English mint, either before or since her time, for it was by law exportable, and intended for the use of the East India Company." This is, in fact, the first appearance of a colonial coinage for England. This coinage consisted of silver pieces, the size of the Spanish coins of eight, four, and two ryals. The coins had on one side the royal arms, on the other a portcullis. The reasons which induced the queen to take this step were sound and statesmanlike. The East India Company had applied for leave to export Spanish dollars, representing that these coins alone

were familiarly known, and therefore readily accepted, in the East. The queen determined to issue a currency which was genuinely English, in order "that her name and effigies might be hereafter respected by the Asiatics, and she be known as great a prince as the King of Spain."

All the facts which we have here summarised witness to the growth of fiscalty throughout the prosperous reigns of the Tudor dynasty. With this growth a number of economic questions came to the front, which long continued to tax the sagacity of statesmen. We are too ready to congratulate ourselves on our supposed superiority over our ancestors in the art of statecraft. But there can be no question that in one respect we stand in a position of immense advantage over them—in respect, that is, to our mastery of the most important laws of economy and finance. There can be nothing more melancholy than to follow the enactments of successive reigns concerning the supply of bullion, and to note the radically false conception which the laws show touching the nature of wealth. Thus, in the reign of Henry VII., an Act was passed forbidding "any person dwelling in the realm to pay to any alien for merchandise, or other thing, any piece of gold coined in *that or any other realm*," etc. And the same kind of enactments follow one another with wearisome iteration. A still more important example of the ignorance of economic laws was shown in the liberties which the government took with the purity and weight of the currency.

In earlier times, though men were no better instructed in economic science, a certain healthy moral instinct had long kept the rulers from degrading the title of the coins they issued. Men's instinct had taught them that such an act was fraudulent and unworthy, though in many cases, especially among the petty princes (and still more especially the prince prelates) of Germany, this instinct had not been very efficient. Philip the Fair, of France, was one of the first who persistently debased his coinage, and Dante's scornful description of Philip,—

Lì si vedrà lo duol che sopra Senna
Induce, falseggiando la moneta,
Quei che morrà di colpo di cotenna

(*Paradiso*, xix. 118).—

shows in what way his acts were regarded by healthy minds. But at the age at which we are now arrived, no traditional laws of morality could hold their force unquestioned. Why, it was said, seeing that a pound or a shilling gains its value through the royal sanction, may not the same sanction and the same value be given to a piece of much lower metallic value, and thus the government be the gainer, and yet the subjects not the losers? From the time of Philip the Fair the degradation of the coinage had proceeded rapidly in France and in most other European countries, including Scotland (see last paper); but the purity of the English money had been hitherto unassailed. Henry VIII. was the first of English monarchs who debased the sterling fineness of the coin. Some of his shillings and groats contained only one-third silver to two-thirds copper. Some of his gold coins consisted of about five-sixths of gold to one-sixth of silver. This evil continued through the two successive reigns, and was finally reformed by Elizabeth. Even Elizabeth, however, did not do her work completely, as, instead of withdrawing the base coins completely from circulation, she passed them over St. George's Channel for the use of her subjects in Ireland. It is a curious fact, and one which reflects credit upon the queen and her advisers, that her reform of the coinage, wise, and indeed necessary as it was for the welfare of her subjects, was by no means forced upon the queen by public opinion, but was on many sides viewed with great dislike. The opposite state of things would, of course, confer some slight and temporary advantages upon the producer, while the chief sufferers would be, as Elizabeth's proclamation said,

All poor people that lived of their hand-labour, as well artificers in cities and towns as labourers in husbandry, or men that took dayetall wages, either by land, by sea, or by fresh waters, and all mean gentlemen that lived upon pensions and stipends, soldes and wages.

Another reason why the old state of things was favoured by some was that it would tend to bring into circulation a large number of pieces of low denomination. So soon as men had got to an understanding that a penny and a halfpenny were each not worth more than half their nominal values, a large number of what really were halfpennies and

farthings would be found to be in circulation, and the making of small purchases would be greatly facilitated. There is no doubt that these facilities were very much desired by the poor, and the want of a lower currency was much felt. Up to this time no regular copper coinage had been introduced. The place of it was first supplied by the issue of tokens by private persons. These appear first to have been of lead. Erasmus speaks of the *plumbæ Angliæ*, apparently referring to leaden tokens in the reign of Henry VII. In the reign of Elizabeth there was a very extensive issue of private tokens in lead, tin, latten, and leather. At length proposals were made for the issue of a copper coinage—proposals not then carried into effect, though some patterns were struck.

To bring this subject to a close, we may add that in James I.'s reign the use of copper tokens was fully recognised, but that the monopoly of striking them was conferred upon certain individuals, at first upon Lord Harrington. The same custom was continued in the reign of Charles I., but in the abolition of privilege, which resulted from the civil war, the monopoly lapsed, and the result was an issue of copper tokens by the principal tradesmen of almost all the towns of England. Thus arose the *seventeenth century tokens*, which are much prized by their collectors, and which are often of considerable value to the local historian. In 1665 an authorised copper coinage of halfpennies and farthings was undertaken, and in consequence the issue of copper tokens, though it did not immediately cease, fell gradually into disuse. It revived again for a short time at the end of the last century, and the early years of this; that is to say, from 1787 to 1795, and again from 1811 to 1815, owing to a scarcity in the copper money of the realm.

(To be continued.)



Rhythmical Laws.



ONE of the means by which it is possible to test the antiquity of certain codes of law is their more or less adaptability to verse or proverbial expression.

The law book of Manu (says Sir Henry Maine),* is in verse, and verse is one of the expedients for lessening the burden which the memory has to bear when writing is unknown or very little used. But there is another expedient which serves the same object. This is Aphorism or Proverb. Even now in our own country much of popular wisdom is preserved either in old rhymes or in old proverbs, and it is well ascertained that during the middle ages much of law, and not a little of medicine, was preserved among professions, not necessarily clerically, by these two agencies.

Sir Francis Palgrave, noticing the same characteristic of archaic law, says:—

It cannot be ascertained that any of the Teutonic nations reduced their customs into writing, until the influence of increasing civilization rendered it expedient to depart from their primeval usages; but an aid to the recollection was often afforded as amongst the Britons, by poetry or by the condensation of the maxim or principle in proverbial or antithetical sentences like the Cymric triads. The marked alliteration of the Anglo-Saxon laws is to be referred to the same cause, and in the Frisic laws several passages are evidently written in verse. From hence, also, may originate those quaint and pithy rhymes in which the doctrines of the law of the old time are not unfrequently recorded.†

It appears to me to be worth while collecting together here a few examples of this generally ascertained practice, because I am not without hopes that much of this old law is still to be regained from popular tradition and local sayings, and it would be a task well fitted to the readers of THE ANTIQUARY if some of this forgotten and fast-fading traditional wisdom were preserved.

In primitive times the court of justice, held in the open air, was fenced, as it is called, in rhyme. Mr. Innes says that you find in all records of old court proceedings the commencement "*Sectis vocatis—curia legitime affirmata*," or when it comes to the time when Scots was used, "Suits called, the court lawfully fenced."‡ This ceremony of fencing the courts of justice is unfortunately lost, so far as our land is concerned, although in the ancient ceremony of opening the Tynwald Court of the Isle of Man, there is perhaps a relic.§ But in the curious and almost unique jurisdiction of the Free Court of Corbey, described by Sir

Francis Palgrave in the second volume of his *History of the English Commonwealth*, the ceremony of fencing is fully preserved, and rhyming formulae are repeated at several stages. I cannot give here all this ancient ceremony,* but as a specimen of the rhymes there used, let me quote the following, spoken by the graff in response to a demand for a "free judgment seat."

I permit right
And I forbid wrong,
Under the pains and penalties
That to the old laws belong.

Now if in England we have not any well-ascertained relic of these ancient "fencing" rhymes, we have some old rhyming formulae used occasionally in the exercise of some half-forgotten custom or in some unknown sense, which, it appears to me, owe their origin, not to the unmeaning folly of the people, but to the lingering remembrances of these archaic laws. Thus Abraham de la Pryme records of the Mayor of Scarborough, that about

two days before Michilmass day . . . being arrayed in his gown of state, he mounts upon horseback, and has his attendants with him, and the mace-bearer carrying the mace before him. . . . Thus marching in state, they make many halts, and the cryer cries then with a strange sort of a singing voice, high and low,

Whay! Whay! Whay!
Pay your Gavelage, ha!
Between this and Michaelmas Day,
Or you'll be fined, I say!†

Then again the custom of Hagman Heigh* seems to indicate a similar origin. In Yorkshire the keeper of the Pinfold goes round the town, and, knocking at certain doors, sings a barbarous refrain, beginning with

To-night is the new year's night, to-morrow is the day,

We are come about for our right and for our ray,
As we used to do in old King Henry's day,
Sing fellows sing, Hagman Heigh.

The Hawick Common riding is a custom incidental to a very ancient institution. The burgh officers form the van of a pageant which insensibly carries us back to ancient times. Some verses sung on the occasion have got a refrain which has been known for ages as the slogan of Hawick. It is "Teribus ye teri Odin," which is probably a

* See my *Primitive Folkmoors*, pp. 35-38.

† *Diary of Abraham de la Pryme*, p. 126.

* *Early Law and Custom*, p. 9.

† *English Commonwealth*, i., p. 43.

‡ *Scotch Legal Antiquities*, p. 62.

§ See *Train's History of the Isle of Man*, ii., p. 188-190, and cf. my *Primitive Folkmoors*, p. 92.

corruption of the Anglo-Saxon, "Tyr habbe us, ye Tyr ye Odin"—May Tyr uphold us, both Tyr and Odin. There are other cries, or nonsense rhymes as they are sometimes called, which appear to want a thorough investigation, both philologically and scientifically, and the result would be that we should restore some of these lost remnants of a past age. But first of all they want collecting—no one has paid proper and systematic attention to them; and I would urge upon readers to send anything they know of to these pages.*

We will now turn to some rhythmical laws which have been enshrined in a somewhat less changeful home than popular tradition. The Kentishman redeemed his land from the lord by repeating, as it was said, in the language of his ancestors,

Nighon silhe yeld
And nighon sithe geld,
And vif pund for the were,
Ere he become healdere.

The first verse

Dog draw
Stable stand
Back berend
And bloody hand

justified the verderer in his summary execution of the offender. And in King Athelstane's grant to the good men of Beverley, and inscribed beneath his effigy in the Minster,

Als fre
Mak I the
As heart may think
Or eigh may see,

we have perhaps the ancient form of manumission or enfranchisement.† Under this same heading we can glean something from the humble nursery rhyme. In the days of villenage, says Chambers, when a freeman gave up his liberty, put himself under the protection of a master, and became his man, he took hold of his own foretop and so handed himself over to his future lord. This very significant formula is still preserved among children, one of whom takes hold of the foretop of another and says—

Tappie, tappie tousie, will ye be my man?‡

* I must note a most interesting communication to *Byones*, on "Young Oswestry and its Cries."

† Palgrave's *English Commonwealth*, i. 43.

‡ Chambers' *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, p. 115.

These examples make us better understand the versification of some ancient charters and wills often supposed to be forgeries. Both charter and will were in early times registered in the assembly of the folkmoor,—were, in point of fact, laws. Thus we have the following so-called "burlesque conveyance" in English rhyme, dated in the reign of an Edward.

That wyte alle that noweth beth
That this writ yhureth and yseth
That ich William the clockere Roberdes sone
That was wyle Muleward yne Duntone
Habbe ygive and ygranted
By thisse chartre conferred
Symon the mareschal and Crystine his wyve
The wyle that eny man is alive
That thriddle dol of a burgage
That me well by heritage
In the burth of Duntone
Alrenuxt the vorsede Symone
Habbe and Halde wythhute sonte
The wyle the sonne geth aboute
* * * *

Thys writ was ygive at Candelmasse
In the suxe and twenty the mon ne lasse
The date of Edward houre kynge
God him gyve god endinge.*

Forgery or not, burlesque or not, there is something in this deed which tells of the archaic practice we are dealing with, and it contains some clauses that are genuine charter phrases.

Mr. Hazlitt includes the following rhyming charter in his *Tenures of Land*.†

Ich Edward konyng
Have yeoven of my forest the keping
Of the Hundred of Chelmer and Wancing
To Randolph Peperking and to his kindling
With hart and hinde, doe and bokke
Hare and foxe, catte and brocke,
Wild foule with his flocke,
Partrich, fesaunte hen, and fesaunte cock;
With green and wilde, slob and stokk,
To kepen and to yeomen by all her might
Both by day and eke by night
And hounds for to holde
Good swift and bolde;
Four grehoundes, and six raches,
For hare and fox, and wilde cattes;
And therefore ich made him my booke.
Witness the bishop Wolston
And booke ylered many on
And Sweyne of Essex our brother,
And taken him many other,
And our steward Howelin,
That besought me for him.

* *Hist. MSS. Com.*, v. 459.

† See page 75. A rhymed charter of William is also given in the same work, at page 165.

Many so-called tenures of land are fragments of ancient customary law localized; and there are still retained some curious examples of rhythmical formulæ. Perhaps the most curious is that of East and West Enborne, which has been made famous through the description of Mr. Spectator in 1714. But the appearance of this description among the lighter productions of the school of Sir Roger de Coverley has thrown a little doubt upon the genuineness of this custom, and the *Saturday Review* in noticing my *Primitive Folkmoos* called me to task for thinking it a serious tenure. But whether it be genuine or not,—and I do not think there is any real doubt about it,—the *Spectator* was not the first to record it. It is mentioned by Cowel in his *Law Interpreter* 1607, and again in the *Dictionarium Rusticum* 1704.* I will quote the account from the latter authority:—

Freebench is an estate of copyhold lands which the wife being espoused a virgin has after the death of her husband for her dower, according to the custom of the manour of this freebench. Several manours have several customs, but one of them deserves a more particular remark, and that is the custom of the manours of East and West Enborn in the County of Berks. That if a customary tenant dye the widow shall have her freebench in all his copyhold lands, dum sola et casta fuerit, but if she commits incontinency she forfeits her estate; yet if she will come into the court, riding backward on a black ram, with his tail in her hand, and say the following words, the steward is bound by the custom to readmit her to her freebench:

Here I am
Riding upon a black Ram
Like a — as I am,
And for my crincum crancum
Have lost my bincum bancum,
And for my tail's game
Have done this worldly shame.
Therefore I pray you, Mr. Steward, let me have
my land again.†

Another similar tenure obtains at Kilmerston in Somersetshire. If the widow of a tenant marries, or is found incontinent, she may come into the next court riding upon a ram, and in open court say to the lord:—

For mine —'s fault take I this pain,
Therefore, my lord, give me my land again;

* Perhaps also this is one of the customs alluded to by Harrison in his *Description of England*, 1577—1587, but which he does not set down. See the New Shakspeare Society edition, p. 104.

† *Dict. Rusticum*, 1704, sub voce "Freebench."

and she is by the custom to be restored to it without further fine.*

The tithingman of Combe Keynes, in Dorsetshire, is obliged to do suit at Winforth Court, and after repeating the following incoherent lines, pays threepence and goes away without saying another word:—

With my white rod
And I am a fourth post
That three pence makes three
God bless the King, and the lord of the franchise
Our weights and our measures are lawful and true
Good morrow Mr. Steward I have no more to say
to you.†

A short time ago it was pointed out how the antiquity of the marriage service was clearly suggested by the rythmical formation of a portion of the formulæ. This portion of the service may be said to be the legal portion—the portion that carries with it the sanction of legal authority independent of Church sanction; and I cannot doubt but that when the ceremony of marriage was in the hands of the father of the bride (the house priest) as it once was, these rhyming words were the ancient legal formulæ which represented the legal sanction to the marriage. This is all the more likely because they contain the significant expression, "to have and to hold," which, as Littleton points out, is a very ancient and important legal phrase, and "no conveyance can be made without them."‡

Rhythmical formulæ are also attached to the well-known Dunmow custom, which it is perhaps not worth while quoting here; and to the famous and less-known custom of the Wardstaff of Ongar hundred; but perhaps the examples already given of this widespread practice will be sufficient indication of the archaic origin I would claim for it. It takes us far back into the past of our prehistoric ancestors—a past that is now being illumined by the researches of the archæologist into some of the neglected scatterings of old world lore, and it is a caution not too often to be repeated, that the veriest scraps of information gained from the traditions of the people should be at once noted and recorded, because some day or other they may supply a link which may not exist elsewhere.

G. LAURENCE GOMME.

* Hazlitt's *Tenures of Land*, p. 182.

† *Ibid.*, 80.

‡ Thrupp's *Anglo-Saxon Home*, pp. 50-57.

William Cecil, Lord Burghley, at Home.

BY T. FAIRMAN ORDISH.

PART II.

MACAULAY estimates Cecil as "of the willow, and not of the oak," a sort of opportunist or time-server, maintaining his position chiefly by the favour of Elizabeth; in Froude's pages he appears rather as the oak, rooted deep and firm in his native soil, entirely fearless of any number of foreign Philips and Popes, supporting Queen and country in the new ways of the Reformation by his own convictions and strength. So much depends on the point of view! The letters from Philip's ambassadors to their master appear to justify the view taken by Mr. Froude. It is evident they thought they would have been able to work their way with the Queen, but for "that pestilential scoundrel" and "accursed heretic" Cecil, who "in all things governs the Queen." Their resentment against Cecil is the measure of his power. He was more than the successful courtier Macaulay imagined him. His thoughts and activity went far beyond the court, although he served his mistress loyally, and had at times to struggle against intrigue. In the *Life* by a Domestic, his faithful "Boswell" says of him (p. 26):—

And it was noted, that wheresoever he sate in place of justice, there wanted not nombres that came only to heare him speake, praising his gifts, and praising God for giving this Realme so grave, good, and wise a man.

Would not this have gladdened the heart of the great Hero-worshipper himself? And again (p. 27):—

The people thought nothing well done that went not thorough his handes.

In the previous article we glanced at Cecil's family and his studies. The latter are especially interesting. It was impossible to do more than indicate the information on the point. But the notices of books in the *Calendars*, which are being printed in the *Bibliographer*, under the title of "Among the State Papers," embrace all this valuable and generally fresh information.

It is remarkable that, absorbed as Cecil's

life would appear to have been in public affairs, he by no means neglected his private concerns and interests. On the contrary, he bestowed upon them a constant and minute attention. The evidence on this point in the State Papers is ample, but more directly interesting is a note by Nares, who was privileged to consult the papers in the Salisbury collection. He says:—*

At Hatfield House are still remaining a number of quarterly settlements and bills which visibly underwent his minute inspection: being by marginal notes in his own hand arranged as relating to the household, apparel, servants' wages, rents, etc., and many of them having a direction to his Steward or Bailiff to pay them, thus:—

"Pay it,
"W. Cecil."

Cecil would have been an excellent financier or Chancellor of the Exchequer in our day. The energy and prudence with which he used his wealth for accumulation are very apparent. A few instances, taken almost at random, will show the characteristic prudence of his management. Under date 1567, March 4th, there is an Indenture of lease from Sir Wm. Cecil to James Blunt, Lord Mountjoy, of the tenth part of the profits of the patent for manufacturing alum, formerly assigned to Sir Wm. Cecil. In 1574, January 14th, there are eight acquittances for money received for woodsales and rents on behalf of Lord Burghley. Cecil occupied himself (!) with the mysteries of foreign exchanges; for instance, on August 31st, 1575, there was correspondence about making over £1,000 to Antwerp and the price of the exchange, which "at present was very dead." This is only one of many instances of the kind. On August 16th, 1579, one writes to give him information of a good bargain of house and lands in Middlesex and Hertfordshire. In November 1580 there is a note of the shareholders in the Mines Royal, showing their separate interests, and the number of parts or shares held by each; Burghley and Leicester holding two parts each. These are only samples; there are many such, showing how Cecil advanced and secured his fortunes. Macaulay summarises his objections to this side of Cecil's character in the sneer, "and was so moderate in his desires that he left only three hundred distinct landed estates."

* *Burleigh and his Times*, i. 688, note.

Nothing is so unlovable among human characteristics as the grasping and selfish; but Cecil shared the common fault of fortunate men, to whom the feeling of possession is new.

Underlying all Cecil's actions may be traced plainly an idea of duty; and his view of wealth resembles that of modern political economy, in which waste is sinful, careful expenditure a duty, accumulation a general benefit. For instance, alongside with his love of family and of books must be placed his remarkable taste for horticulture. Yet the idea of utility was ever present with it. The continuation of the above interesting note by Nares shows this:—

These bills and accounts are mostly of the years 1555, 1556, 1557, and among them is a curious *Memorial* (as it is endorsed by Lord Burghley himself) of "things to be done" before his quitting his then place of residence—probably Burghley. It relates chiefly to the felling and sale of his woods, letting of farms, collection of rents, etc. One of his memoranda is "to send from London *red roses*" to plant in the garden We have most important evidence to produce of his being a main encourager of botanical pursuits for national purposes; in the importation of foreign seeds and plants, that "curious persons," as it is stated, "might have various opportunities and occasions of enlarging their experience in the fertility of this land,"—*i.e.*, England, their native country. "None of those," the record states, "who solicited the said importations, were more laudably assiduous, or more happily gratified, than the great Lord Burghley." By these means our vegetable productions first began to be greatly multiplied, "many rare plants became natives of our soil, which are of sovereign virtue in physic: many roots, greens, and pulse increased the variety of our food; and many trees no less diversified our groves and gardens."

Cecil's fondness for horticulture is abundantly apparent in the State Papers. Some instances occur in the correspondence with his son Thomas and Windebank, during their stay in France. In August 1560 he writes: *

If ye fynd in that countrey any thyngs mete for my garden, send me word thereof.

Again, in the following month, he writes that he is in want of a man for his garden. In March 1562 Cecil wrote to Windebank desiring him to send over a lemon, a pomegranate, and a myrtle tree, with directions for their culture; and on April 8th following, Windebank wrote to say he had sent a lemon tree, which cost fifteen crowns, and two

myrtle trees, price one crown each, "which is very cheap;" and gave at the same time directions for their culture. As early as 1551 there is a letter from Bishop Ridley to Cecil, in which he playfully promises to spare him half-a-dozen trees, while complaining of the spoil made in the woods belonging to his see (London); and there are numerous applications for trees and timber-trees in which Cecil's name is concerned, going to show that he was well aware of the importance of arboriculture.

The scene of Cecil's home life, with its favourite pursuits, was laid in beautiful houses—palatial houses, if not palaces. His London residence by the Savoy, styled by him when dating letters there "My house next the Savoy," is known to students of London topography, but a few items from the sources at present under requisition may be given. The extent of his household is described by his contemporary thus (p. 37):—

At London he kept ordinarily in household four-score persons, besides his Lordship and such as attended him at Court.

We have seen his memorandum "to send from London *red roses*" to plant in his grounds at Burghley. These probably came from the gardens of Exeter or Burleigh House—"My house next the Savoy"—Strand! It was here that, when the proposal of marriage between the Queen and the Duke of Anjou was made, the French ambassadors bearing the proposal were royally entertained at dinner.* The Queen herself frequently honoured the secretary with her presence in the Savoy. The first of such visits is described as follows:—†

On the 10th of July her Majesty went in great state to the Mint, which, much to her credit, had been employed in preparing a coinage of the true standard for general circulation; a measure which the secretary had so much at heart as apparently to have applied his mind anxiously to the subject from the first moment of the accession, as we have shown elsewhere. After this, accompanied by trumpeters, heralds, gentlemen pensioners, and a large retinue of lords and ladies (Lord Hunsdon, her cousin, in due form bearing the sword of state immediately before her), she repaired to the Lord North's, at the Charter House, where, we are told, she tarried "till the 13th day," when she took her way from thence by Clerkenwell, over the fields, into the Savoy, to Mr. Secretary Cecil's, where

* Burgon's *Life of Sir Thomas Gresham*, vol. i., p. 424.

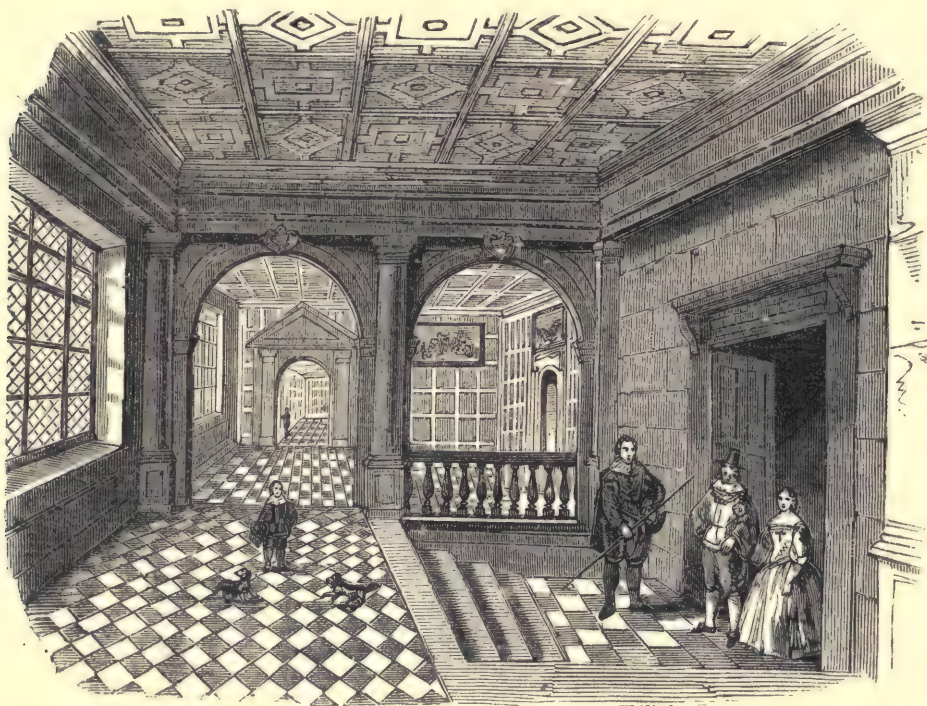
* Nares, iii., 162.

† *Ibid.*, ii., 238.

she supped. Here her Council waited on her, with many lords and knights and ladies, and great cheer made till midnight; and then her Grace rode back to the Charter House, where she slept that night.

Another residence of Cecil's was at Wimbledon. Here he chiefly resided while secretary under Edward VI., and during the dangerous reign of Mary. There are two letters regarding the negotiation for its purchase. In 1549 (April 11), R. Whalley writes to Cecil that he sees no likelihood of obtaining Wimbledon for him,

Cecil's father-in-law, Sir Anthony Cooke, "thanking him for the relief he found by the good air at Wimbledon." In 1552 (October 21st) the above Sir R. Tyrwhyt wrote again, an agreeable letter, to say that he had a right to two acres of wood yearly within the Lordship of Wimbledon, and that he would make Cecil a present thereof. In 1556 we have "an account in Sir William Cecil's hand, and endorsed by him, *Ye Booke of Wyblet's þsnage.*" It was at Wimbledon that Cecil



THEOBALDS PALACE.

but thinks he may get for him the park, with the tythe of Mortlake, and Ambrose Wolley's house. On the following day there is a letter from Sir Robert Tyrwhyt to Cecil, concerning the lodge and park of Mortlake and parsonage of Wimbledon; the latter being promised to Whalley. The negotiation was successful, —Nares states* that he held the house by lease under grant from Edward VI.—and in 1552 (August 11th) there is a letter from

* *Burleigh and His Times*, i., 674.

conformed to the Church establishment under Mary, of which the evidence is—

The Easter Book of the parish of Wimbledon containing the names of many parishioners, and of those who were confessed and received the sacrament, beginning with Sir Wm. Cecil and the Lady Mildred his wife.

We catch a few glimpses of Cecil while he was residing thus at Wimbledon, in a correspondence with Sir Philip Hoby, who was Master of the Ordnance at the Tower during

the reign of Edward VI. Hoby married a sister of Cecil's wife, Lady Mildred. Nares is not quite clear on the point. He says in one place* that Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, married first "Sir Thomas Hobby," who died Ambassador in France, by whom she had four children, and afterwards, Lord Russel. In another place he tells us,† in describing a journey the Queen made in 1592, that she began the journey "by a visit to Bisham Abbey in the County of Berks, the seat of Sir Ed. Hoby, whose mother was then living, and who, after the death of his father Sir P. Hoby, had married Lord Russel; she was sister to the deceased Lady Burghley." Apparently the "Sir Thomas Hobby" is a mistake.

One of Hoby's letters is from Bisham, his residence, when in answer to Cecil's enquiries as to one Harbert, he replies that he has a servant named Harbert Clarvys "who keeps his hawks." He appears by subsequent letters to have received Cecil's assistance in securing his title to Bisham. There is a letter of invitation from Hoby to Cecil, which is very interesting. It is given by Nares.‡

After my grateful commendations. I have been often told of your coming to Bisham, which I have oftener looked for, and that also to have been before this time. What should hinder you I know not, but well am I assured that I have not heard any make such promises and perform so few. Peradventure my Lady hindereth you, who you will find cannot ride, whereto I shall provide this remedy, to send her my coach, because she shall have the less travail thither, and you no excuse to make. Let me know by this bearer when I shall look for you at Bisham, that my coach may come for her, for otherwise if you come not there will be a greater matter than you yet know of. Make my commendations to my Lady. I pray you, and till I see you at Bisham I bid you both farewell.

Yours ever assuredly,

July 1, 1556.

P. HOBY.

In November 1557 there is another invitation. Sir Philip writes to invite Sir William and his lady to come and spend Christmas at Bisham, adding that Mr. Mildmay and his wife will be there. On November 30th, he writes again, saying he had heard that Sir William will not come to Bisham, which he thinks is owing to Lady Cecil not being willing to leave little Tannikyn their daughter, but he begs Lady Cecil will come and bring

Tannikyn with her. How real our forefathers appear when we read such letters! But while the kindly Hoby is thinking only of getting through life as pleasantly as possible in their hazardous position, Cecil is waiting the turn of the tide, when the young Elizabeth shall resume the course of her father, and life for Protestants be open again. That Cecil would come to power again was pretty generally understood, and consideration was furtively paid to him accordingly. A sample of such consideration is the following invitation from Lord Cobham, in Lord Salisbury's collection of Papers, which Nares has printed.* The letter, dated August 27th, 1557, is as follows:—

After very hearty commendations (gentle Mr. Cecill) with like thanks for your gentleness in visiting me, and when I thought to have tarried in London till Monday, intending then to have seen my Lady's Grace, I understand since from thence that her Grace is in such wise diseased that she keepeth her chamber; I have therefore thought good to defer my going thither till I hear of her Grace's amendment, and am minded to-morrow to repair home again, expecting your coming and my Lady's unto my house with my cousin your sister, praying you most heartily to perform the promise you have made, and send me word what time you will come, and I shall accordingly give order that my barge attend for you at your house in London, and my wife's litter at Crayford. This with my hearty commendations to my Lady I bid you heartily farewell from London the xxvijth day of Aug. 1557.

Your assured friend

COBHAM.

During the time of fortune and power which followed the accession of Elizabeth, Cecil built the two celebrated houses, Burleigh House, and Theobalds, his favourite resort. The former is the subject of guide-books, and a good account is given in Charlton's *Burghley and Burghley House*; therefore, although there are many interesting letters in the State Papers detailing the progress of the works, while the residence was being formed, we will pass on to take a brief view of Theobalds. It was situated in Chess-hunt parish, county of Hertford. In the Life by a Domestic we are told (p. 37) of the state he kept:—

At Theobalds he kept continually his household lying at London, 26 or 30 persons, the chardg being weekly xii*l*. and also relieved there dailey 20 or 30 poore people at the gate.

* *Burleigh and His Times*, i., 689-690.

* *Burleigh*, i., 73.

† *Ibid.* iii., 400.

‡ *Ibid.*, i., 689.

Then, with regard to his gardens, the following (p. 42):—

He greatly delighted in making gardens, fountains, and walks, which at Theobalds were perfected, most costly, bewtyfully, and pleasantly, where one might walk two myle in the walkes, before he came to the endes.

It was here that he loved to retire, and ride about the grounds upon his mule. Nares remarks:—

There is in the picture gallery at Oxford a picture of him on this identical mule. Many copies of it have been taken, but it is an ill-drawn picture.*

Her Majesty honoured the Lord Treasurer with her presence at Theobalds on several occasions. In 1591 (May 20) there is an "account of the expenses and charges of the Queen's Majesty at Theobalds for 10 days, viz., from Monday, 10 May, 1591, supper, to the 20th of the same breakfast. Items of provisions, hire of servants, etc., total 998*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.*" Endorsed [by Burghley] "for a gown for ye Qu., 100*l.*,"—also another note of the expenses of Her Majesty's entertainment at Theobalds, differing from the preceding, total 1,011*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.* Earlier than this, in 1578, the Queen visited Theobalds, as we learn from two letters "from Henry Killigrew to William Davison," dated May 10 and 11, in the first of which Killigrew says, "I have just come from Theobalds, where Her Majesty has been staying three days;" and in the other, "I came from the Court at Theobalds yesterday."

There is a notice of the Park at Theobalds, and of a storm there, which should not be omitted, as mention is made of deer stealing, a very interesting subject to us when it occurs in the time of Shakespeare. The letter, dated about eighteen months after Burghley's death—Theobalds, Jan. 2, 1600,—is from "John Stileman to Secretary Cecil" (Burghley's son Robert):—

The bearer Archer has moved me to write you of the great abuses that are daily committed in your woods, for destroying your red deer, which cannot be preserved without the greater offenders may be punished. For the baser sort you should write to Mr. Purvey, to call them before him, and bind them to their good behaviour; the others should be sent for to answer to their misdemeanours. At Enfield, one of your male deer broke out of your Park at Theobalds, and your

keeper hunting him home again was intercepted by three Enfield men, who with a greyhound killed and carried him away. If this be suffered, they will not come into your Park. This last wind has done much harm here, and has taken a taste of your house at Theobalds; for in one night, besides beating down the glass in windows, and untiling, it has blown down one end of the Storehouse in the timber yard.

In the State Papers, under date 1586, there are some "Complimental verses addressed to Lord Burghley, Secretary of State, from his house at Theobalds, praising its splendour and beauty, by Nich. Allen. *Inc. Pulchra domus mira radiat spectabilis arte*" [*Twenty-eight Latin Hexameters and Pentameters*].

There is a description of the house and grounds in the survey made by order of Parliament, previous to its demolition in 1765.

The mode of life within these homes of Burghley is thus described by his worshipping biographer (pp. 39—40), who himself was an inmate and eyewitness:—

I will note unto you the ordre and government of his house. . . . There weare praiers every daie said in his chappell at 11 of the clock, where his Lordship and all his servants weare present, and seldome or never went to dynner without praiers; and so likewise at 6 of the clock before supper; which course was observed by his steward in his Lordship's absence.

His Lordship's hall was ever well furnished with men served with meate and kept in good ordre; for his steward kept a standing table for gentlemen, besides two othere long tables many tymes twice set out, one for the clerk of the kitchen, the other for yeomen. And whither his Lordship weare absent or present, all his men both retayners and others, resorted continually to meate and meale at there pleasures, which I have seldom scene in anie house. . . . His Lordship was served with men of quality and stability, for most of the principall gentlemen in England sought to preferre their sonns and heirs to his service; insomuch as I have nombred in his house attending on the table, 20 gentlemen of his retayners of 1000*l.* *per ann.* a piece, in possession and reversion; and of his ordinary men as manie, some worth 1000, some 3, 5, 10, yea 20,000*l.* daily attending his Lordship's service.

We have seen Cecil throw off care and enter into the happiness and glee of his children. Let us see with what wisdom he dined. His biographer says (p. 62):—

And above all things what buyssines soever was in his head, it was never perceaved at his table, where he wold be so merry as one would imagine he had nothing els to doe, directing his speeche to all men according to there qualities and capacities, as he raised mirth out of all men's speeches, augmenting it

* *Burleigh and His Times*, iii., 488.

with his owne, whereby he wanted noe companie so long as he was hable to kepe companie ; his speeches though they weare merrie yet so full of wisdome as manie came rather to heare his speeches than to eate his meate.

And Nares quotes Fuller's *Holy State*, p. 257, as follows :—

No man was more pleasant and merry at meals, and he had a pretty wit-rack in himself to draw speech out of the most sullen and silent guest at his table, to show his disposition in any point he should propound. Hottoman, in his description of an Ambassador, wittneseth so much, who had been at his table.

And also Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman*, p. 224, to the same effect :—

And the old Lord Treasurer Burghley, howsoever employed in state affairs, at his table would lay all business by, and be heartily merry.

This is no unpleasing picture, and many of us to-day might profitably copy the Lord Treasurer's example. Another characteristic, very interesting to those who care enough for character to form a conception of this man, was Cecil's habit of devotion. The contemporary Life has the following (p. 56) :—

For he most precisely duly observed his exercise of praier, morning and eveninge, all the tyme he was Secretary, never failing to be at the chapell in the Quene's house every morning so long as he could goe ; afterwards, by his infirmitye, not hable to goe abroad, he used every morning and eveninge to have a quishinge laid by his bed-syde, where he praid daily on his knees.

Cecil's wise mode of living resulted in a hale, green old age, save for his twinges of gout, and that common cloud of all old age, the losing of the companions of younger days. Nares has the following :—*

In a letter from Kery, Clerk of the Privy Seal, to Lord Talbot [Lodge, iii., 12], October 22, 1590, the following account is to be found of Lord Burghley's own apparent health :—"I never knew my Lord Treasurer more lusty or fresh in hue than at this hour." He had then entered the 71st year of his age.

What would Carlyle have given for a portrait like the following of some of his heroes ? Of John Knox, for instance ;—would he have entered into a restless hunt and comparison of *Eikons* if he had had such a portrait in words ? It occurs in the Life by a contemporary (p. 67) :

He was rather meanely statured, and well proportioned then tall, being of the middle syse of making,

very straight and upright of body and leggs, and (until age and his infirmity of the goute surprised him) very active and nymble of body, notable induring travaile and labor, whereunto he used his body. He was of visage very well favoured, and of an excellent complexion, insomuch as even in his later daies, when he was well and warme, or had newe dyned or supped, he had as good coloure in his face as most faire women. His state of body neither fat nor leane, but well flesht ; his heare and beard was all white, which heretofore, as seemed, was of a browne couloure ; his beard of reasonable length, . . . rather well proportioned than too long or too bigg, faire, white, and comly ; and all parts respected together, I thinke there weare fewe that knewe him but will saie he was one of the sweetest and most well favoured, well mannered old men that hath beene seene.



The Book of Howth.

BY J. H. ROUND.

PART II.

LET us see, then, what we can learn from the writer of this portion as to the sources of his information. He begins, on p. 36, by speaking of the book before him as "*this Camerans*" (i.e., a particular copy of Giraldus), and he checks its statements by "*an old book, which is a French Camerarius*" (Giraldus). We have here, I think, a most important hint. For it is clear not only that the writer had before him at least two versions of Giraldus, but that one of them was merely a *French translation*, and the other presumably an *English one*. To our minds it may seem almost incredible that the writer should speak of translations as if they were the original MSS., but that he unquestionably copied from an old English translation, and not from the original Latin, is at once evident from the quaint archaisms with which this portion teems, and which are so conspicuously absent from those portions of the book composed or translated under Queen Elizabeth. On comparing this narrative with *The Conquest of Ireland*, stated to have been written in the previous century, it might, at first sight, appear that the former was largely copied from the latter, for some of the curious twists of expression correspond

* *Burleigh and His Times*, iii., 379.

more closely than can be explained by accident. Here is an instructive instance.

CONQUEST OF IRELAND.

Wyllam sawe Remond with so many and so fayr younglyngis bylade, and Meyler and othir knyghtes of his kyne, fayr and ryche, wepnyd of o manner wepyne, well 30, uppon ful fayr hors, sheldis aboute har nekkis, and speris yn hande, playyng togadddris into al the feldis.

BOOK OF HOWTH.

William saw Raymond with so many fair younglings be-lead, and beheld Meyler and other knights of his kin, fair and richly weaponed, and every kind weaponed well strongly, upon full fair horses, shields about their necks, and spears in hand, playing together in all the fields.

But, on looking more closely we discover important, though minute, discrepancies. Thus, of Aldelm's son,

CONQUEST OF IRELAND.

Of fayre speche, softe, fals, trechour, feynte and envyous dronk. John de Courcy sawe that al thyng that Wylyame lewe and lecherer dyde was covetise and trechery (p. 303).

BOOK OF HOWTH.

Of fair speech, soft, and full of treason, and envious, drunken, lewd and lecherous. John de Courcy saw that all things that William did, that was covetous treachery (p. 80).

On comparing these passages with the original, we see that the writer of the *Conquest* had transposed the words "lewe and lecherer," and that this error has been avoided in *The Book of Howth*. Again, a few lines lower down, we read in the former that John de Courcy invaded Ulster with "30 knyghtis," while the latter assigns him "two and 20 knights," that being the number given by Giraldus. Clearly then the writer of *The Book of Howth* did not copy from Bray, or he would have repeated Bray's errors. What then is the inference? Obviously that both these writers copied from the same English version, which version must thus have been older than Bray's work. Thus, they would both reproduce its archaisms, though the writer of *The Book of Howth* found it needful in his day to modernise the narrative more than Bray had done. Close analysis will afford us a singular proof that this theory is the correct one. The writer of *The Book of Howth*, though, perhaps, a more conscientious transcriber than Bray, lived at a period more remote from the date of the MS. from which they both copied. Expressions and, it may be, handwritings, which

were intelligible to Bray were less clear to him. Thus, in the passage I have already quoted, he must have blindly followed the original manuscript, without being able to make sense of it, or to detect his errors of transcription. I append the two versions, together with the original passage in Giraldus.

GIRALDUS.
tam pulchrâ
juventute . . .
in equis pulcher-
rimis, clipeis as-
sumptis unius
armataræ, cir-
citer triginta.

THE CON-
QUEST.
fayr and ryche,
wepnyd of o
manner wepyne,
well 30, uppon
ful fayr hors.

BOOK OF
HOWTH.
fair and richly
weaponed, and
every kind wea-
poned well
strongly, upon
full fair horses.

Here Bray's "wepnyd of o[ne] manner wepyne, well 30," accurately renders Giraldus, while the later copyist is all at sea. I have little doubt that in the version from which they both copied, "circular triginta" was rendered "well thirty," which was misread, as above, by the Elizabethan transcriber, "well strongly." The important conclusion to be drawn from these signs is that the writer made no use of Giraldus in the original, even when the English translation was obscure to him. Again, in another part of the narrative:—

CONQUEST OF IRELAND.

Mayster Geraud ne tellith no ferdir of the Conquest. But of the lette wherfor the land was clenliche i conqueryd, ne the pepyl fully brought in theudome, he tellith such resonys. Thay that fruste come haddyn fullwell y spede, without any lette, yef the Kyng ne hade so hastily y send and comandyd that no man should to hame come (p. 312).

BOOK OF HOWTH.

Master Gerald telleth no further of the conquest, but of the let where through the land was not clearly conquered and brought unto peace. He telleth of those that had first come hither to conquest full well sped, if the King had not so soon sent them away, and forbade that no man should have come more to Ireland (p. 101).

Here the later copyist is again confused. This passage has a special value, because its opening words are quoted by Professor Brewer (p. xxiii.) as a characteristic interpolation of Bray's, whereas, from their occurring also, as we see, in *The Book of Howth*, they must have been in the original translation, from which both writers copied. The same observation holds good of the other and longer passage quoted on p. xxiii.

Nor is this all. The interpolation quoted above, which was attributed by Professor

Brewer to Bray's hand, is also found in the still earlier MS. at Trinity College (E. 3, 31), its form there being as follows:—

Mayster Geraud ne telleth no forther of the Conquest, bot of the lette wherthrogth the lond was clenlyeh i conquered, ne the folk fully i brought in . . . he telleth such reasons.*

It was consequently common to all three versions.

What, then, was the character of this earlier version, of which the existence, I contend, is indisputable from the evidence of both the chronicles? Was it the "still earlier version" (as Professor Brewer terms it), the Trinity College MS., E. 3, 31? I think not, for the same reason that prevents us from looking on the *The Book of Howth* as copied from the *Conquest of Ireland*, viz., that there are slips to be detected in the Trinity MS. which are not found in the *Conquest of Ireland*. Thus, in the first few lines, the former reads, "regned in England *well, and* heighe man," while the latter correctly gives "regned in England *was an* hye man." Again, a few lines further on, "as men *telled of*" is given by Bray "as men *tellithe ofte*," and Professor Brewer (p. xxii.) gives a striking instance of words which are omitted by the Trinity MS. being duly given by Bray. It is quite clear then that the common version must have been older—possibly, from the language, a good deal older—than either.

According to Professor Brewer:—

In the fifth volume of the works of Giraldus Cambrensis, edited by Mr. Dimock, a long extract will be found of a still earlier version than either that of *The Book of Howth* or this of Thomas Bray; though, so far as I can judge from the specimen given by Mr. Dimock, less accurate than Bray's, or else printed from an inaccurate manuscript. Both are identical in substance, and Bray follows closely this earlier version, only modernizing an expression here and there . . . Mr. Dimock has given this specimen from a MS. preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, under the notion that it was an early English translation of the *Expugnatio* of Giraldus Cambrensis; and such was the general impression.† But a very slight comparison

of this English version with the Latin text of Giraldus, will at once convince the reader that this is an error, and that what Mr. Dimock and others have supposed to be an early English translation of Giraldus is nothing more than a translation of the Latin chronicle, once in O'Neil's possession, which Carew calls *The Conquest of Ireland*, written by Thomas Bray.

This can all be traced to the fundamental error of assuming that the "book" translated by Dowdall was a chronicle treating of the Conquest of Ireland, whereas its contents, as we shall see, can at once be separated from the narrative of the conquest, which itself is taken from Giraldus, and in no way from Dowdall's Chronicle. This, indeed, would be evident from the very language of the narrative, which no one translating from the Latin in 1551 could have dreamed of using; and also, as we have seen, from a comparison with Bray. Professor Brewer tried to dispose of the former difficulty by speaking of his supposed chronicle as

that which Dowdall is said to have translated from the Latin original . . . and which is there said to have been written in Latin, and to have belonged to O'Neil.

But is it allowable, in order to bolster up a theory, thus to cast wanton doubt on a definite contemporary statement? We shall find, on investigation, that the writer is quite consistent throughout.

That the original version from which these writers copied *was* an early translation from the *Expugnatio* is rendered certain by such passages as the rhetorical outburst on the Geraldines (pp. 79, 302), which is taken direct from Giraldus, and by the often minutely close translation. Thus Giraldus tells * how Merlin had prophesied that a knight should come "aves in clipeo gerens," but specialises the birds on De Courcy's shield as *aquilas*.†

On turning to *The Book of Howth* we find that the editors here read "herons" (p. 81), but the seeming discrepancy with the "aqui-

* Hardy's *Catalogue of Materials*, vol. ii., 465.

† It is only fair to observe that Mr. Dimock's words were, "I am scarcely right, however, in calling this a translation. . . . It seems rather a paraphrase of such portions of the treatise as the writer, no doubt an Anglo-Hibernian, deemed most worthy of the notice of Anglo-Hibernian readers." And Hardy expressly states, that "Mr. W. M. Hennessy, to whom I am indebted for an account of

the two MSS. here mentioned, is of opinion, that, although this may be a version of Giraldus' work, yet it is not an actual translation."

* *Expugnatio*, Chap. xvii.

† I here merely note the importance of this passage as bearing on the rise of Heraldry. Its evidence as to the then widespread "prophecies of Merlin" cannot be discussed in a foot-note.

las" of the *Expugnatio* is explained by these scholars' ignorance of Heraldry, for the word in the MS. is "ernys," and "erne" was heraldic for eagle.*

That the original English version was a translation from the *Expugnatio* is therefore beyond doubt. But we must not expect to find in it a merely mechanical translation. The mediæval translator would seem to have allowed himself the same license as the illuminator who adorned his text with original flourishes, or as the modern translator of a classical poem into English verse. At times we have a crabbed accuracy, at times a free rendering, and sometimes even a reference to Giraldus in the third person.† I hold that the subsequent copyists of this version, such as the writers of the two chronicles before us, made no further additions to this text, but confined themselves to modernising its obsolete expressions, though, at times, as if by accident, retaining them.‡

I may call attention to one special archaism, viz., "Wyllyam Aldemes sone," i.e. William Fitz Aldelm (the "Guillelmus Aldelini filius" of Giraldus, so strangely rendered "William Fitz Audeline" in the Rolls edition of his works). This form we may parallel from what is believed to be the first public document issued in English, viz., the proclamation of the *Provisions of Oxford* (1258). In this, "Johannes filius Galfridi" signs as "Joh' Geffrees sune." This, I think, is the first occurrence of such a form, and it does not seem to have remained long in use.

* Four MSS. of the *Expugnatio* read "aviculas," so that this translation was not made from any of these.

† Compare with this system, so alien to our own, the method employed by the adaptors of the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," and also that of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Though, practically, only a compiler and translator, he terms his work "opusculum meum," giving it the semblance of being such by interlarding it with his own pseudo-classical erudition. Notice, too, the adaptations of it by Gaimar and Wace on the one hand, and Layamon on the other, as illustrating the historical conscience of the middle ages.

‡ We must therefore receive with caution their philological evidence, though Professor Brewer speaks of *The Conquest* as "so interesting and curious a specimen of English as spoken in the Pale, and of so much importance to the philologist" (p. xxvii.); and though Mr. Earle speaks of the Trinity College MS. (E. 3, 31), as "a truly interesting specimen of fifteenth century Hibernian English."

Recent Antiquarian Discoveries on the Continent.

DURING the progress of the works connected with the extension of the municipal boundaries of Cologne, various objects of antiquarian interest have from time to time been discovered. Amongst these may be named five coffins of Roman origin, some of which were in relatively good condition. In one of them was a richly ornamented flask, of Grecian shape, as well as a large amber ring, and other articles of an ornamental character. Other Rhenish districts have also contributed to the number of recent discoveries. At Remagen several Roman graves were discovered last year, in which were skeletons, supposed to be those of Roman warriors who had fallen in one of the battles fought in the neighbourhood.

During last September a sarcophagus of yellow sandstone, with a lid of red sandstone, was discovered at Mayence. The difference in colour between these two portions has been considered to indicate the fact that the lid was not originally made for the sarcophagus. The inscription is in excellent preservation; and the letters of which it is formed are quadratic in their character. It runs as follows (no abbreviations being employed in it):—

MEMORIAE. AETERNITATIS. QVINTIAE.
QVINTIAE. FESTI. VICTOR. ET. QVINTI
NOS. FILI. MATRI. DVLCISSIMAE. FAC(I)
VNDVM. CVRARVNT.

In the same district, on the banks of the Rhine, a bronze statuette of Mercury has been found, as well as a scabbard with the inscription:

LEG. XXII. PRIMI.

The last word is understood to refer to the title *Primigenia*, by which the 22nd legion was known, in addition to those of *Pia* and *Fidelis*. This legion was stationed in Upper Germania between the years A.D. 43 and 69, and subsequently from the year 91 until towards the close of the Roman empire. Both these interesting objects have been sold to private collectors.

A numismatic discovery of unusual importance is reported to have been made during last winter at Bratzenheim near Mayence, by an agricultural proprietor. It consists of a roughly-shaped vessel, enclosing 1,005 gold coins of various dates, between the years 1340 and 1390; this period corresponding, as has been stated, with the first coinage of gold in Germany. The collection includes specimens of all the national and municipal gold coins then extant, ranging in locality from Lübeck to Florence.

The finding of some ancient Christian inscriptions in the foundations of the old church of St. Peter at Mayence, has tended to increase the store of philological knowledge in connection with the district in which they were discovered, by reason of their strange construction, and the employment of three Germanic names, hitherto apparently not met with,—*Adalhar*, *Radelindis*, and *Dructacharius*. There are said to be several inscriptions of a like character in the Mid-Rhenish provinces, notably at Wiesbaden and Worms.

In the last-named place, the Antiquarian Society has of late distinguished itself by its activity in carrying out excavations in the immediate vicinity of the city at Maria-Münster, where a Roman burying-ground has been subjected to a thorough investigation. It extends over a space of about 650 feet by 10 feet. In the course of the researches it was demonstrated with clearness that some of the interments had been made at a distinctly earlier period than others; and the gradual diminution in the richness of the incidental surroundings has been considered as illustrating the impoverishing effects of wars, and the more general spread of the doctrines and sentiments of Christianity. The mode of sepulture was found to present several marked differences, including, according to published accounts, cremation, as well as interment in stone or wooden coffins. Some of the latter were still in existence, but fell to pieces when attempts were made to remove them for their better preservation. The separate objects discovered are said to have been numerous, consisting, for the greater part, of various domestic utensils and vessels. The opening of funeral-mounds at Gernsheim has led to the discovery of a number of

stone implements, etc.; and the investigations of Frankish graves at Bielesheim and Gross-Umstadt have also been productive of interesting discoveries of a primitive type.

At Winterbeck, near Treves, several portions of sandstone figures were discovered last autumn in immediate proximity to the old Roman road. In conjunction with other objects found, these figures are supposed to indicate that a temple or monument was at one time situated at the spot in question. The demolition of an ancient church at Bonn was recently the means of bringing to light three Roman inscriptions, referring to the completion of a building by L. Calpurnius Proclus. In the Atzweiler district a gold ring was some time ago discovered, which bore the inscription *Constantino fidem*. Dr. Schneider, of Mayence, is of opinion that this ring—as well as others found in Normandy and elsewhere—is one of those presented by the Emperor Constantine to exalted personages as gifts of honour.

The Historical Society of the Grand Duchy of Hesse has recently been carrying out extensive investigations at Lorsch, with reference to the ancient monastery situated at that place, the foundation of which dates back to the eighth century. Its history is connected with more than one occurrence of interest, it having been the home—during his banishment—of Thassilo, Duke of Bavaria, and the last resting-place of the Empress Kunigunde, as well as of other imperial and royal personages. Tradition describes it as the burying-place of Ute, the mother of Chriemhild, and also relates that the heroic Siegfried was interred within its precincts. The monastery was not always in its present situation, having been built in 763 on an island in the vicinity, and transferred in 774 to its actual site. The original building is said to have lasted for many years after the new one was erected, being known as the “old minster.” The immediate object of the investigations recently undertaken has been the elucidation of the facts connected with the rebuilding of the older structure under Abbot Ulrich (1056—1076). From an examination of the earlier foundations it would seem that the original building had been destroyed by fire. In the same town a Roman altar has been discovered,

two sides of which contain visible traces of relief ornamentation. On each of these sides is a representation of a god, and in one case a quiver can be noticed as being borne on his back. This interesting relic was in use as the lower part of a doorpost, and arrangements have been made for its acquisition by the above-mentioned Society. In connection with these researches a numismatic discovery of interest has also been made. It consists of a coin about $\frac{5}{8}$ inch in diameter, bearing on one side the crowned effigy of an emperor, holding in one hand a sceptre and in the other a tower. On the reverse side there is a church with a central dome and two side towers, each surmounted by a cross.

Various other parts of Germany have also recently witnessed discoveries of antiquarian interest. During the progress of the Berlin sewerage works a leaden medallion was found, which, on examination, proved to be a seal from a bull of Pope Clement V. On one side is the inscription "Clemens, P.P.V.;" on the other are representations of St. Peter and St. Paul. It is remarked that this relic dates from the time when the popes were enthroned in exile at Avignon, whither the above pontiff went in 1305. At Vetttersfelde, in the Lausitz district, a peasant, while cultivating his farm, discovered what is considered to have been the entire set of ornamental armour appertaining to a warrior of rank. One of the principal objects discovered has, however, not been easy to classify. It consists of a golden fish, about the size of a carp, richly ornamented. From its inconvenient size, and from the fact of objects for that purpose having also been found, it is considered unlikely that it was intended for a breast ornament. The shield is richly adorned with allegorical devices. The entire discovery has been placed in the Berlin Antiquarian Museum, and the opinions which have been published respecting it are, to some extent, founded upon the analogy which it presents to objects found on the northern shores of the Black Sea. It has been remarked that Greek artificers at one time settled amongst the barbarous tribes which inhabited that district, and thus brought with them ideas of artistic ornament, to some extent Oriental in their character. The most recent date assigned to the articles has been the

century immediately before the Christian era, but the opinion has likewise been expressed that they have come down from a more remote period of antiquity. The researches of Herr Dieffenbach at Nauheim, in Upper Hesse, have been rewarded with the discovery of various objects, which have been placed in the Frankfurt Museum. A burying-ground was traced by him for 600 feet, and the opinion has been expressed by competent authorities that there must have been a Germanic settlement at this spot. The fact of several Roman objects having been discovered is supposed to indicate that the settlement in question must have been in existence about the time of the first occupation of the district by the Romans, or shortly after that period.

With respect to other European countries, several discoveries of interest have taken place in France, Belgium, and Italy. Amongst these may be noticed the bronze statue which has come to light at Mandeure. The statue has been considered by some to represent Jupiter, and by others Neptune, and it is admitted by those who have seen it that it is one of the best specimens of its kind as yet discovered in France. At Angleur, near Liege, a workman who was making some excavations came across about twenty antique bronzes, at a depth of about twenty to twenty-four inches. The subjects treated in these statuettes are various, and they are reported to be in a good state of preservation, as well as being covered with excellent *patina*. Some of them present features of similarity to Pompeian bronzes, and are considered to have been imported from Italy, while others were evidently made in the country itself. From the fact of several pipes having also been found, it is inferred that these statuettes were used in the decoration of a fountain at a Roman villa. It is remarked that these are the first Roman remains which have been discovered in the exact locality referred to.

An ancient Roman water-course was lately discovered at Naples, which is apparently one of the most extensive works of its kind which have lately come to light. It contains several inscriptions, in letters six to eight inches in height, which have been deciphered by Signor Minervini and Signor Avena. We give the inscriptions exactly as they have reached us, without attempting to test their accuracy:—

MACRINVS . DIADVMINI . AVG. (usti)
L(iberti). PROC(uratoris). ANTONIANI DISP(ensator), HIC . AMBVLAUIT. — NIIRVA — IIT.
VIISTINO . COS . PR . IDVS . IANVIARIAS.

Macrinus . Diadumeni . Aug(usti) . L(iberti).
Proc(uratoris) . Antoniani . Disp(ensator) . Hic .
Ambulavit . A . VILLA . POLLI . FILICIS .
QVAII . IIST . IIPILIMONIIS . VSQVII .
AD . IIMISSARIVM . PACONIANVM .
NIIRVA . IIT . VIISTINO . COS.

Various marks are also to be seen, which, in part, indicate figures, such as

C. CC. CCC. CCCC. D., etc.

As the distance between them is $96\frac{3}{4}$ English feet, equal (according to Herr Bassel) to 100 Roman feet, it is supposed that these marks refer to the progress of the work, and the payments to be made to the workmen for the portion executed.

A Hun's grave was brought to light recently at Sommerstedt by a peasant while ploughing. The explorations since made have shown that the walls were composed of four irregular blocks. On the walls rested a large piece of granite with a level surface. In the grave were found a bronze sword, a runic staff, a ring, two buckles, some bones, and several pieces of charcoal. No traces of a funeral urn were met with.

A correspondent of the *Hamburger Nachrichten*, writing from Cairo, alludes to the finding of the tombs of the Abassides, in a satisfactory condition of preservation. The discovery seems to have been made during the repairs of a mosque. The inscriptions are legible, and this relic of the ancient history of Egypt will doubtless prove of special interest when fully examined.

At Klazomena (Asia Minor) two archaic sarcophagi of pottery-ware have been discovered, which, from their painting and general features, are deserving of special mention. Some of the figures represented differ from the style of ornamentation hitherto met with in similar instances, while others correspond with the painted work of a like character discovered in Corneto and elsewhere. Lions tearing their prey to pieces, sphinxes, warriors, etc., are amongst the objects represented.

In the Piræus there have recently been discovered several interesting grave-stones, and also a statuette of Athena, which, unfortunately, is imperfect in condition. Its

subject is, however, to be recognized by the ægis on the breast and by the traces of the shield which still remain. The goddess is represented as standing on the right foot, and is clothed in a chiton, reaching to the feet, as well as a diplois, which covers the figure as far as the hips.

The German Government has devoted a sum of money to the continuation of researches at Pergamum. The explorations now in contemplation are expected to last a year, and will serve to elucidate many points which the previous excavations have raised. Special attention will be given to searching for reliefs of large altars, and it is hoped that fragments may be met with which will serve to complete the imperfect friezes now in the Berlin Museum. The direction of this enterprise has been confided to Herr Richard Bohn, to whose energy in previous explorations the discovery of the *Athena* temple is said to be due. He has been at Pergamum since the beginning of May. Dr. Carl Humann is now on the way to Kurdistan in order to make more detailed researches as to the monument of King Antiochus at Nimrud-Dagh.

The city of Barcelona has officially announced the opening of a competition for a prize work on the Archæology of Spain. The treatises may be in Latin, Castilian, Catalanian, French, Italian, or Portuguese. The date fixed for the competition is sufficiently distant to allow of careful study being made by any one who is disposed to take part in it. The works must be sent in by October 23rd, 1886, and the decision will be announced six months later. According to the *Cologne Gazette*, the prize amounts to 20,000 pesetos.



Reviews.

Ancient Marbles in Great Britain. Described by ADOLF MICHAELIS, Ph.D., Professor of Classical Archæology in the University of Strasbourg. Translated from the German by C. A. M. FENNELL, M.A. (Cambridge: University Press, 1882.) Royal 8vo.



"ANCIENT MARBLES" here mean relics of Greek and Roman origin which have been imported into Great Britain from classical soil. How rich this island is in respect to these remains of ancient art, every one

knows, but it is equally well known that these treasures had been most inadequately described before the author of this work undertook the labour of description. Professor Michaelis has achieved so high a fame as an authority in classical archaeology that it seems unnecessary to say how good a book this is. The student of course knows the matchless collection at the British Museum, but even this cannot content him, for he naturally wishes to know the whereabouts of all the remains of ancient art, and as these are spread about the country in various private collections he was left pretty much without a guide until Professor Michaelis took the work in hand. M. Bürger says: "England is to works of art what the grave is to the dead; her gates do not open again to let them out." Coupling this



FIG. 1.

expression of opinion with Professor Michaelis's own remark, that "no other country in Europe can at this day boast of such a wealth of private collections of antique works of art as England, which in this particular recalls the Rome of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," it need not surprise us that a foreigner should undertake the labour of cataloguing our treasures.

Among the private collections the most important are those at Deepdene, Holkham Hall, Ince Blundell Hall, Lansdowne House, Wilton House, and Woburn Abbey. At Holkham is the beautiful bust which Professor Michaelis discovered to be that of Thucydides, and which we have figured in a former volume. The Ince Blundell collection is exceedingly fine, and was brought together by Henry Blundell at the end of the last century. Fig. 1 is an archaic relief in Parian marble of a man sitting on a throne, possibly intended for Zeus; but as there is no attribute this can be nothing more than conjecture. Fig. 2, a relief representing a centaur in Pentelic marble,

although somewhat clumsy, is of considerable interest. It is supposed to be the production of an Attic workman of the fifth century B.C.

The magnificent collection of marbles at Wilton House grew out of the purchase by the Earl of Pembroke of busts from the gallery of Arundel House. The votive relief to Zeus (fig. 3) is archaic, and Professor Michaelis supposes the whole treatment to indicate Doric art. There has been considerable dispute respecting the inscription, but there seems to be little doubt that it is a forgery.

The introduction, which treats of the influx of antique sculptures into Great Britain, is divided under three headings: 1, the Arundel marbles and other early collections; 2, the golden age of classic dilettanteism; 3, the British Museum and the private collections. It is full of interest, and traces the



FIG. 2.

history of the various collections from the seventeenth century. The description of the acquisition of the Elgin marbles is full, and while Payne Knight's stupid opposition is censured, due honour is given to West, Haydyn and others who enthusiastically asserted their artistic importance. When Visconti and Canova gave their opinion, Knight's followers began to fall away from him, and the value of the marbles was acknowledged. Professor Michaelis has found an excellent translator in Mr. Fennell, and the University Press has done its part in the production of a very handsome as well as a very important volume.

Scotland in Pagan Times; The Iron Age; The Rhind Lectures in Archaeology for 1881. By JOSEPH ANDERSON, LL.D. (Edinburgh, 1883: David Douglas.) 8vo., pp. xx. 314.

To welcome another volume of the *Rhind Lectures* is a task we are only too pleased to perform. Already, as our readers know, Dr. Anderson has placed before students two splendid volumes dealing with Scotland

in early Christian times, and now we have the volume dealing with Pagan times. The appeal thus made to archaeological sympathies is a strong one indeed, and it makes us still more regret that want of activity in Southern Britain which leaves it entirely destitute of such endowments as the Rhind lectureship. Dr. Anderson takes us, in the present volume, over a wide field, and yet he does not pretend to cover the whole area taken up by the Pagan times of Scotland. He deals with Christian and Pagan burials, Viking burials, Northern burials and hoards, the Celtic art of the Pagan period, the architecture of the brocks, the brocks and their contents, lake-dwellings, hill forts, and earth houses.

Dr. Anderson's strong point is the classificatory system (if we may borrow this term) he adopts with reference to his several groups of archaeological finds.

He is not content to say that this or that object was discovered in this or that grave, or that certain dwellings have been discovered in lakes and under the ground over which the plough has often travelled. He gives us plenty of detail, ample measurements, full descriptions of structural forms; but he does so with clear and definite objects before him. All these details are to be classified, and it is then that they com-

mence to tell their true story to the archaeological scientist. They are pagan, but they are something more than this. They are pre-Christian, and that in a sense not so much antagonistic as undeveloped. And then being Pagan, being undeveloped types of later forms of art or of culture, there are various characteristics which allow the close observer to trace all along the line, from the rudest possible forms, the gradual development of native art and social progress. This is a work which may commend itself alike to the student of early man and to the antiquary who loves all these things for themselves alone.

We cannot, of course, take up so important a work and deal with it in detail. Its scope is too extensive for our space, and really the best and most practical criticism of such a book is to state at once that it is worthy of being placed by the side of our best antiquarian treasures. All Scotsmen would of course possess it, but its archaeological value extends far beyond the local limits of its subject. Take, for

instance, the extremely rich subject of burial mounds and their contents. We have here described and figured clay vases, swords, boss and handle, handle of shield, spear heads and axe heads, ferules, bronze plaque, adze and hammer, forge, tongs, and handle of pot, saucepan, brooches, hairpin, beads, and such like distinctive objects, all found in viking graves at Ballinaby, in the island of Islay, discovered by Mr. William Campbell in 1878. Group these as Mr. Anderson has grouped them, compare them with other viking objects, and it will at once be seen that the light thrown upon old viking life is brilliant indeed, and well worth attention from the student of the historic as well as the pre-historic past. One of the graves was the grave of a man, and the other that of a woman—one was buried with his arms and imple-

ments, the other with her personal ornaments and housewife's gear. And what is the story they tell us? "They speak," as Dr. Anderson says, of old viking faith in warfare beyond the grave, when the sword and the tools would be wanted as on earth"; and when we get thus far we may piece in the picture from other sources of viking history, and we know tolerably well what was going on in this northern island of Scotland when this great warrior was laid low, and then



FIG. 3.

placed in his warrior's grave. Then let us turn to the earth-houses, perhaps one of the most curious of the subjects dealt with in this deeply interesting book. These structures present the form of a long, narrow gallery, entered by a low and narrow aperture nearly on a level with the surface, widening and deepening from the entrance inwards, and turning in a certain amount of curvature. They range in area from Berwickshire to the north coast of Sunderland. Distinctively low in architectural effort, Dr. Anderson sees in them, together with his elaborate and exhaustive treatment of Celtic art treasures, sufficient evidence of Celtic art and culture to claim for it that it touches upon the culture and civilization of Rome. It does not merge into that of Rome, he is careful to point out, but it leads us up to a period that is historic, and thus the great function of archaeology is efficiently performed. We cannot close our review of this book without recording our appreciation of the excellent printing, paper, and illustrations, which latter number nearly three hundred in all.

Some London Theatres — Past and Present. By MICHAEL WILLIAMS. (London, 1883: Sampson Low & Co.) 8vo., pp. 215.

This is always an interesting subject, albeit so much has been written upon it. Mr. Williams tells us, pleasantly enough, the story of old Sadler's Wells, something about Old Highbury barn, the drama in Norton Folgate, the drama in Portman Market, and three Lyceums. We meet with old names not yet dead in the recollection of play-goers, and with new names, such as Henry Irving, which are known to all play-goers of modern days. Mr. Williams deals for the most part with facts he knows, and his book is all the more acceptable as a contemporary record. We should judge that it will find a welcome among those who are fond of knowing the forerunning of what they themselves enjoy.

Shropshire Folk-Lore: A Sheaf of Gleanings. Edited by CHARLOTTE SOPHIA BURNE, from the collections of GEORGINA F. JACKSON. Part I. (London: Trübner & Co., 1883.) 8vo., pp. xiv., 146.

The spread of an intelligent interest in the subject of Folk-Lore is worthy of special remark, more particularly as the information now being gathered in is not merely obtained from printed sources but from the highways of our land. Most of us had made up our minds that now "the Schoolmaster is abroad," no more original stories were to be learnt. Professor George Stephens combated this idea in these pages, and expressed his opinion that if collectors went the right way to work, they might still obtain much fresh matter. The book before us is a significant proof that he was right. Miss Jackson, while collecting materials for her "Shropshire Word Book," gathered from intercourse with the Shropshire peasantry a mass of old-world stories, and therefore projected a companion book on *Folk-lore*. Ill-health prevented her from carrying out her intention, and she handed her notes to Miss Burne, who has written the valuable book of which the first part has just appeared. The contents are as follows:—Legends and Traditions concerning Giants and Devils, Popular Heroes, Wild Edric, Will-o'-the-Wisp, The White Cow of Mitchell's Fold, Bogies, Fairies, Meres and Pools, Hidden Treasures, Names and Places, Concerning Ghosts, Witchcraft, Charming and Divination. We can promise a rich treat to those who obtain this work, for there is a delightful freshness about all it contains.

A Complete Account, illustrated by measured drawings, of the Buildings erected in Northamptonshire by Sir Thomas Tresham between the years 1575 and 1605, together with many particulars concerning the Tresham family and their home at Rushton. By J. ALFRED GOTCH, Architect. (Northampton: Taylor & Son; London: B. T. Batsford, 1883.) Folio.

Sir Thomas Tresham, the father of the unfortunate Sir Francis Tresham, who took part in the Gunpowder Plot, had a hobby, and that hobby was architecture. He was knighted by Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth, but at a time when he was engaged in building, he

was fined and imprisoned for the crime of being a Roman Catholic. The buildings, which are very fully described in this handsome volume, are Rothwell Market-place, the Triangular Lodge and Lyveden old and new buildings; and the architect whom Tresham appears to have employed was the famous John Thorpe, who was largely occupied in Northamptonshire upon the three magnificent houses of Kirby, Holdenby, and Burghley. After an impartial investigation, Mr. Gotch finds himself obliged to remove the knight's name from the roll of architects of the sixteenth century, but at the same time he thinks that Tresham's hand is to be seen in the buildings, and that to him they owe their individuality. The date of the Market-place is between 1575 and 1580, and it still remains in the same unfinished state in which it was left when its builder was sent to the Fleet prison. The lower floor was intended as an open market hall, the upper probably as a town hall. In 1878, on the occasion of the visit of the Royal Archæological Institute, it was suggested that the building should be completed for the purpose of a Public Reading Room. It is a fine specimen of Elizabethan architecture, full of detail to delight the eye of the artist. There are a long inscription and ninety shields of arms on the outer walls.

The Triangular Lodge is a freak in stone, and the idea that runs through the whole building is the number three. Each of the three sides has three windows on each floor; on the basement and ground floors all the windows are alike, but on the upper floor every window is different. It is covered with emblems, inscriptions, and numbers, the meaning of which has not yet been solved.

Lyveden New Building is surrounded on all sides except the north with woods, and is invisible from any road or public way, and it always has been a ruin,—a ruin, however, more beautiful in its proportions than many a perfect work.

These buildings are the pride of Northamptonshire for their beauty, and are also of great interest from their association with a worthy Englishman who suffered much for conscience' sake. We have been able to give but the barest idea of the contents of this volume, which has been produced with a lavish expenditure of taste and labour that is not often devoted to books nowadays. It is profusely illustrated with between thirty and forty fine plates, which completely explain all the parts of the buildings. The letterpress is beautifully printed, and does great credit to its Northampton publisher.

The Bibliography of James Maidment, Esq., Advocate, Edinburgh, from the Year 1817 to 1878. Drawn up by THOMAS GEORGE STEVENSON. (Edinburgh: Printed for private circulation, 1883.) 8vo (with portrait).

Mr. Maidment was a sound antiquary, who published during a period of sixty years a large number of valuable works. Most of these were printed in small numbers, and without the name of their compiler, so that a bibliography of them is much required. Mr. Stevenson, the veteran antiquarian bookseller of Edinburgh, has produced such an annotated catalogue, which will be highly appreciated by all true anti-

quaries and bibliographers. Mr. Maidment, on the death of Mr. Riddell, took rank as the chief of those who studied questions of Peerage Law, and he became at once the first advocate in Scotland in cases involving genealogical inquiries. In 1840 he printed a collection of reports on claims preferred to the House of Lords in the cases of the Cassilis, Sutherland, Spynie, and Glencairn (1760-97); but his attention was not entirely devoted to these matters, for he found time to issue a considerable number of books of ballads and songs. An interesting account of the sale of the Maidment Collection is added to this very useful and satisfactory volume.

The Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers.
By CHARLES ROBERT RIVINGTON, Clerk of the Company. (Westminster: Printed by Nichols and Sons. 1883.)

This is a print of a particularly interesting paper read by Mr. Rivington to the members of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society in December 1881. It contains a considerable amount of valuable information respecting the city company whose history is very intimately bound up with the history of English literature. There is also a full list of the Masters of the Company, and two engravings of the Court Room and the Stock Room, Stationer's Hall, have been added.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

METROPOLITAN.

Society of Antiquaries.—May 10.—The Earl of Carnarvon, President, in the chair.—Mr. G. W. G. Leveson Gower exhibited six interesting panels of oak, of the time of Henry VIII., bearing the Gresham motto of "Fiat Voluntas Tua," which came from Titsey Place. Mr. Leveson Gower also communicated some "Notes on a Roman Building at Chiddingfold, near Godalming."—Mr. E. Freshfield exhibited what appeared to be a pair of lamp-snuffers found at Queenhithe.—Mr. W. Galloway laid before the Society a paper on various objects of interest (which he exhibited) found in a Viking's grave in the Isle of Colonsay, together with notes of three cists of the neolithic period in the same island.

May 24.—Mr. H. S. Milman, Director, in the chair.—The Rev. F. Creeny exhibited a splendid collection of twenty-eight rubbings of foreign brasses. The earliest in date was from the church of St. Andrew at Verden, near Bremen.—Mr. Butler exhibited a pre-Reformation chalice, with three dogs for feet, from Marston, near Oxford.

May 31.—Mr. C. S. Perceval, Treasurer, in the chair.—The Report of Mr. Ferguson, local secretary for Cumberland, was read, giving an account of Roman altars found in Carlisle dedicated to the

Matres Parcae and the *Deae Matres*, and of a gold coin of Vespasian found in the Market Place. Mr. Ferguson exhibited a cylindrical chalice case of *cuir bouilli*, from Uldale church, which is mentioned in Bishop Nicholson's Visitation of the Diocese. For the last thirty years it has been used for holding black lead.—Mr. Sharland, Vicar of Stow, near Kimbolton, exhibited a pre-Reformation paten, with the face of Christ in the centre, bearing the hall-mark for the year 1491-92.—A vase of coarse pottery was also exhibited by the Desborough Iron Stone Company, which was found at Thrapston, six feet below the surface of the ground, full of calcined bones.

Anthropological Institute.—April 24.—Prof. W. H. Flower, President, in the chair.—Mr. W. M. F. Petrie read a paper "On the Mechanical Methods of the Egyptians."—Mr. F. C. J. Spurrell read a paper "On some Palæolithic Knapping Tools and Modes of using them."

May 8.—Prof. W. H. Flower, President, in the chair.—Mr. F. Bonney read a paper "On some Customs of the Aborigines of the River Darling, New South Wales." The tribes with which the author was most familiar are called Bungy-arlee and Parkungi.—Lieut.-Col. H. H. Godwin-Austen read a paper "On the Discovery of some Worked Flints, Cores, and Flakes from Blackheath, near Chilworth, and Bramley, Surrey."—A paper by Admiral F. S. Tremlett was read "On Stone Circles in Brittany."

May 22.—Mr. Hyde Clarke, V.P., in the chair.—Mr. E. P. Rathbone exhibited and described a collection of ethnological objects from Bolivia.—Major H. W. Feilden read a paper "On Stone Implements from South Africa." The specimens exhibited form part of a collection made by the author in Natal, the Transvaal, and Zululand during the years 1881 and 1882. Out of the large number of worked stones and implements that have passed through the author's hands he had seen scarcely any with water-worn edges.—The Rev. C. T. Price read a paper, by the Rev. J. Sibree, "On Relics of the Sign and Gesture Language among the Malagasy."

Royal Asiatic Society.—April 30.—Sir Bartle Frere, President, in the chair.—The Rev. S. Beal read a paper on "Two Geographical Sites named by Hiouen Thsang in the Tenth Chapter of the *Si-yu-ki*."—M. La Couperie read a paper on "The Shifting of the Cardinal Points as an Illustration of the Chaldaeo-Babylonian Culture borrowed by the Early Chinese."

Numismatic.—May 17.—Dr. J. Evans, President, in the chair.—Mr. J. G. Hall exhibited a selection of mediæval coins of various countries with a seated figure for type.—Mr. J. W. Trist exhibited a medal struck in Holland in 1579, referring to the execution of Counts Egmont and Horn.—Mr. H. S. Gill exhibited a counterfeit sterling of William, Count of Namur.—Canon Pownall exhibited two medals of Pope Callixtus III., signed by an engraver G.P., thought by him to stand for G. Paladino. One of the medals recorded a naval victory over the Turks.—Sir H. Lefroy communicated an account of the discovery of a new denomination of the Bermuda hog-money, of the current value of threepence.—A paper by Sir H. Lefroy was also read on a curious expedient adopted in the early part of the present century in

New South Wales for making the Spanish dollar worth 4s. 2d. do duty for 6s. 3d. This was effected by punching out a disc from the centre, which passed for 1s. 3d., and boldly stamping 5s. on the annular portion left. These coins, popularly called "holey dollars," are now very scarce. Specimens both of the disc (inscribed FIFTEEN-PENCE) and of the outside ring (inscribed FIVE SHILLINGS) were exhibited by Mr. F. W. Pixley.—Mr. H. S. Gill read a paper on seventeenth-century tokens of Hampshire not described in Boyne's work.—Mr. E. H. Bunbury communicated a paper on the coins of the Seleucidæ.—Mr. B. V. Head gave an abstract of a paper by M. de LaCoupèrie on the date of the introduction into China of the abacus, or calculating board, called by the Chinese *swan-pan*.

British Archaeological Association.—May 16th.—Mr. T. Morgan in the chair.—A magnificent series of drawings was exhibited by Mr. H. Watling, for the most part facsimiles of paintings still remaining on various rood screens in Norfolk and Suffolk.—Mr. L. Brock exhibited a series of Roman pottery found in London, showing almost all the varying descriptions of fettle ware found in the metropolis, which are very numerous, brought from other parts of the country and from the Continent.—Mr. W. Henderson described a gold ring found on Flodden Field, having the peculiar chasings which have been noticed on other rings found on this site.—Mr. G. Dawson exhibited a fine bronze celt, found at Bo-peep, St. Leonard's.—Dr. Frier reported a great number of inscriptions on ancient bells in German churches, having many points of resemblance with similar examples in England.—The Rev. Mr. Worthington described his discovery and restoration of the fine early cross in the churchyard of St. Teath, Cornwall.—The first paper was by Dr. Davidson and Mr. W. De Gray Birch, on various unedited charters relating to Exeter Cathedral, St. Mary Crediton, St. Patrick Bodmin, and St. Germans, Cornwall. These are now exhibited in the museum at Exeter.—Mr. G. R. Wright described the ancient walls which have recently been discovered at Hollingbury, near Preston, Brighton, on land described in old deeds as "Annie of Cleeves' Land"; Roman pottery and other relics of the same date have been found with the walls.—An elaborate paper was then read by Mr. W. Henderson on the restoration of the ancient church of St. Mary, Ashford Carbonel.

Society of Biblical Archaeology.—June 5th.—Dr. S. Birch, president, in the chair.—The Rev. A. Löwy read a paper "On Underground Structures in Biblical Lands."

Philological Society.—Anniversary meeting, May 18th.—Dr. J. A. H. Murray, president, in the chair. After the election of officers for the year 1883-84, Dr. Murray gave his report on the state of the society's English dictionary. Finals were delivered to "alternate"; all "an-" was in type, and part of "an-"; the editor and his assistants were now working at about one-third through "an-."

Archæological Institute.—May 3rd.—Lieut.-Gen. Sir H. Lefroy in the chair.—The chairman read a paper on a collection of flint and stone weapons, pottery, and beads, from Honduras, which, he said, should be examined in connection with the history of that region of Central America as a whole (a region

that was once the seat of a great and powerful and civilized race), and not with special reference to the corner of it from which the objects happened to come.—Mr. E. Peacock sent some notes on a cast-iron firebasket formerly in Gainsborough Old Hall, bearing the arms of Hickman and Nevil of Muttersey, *circa* 1658.—Mr. C. Seidler communicated a list of Roman potters' marks from pottery found in Nantes and the neighbourhood, and a drawing of a gold twisted wire ring set with a small agate celt.—Mr. E. Wilmoit exhibited rubbings of the military brasses in Cobham church.—Mr. Thompson Watkin sent a rubbing of a Roman tombstone lately found at Chester which was printed in the *Academy* of May 5th.—Mrs. Kerr exhibited photographs of paintings in Etruscan tombs discovered at Bolsena, near Orvieto, and a model of an Etruscan tomb.—Mrs. Henley Jervis sent a New Testament and Common Prayer used by Charles I. at Carisbrooke.

PROVINCIAL.

Owen's College Geological Field Lectures.—May 9th.—An address introductory to the ninth series of field lectures in geology was delivered by Professor W. Boyd Dawkins. The lecturer said that the home excursions which had been arranged would be devoted to the examination of the mountain limestone of Miller's Dale, and to the history of the manner in which the ravines in the limestone of this country have been carried out by the action of the streams and by the operation of the carbonic acid in the rain water. These ravines, he pointed out, were merely ancient caves which had lost their roofs, and he mentioned that the cave out of which Miller's Dale has been carved still remains in the shape of Pool's Cavern at Buxton. With regard to the ancient toad stone of Derbyshire, it was simply lava poured out by volcanoes which open upon the bottom of the ancient sea in which the mountain limestone was being accumulated by the various animals, and it has been formed during long ages. In the expedition to Chapel-en-le-Frith, the gradual passage from the mountain limestone below into the Yoredale shales above would be studied. The home expedition would end on the classical ground of Windy Knoll, near Castleton. The distant expedition was aimed at the examination of the history of the later secondary rocks. The first meeting would take place at the British Museum, under the guidance of Dr. Woodward, when the strange reptilian life existing on the ancient land of the cretaceous age, flying in the air and living in the sea, would be studied. Afterwards, a study would be made of the rocks along the English Channel, from Hythe along by Folkestone and Dover.

Yorkshire Geological and Polytechnic Society.—May 9th.—The Rev. W. C. Lukis presided. The chairman said if the researches of the society's members were confined to the field of geology and mechanical science alone, important to the community at large and interesting to many, yet they would not satisfy and interest everybody. Under the further title of polytechnic much was included that might be thought outside the society's field of operations, but

which awakened the interest of our geologists. The tools and weapons of the primitive inhabitants of Yorkshire, and the materials with which they had been formed, the clothing which covered the people, whether manufactured out of woollen stuff or leather, the art of the primeval potter, the implements employed in agricultural or mining purposes, what grain and fruits of the earth were cultivated, what animals were bred, what were the horse trappings and chariots, what the design, materials, and fabrication of personal ornaments, of what kind were their dwelling-houses and fortresses, and even the materials and constructions of their coffins,—all these matters, which belonged to the domain of archæology, were yet legitimate branches of scientific study which no polytechnic society could fairly exclude. The explorations of antiquaries had been instrumental not only in bringing to light numerous articles of various kinds, which for honest purity of material, elegance of form and design, and excellence of workmanship, could not be excelled in the present day, but which, on being reproduced by our manufacturers, had found a ready sale, because the public eye had been captivated and public taste educated.—Mr. H. B. Hewetson, Leeds, then read a paper on “Shell Mounds at Spurn Point,” in the course of which he pointed out the immense inroad made by storms on Spurn Point.—The Rev. J. S. Tate, vicar of Markington, read a paper on “The Sequence of the Permian Rocks near Ripon,” of great interest.—Mr. Tate also read a paper on “Some Indications of a Raised Beach at Redcar.”

Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society.

—May 26th.—Professor W. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S., in the chair.—Mr. Henry Taylor read an elaborate paper on the history and architecture of Chetham Hospital, which he regarded as being for the most part of the time of Thomas La Warr, who founded the college in 1422 as a home for the clergy of the old parish church. In this building there were probably incorporated portions of the earlier one, which, under the name of Baron's Yard, formed a strong defensive structure well placed at the confluence of the Irk and the Irwell. The changes made in quite recent times somewhat obscured the appearance of a locality that had been admirably chosen for purposes of defence. Whitaker had conjectured that it stood on the site of a summer camp of the Roman garrison, but of this there was no evidence. The Baron's Hall, after its conversion, remained the residence of the clergy until 1547, when it was dissolved, and passed for a time into the hands of the Stanleys. It had been said that for a time it was used as the town house of the Earl of Derby, and his crest was found in one or two places. Mr. Taylor, by means of maps, plans, and drawings, explained the probable arrangement of the hospital and its successive alterations, some of which he was inclined to attribute to the period when it formed part of the Stanley estate. During the civil wars, it fell into a ruinous condition, and, although there was no documentary evidence to that effect, was probably considerably altered when it was bought by the feoffees of Humphrey Chetham.—The party then proceeded to the audit-room, where the Archdeacon called attention to the grotesque carved boss representing Saturn devouring a child. This the popular imagination had converted into a representation of the giant

Tarquin, who was said to have exacted a baby for breakfast each day from his oppressed vassals.—The contents of the reading-room and library were briefly described by Mr. J. E. Bailey.—In the small quadrangle adjoining the lower cloisters, Mr. Taylor pointed out the probable alteration of the entrance from the Great Hall, now concealed by the grand staircase, which was probably added by the Earl of Derby. In the kitchen, Mr. Taylor observed that they were not in the position usually assigned to such office in similar structures. It was doubtful whether there had been a gallery.—The party then adjourned to the back of the college, on the bank of the Irk, where the course of the river and the situation of the fortified structure were further explained.

Edinburgh Architectural Association.—May 17th.—Mr. M'Gibbon, president, in the chair.—Mr. R. Rowand Anderson read a paper entitled “Early Renaissance Architecture of Italy.” Giving an account of the causes that led to the great architectural movement at the beginning of the fifteenth century, he described the characteristics of the mediæval architecture of Italy that prevailed up to the commencement of the Renaissance, and showed that there was always a bias towards Roman art in it, and that the Italians never developed a consistent style of Gothic architecture, as was done by the other nations of Western Europe. The other causes were the political subdivision of Italy into numerous Republican centres, each keenly competing with one another, creating great independence of thought and individuality of character; the stimulus given to education by the Emperor Frederick II., and his contests with the Church; the enthusiasm for ancient learning of Petrarch, who was the first to suggest the foundation of public libraries. There was also his collection of coins and inscriptions, followed by the influence of Giovanni Boccaccio and Poggio Bracciolini, one of the greatest discoverers of ancient manuscripts; among others, the writings of Vitruvius Pollio, a Roman architect of the first century, whose writings on architecture have been the basis of all that has since been written on classic architecture. At the time the Medici family rose to eminence, Florence was the capital of culture and art in Italy, and that family gave the first great impulse to building in the new style.

May 31st.—A lecture on “Scottish Castles and Houses” was given by Mr. M'Gibbon, president. The lecturer described the styles of domestic architecture which prevailed in France and England up to the seventeenth century, and pointed out that in Scotland there were no Norman castles or domestic buildings, although churches in the Norman style were pretty numerous. The oldest existing Scottish castles were those of the thirteenth century, consisting of a great wall of enceinte, strengthened with towers at intervals, one of which, larger than the others, was called the donjon. Mr. M'Gibbon then referred to examples of these at Bothwell, Dirleton, Yester, Hailes, etc., of which plans, sketches, and photographs were shown. The war of independence, he stated, produced a great change in Scottish architecture, and, owing to the poverty of the land, large and imposing castles ceased to be built, the nobles contenting themselves with small towers, similar to the twelfth-century Norman towers of England. The finest of these keep-towers

were stated to be in Lochleven, Alloa, Clackmannan, Preston, and Borthwick. These keeps were often enlarged subsequently, so as to make them into castles surrounding a courtyard, some fine instances brought forward being Craigmillar, Castle Campbell, Crichton, and Kilchurn. About the same period—namely, the beginning of the fifteenth century—some castles were also designed and built on the plan of ranges of buildings surrounding a court-yard. Of these, Caerlaverock and Dirleton were rebuilt on the foundations of the old thirteenth century castles, and Doune seemed to have been an entirely new design. Tantallon was referred to as a fine specimen of this class, and as further interesting from the traces it exhibits of early attempts to construct castles and raise outer earthworks, so as to resist artillery.

Oswestry and Welshpool Naturalists' Field Club.—May 21st.—The second excursion for this year took place at Llanymynech. The party drove to Melverley, when the rector very kindly showed them the church. This quaint little edifice is probably almost unique, being built of wood and plaster. You enter into a sort of ante-chapel, over which is a gallery. The rest of the church is divided into two equal parts by a fine oak screen. There is a handsome old oak pulpit, and a very curious ancient font. There is also a rather curious epitaph on the south wall, dating about the middle of the last century. The party then crossed the Severn by the old railway bridge, and ascended Bausley Hill, on which the site of the old castle is quite evident, and they then climbed up Cefn-y-Castell, on the top of which is the well-defined outline of the camp from which it takes its name. They then came along the wooded side of Moel-y-Golfa to Buttington.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.—May 14th.—Professor Duns, D.D., in the chair.—The first paper was a notice of a representation of St. George, at Fordington, in Dorset, and of a similar representation, probably also of St. George, at Linton, in Roxburghshire, by Sir Molyneux Nepean, Bart. After referring to the history of St. George, and what was said of him prior to his becoming the patron saint of England, and describing the church of Fordington, which was dedicated to St. George and endowed with the Church of St. George at Dorchester, by Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury, in 1091, Sir Molyneux exhibited two sketches of the group of figures carried on the tympanum of the doorway. The first of these was from a drawing made about one hundred years ago, and the second from a photograph representing the sculptures as they now appear. The group represents an armed figure or knight on horseback, riding down and destroying the heathen. A nimbus surrounds the head of the rider, and a cross appears on the banderole of his lance. The figures of the conquered heathen are in conical helmets, with nasals. The style and treatment of the sculpture was curiously archaic, and there could be no doubt that it represented St. George, and was intended to symbolize the triumph of Christianity over Paganism. On the tympanum of the doorway of the church at Linton, in Roxburghshire, there is a curiously similar sculpture; the knight in this instance, however, is represented as slaying a monster. A sketch of this group also was exhibited, and for comparison with some of the representations on the

sculptured stones of Scotland, Sir Molyneux showed a drawing of an angel from the church of Hinton Parva, in Dorset—a very rude and early example of Saxon art.—In the second paper, Professor Duns brought before the society a number of characteristic specimens of the sculptured slabs found in the churchyards of the island of Mull, of which he exhibited rubbings along with full-sized drawings made by Mr. Thornton Shiells. Professor Duns also called attention to certain features of the decoration of these slabs, which probably exemplified the transition from the pure Celtic style to the degraded style of the West Highland slabs.—Mr. Symington Grieve, in the third paper, gave an elaborate account of the "crystal spring cavern in Colonsay," explored and previously partially described by him.—In the next paper, Rev. William Lockhart gave some notices of the early history of Colinton, in connection with the church of St. Cuthbert of Hala, by which name it was known when it first appears on record, somewhere about 1095. After referring to the grant of the church of St. Cuthbert to the church of the Holy Trinity at Dumfermline by Ethelred, second son of Malcolm Canmore, the author stated that it was now impossible to fix the exact date of the erection of the church at Hala, but Chalmers places its site on the spot now occupied by the mansion-house of Hailes. In the year 1226 the church was a rectory, and about this time there was a dispute between the church of St. Cuthbert at Hailes and the church of St. Cuthbert beneath the Castle of Edinburgh regarding the tithes of the Craigs of Gorgie, in which the Abbot of Lindores and the Prior of St. Andrew's were constituted umpires. Many other notices of the church occur in the chartulary of Dumfermline, and although no vestige of the structure itself now remains, it is interesting to trace the beginnings of the parish and the incidents of its pre-Reformation history from these old documents.—The last communication was a notice of the occurrence of a sepulchral chalice and paten of lead in a grave in Bervie churchyard, by Rev. J. Gammack. These articles were found in digging a grave near the south-east corner of the ruined old church, at a depth of five feet. The chalice had been standing on the paten, apparently with the mouth downwards. The practice of placing such sacerdotal insignia in the graves of ecclesiastics is well known, but in Scotland examples of the actual relics are scarcely known. The gift of this chalice and paten to the National Museum, which is due to the intelligent interest and kindness of Rev. John Brown, minister of Bervie, is an important contribution to a little known class of national relics. Two large and interesting collections from the lake dwellings at Buston, near Kilmaurs, and Lochspouts, near Kilkerran, Ayrshire, described by Dr. Munro in his recently published work on the lake dwellings of Scotland—the former presented to the National Museum by the Earl of Eglington, and the latter deposited by Sir James Fergusson, Bart., of Kilkerran—were exhibited to the meeting. A large number of other donations were announced.

Archæological Association of Durham and Northumberland.—June 7.—The party first visited the old church at Haydon, which stands upon the hillside about half-a-mile north from the railway station. The old chapel at Haydon, dedicated to

St. Cuthbert, is a small early English church of the Norman type, suited for the exposed position it occupies; the architectural details point to the church having been erected about 1190. A Roman altar is used as a font. A pleasant drive through Haydon Bridge and up the hill side on the south side of the Tyne brought the company to Langley Castle, where they were received by Mr. Bates, who read a paper giving an interesting history of the Barony and Castle of Langley. He stated that the ancient barony was about thirteen thousand acres in extent; and he traced the various holders of the barony from 1158, when it was held by Adam the son of Sweyn. The barony passed from the De Tindals by marriage to the De Boltebys of Bolteby, Yorkshire, and then to the De Lucys. Sir Thomas De Lucy, one of the most valiant knights in the reign of Edward III., held the barony at the time of the battle of Neville's Cross. Sir Thomas petitioned the king, denouncing the devastation the Scotch army had committed on his property, and, to prevent a repetition of this rapine, Langley Castle was, in all probability, begun about 1350, with funds drawn from the spoils of France, and augmented by compensation for losses sustained during the Scotch incursion. A few years later the barony and castle came by marriage into the possession of Henry Percy, first Earl of Northumberland, and after Henry Percy had joined in Archbishop's Scrope's rebellion, Henry IV. took possession of the castles belonging to the earl. Assuming that Langley Castle was reduced to its present roofless and floorless state by fire, Mr. Bates thought its destruction might be attributed to Henry IV., as he first advanced into Northumberland in 1405. After tracing the barony down through the Radcliffe family (who obtained it by purchase) into the possession of the Greenwich Hospital Commissioners, Mr. Bates said the castle of Sir Thomas De Lucy, thanks to its destruction by fire some fifty years after its erection, preserves to us a singularly perfect example of a smaller castle of the fourteenth century. A drive of a few miles further west brought the company to Beltingham Church, and Mr. C. C. Hodges stated that he believed the church was the only example in Northumberland of an entire church in the Perpendicular style.

Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club.—May 29.—The club was invited by Mr. Skrine to continue the walk round the manor of Forde, at the point where it left off last year. The trysting spot this time was the Dry Arch on the Bradford road. Passing along the old road to Bradford, through Inwood, or Farley Wood, to Southwoods End, they came out on a waste piece of land called "No man's land," on the borders of the counties of Somerset and Wilts. Passing through a gate into a field called Bigg's Leaze, a fine view of Midford Castle was obtained; in this field, now let in lots to the poor, a well had been sunk through the Great Oolite, and good water obtained at the depth of 100 ft. Before emerging from the wood into the hamlet of Conkwell an old quarry was passed on the left hand, where a good exposure of the upper beds of the Great Oolite might be seen, and also many "conic" sections, as Mr. Skrine pointed out, made by the conies or cuniculi. The members then entered a field called Gatewicks, Gatticks, or Gar-

ricks; through Westmead, or the western meadow of the manor, with its spring gushing out probably at the junction of the Midford Sands and the Liassic clays, through Great and Little Oxmead (the name derived probably from the British word *ox*, water), past the Warley volunteer rifle butts into the Batch, and through the Binney (by the islet in the river) to the ancient mill house and ferry; a fine old yew tree which, as Mr. Skrine said, might have seen the Conquest, stood most likely near the site of the old manor house. Passing the terraces of the manor, into Momfords or Mumpas Mead, the spot was pointed out where a Roman capital, now in the Literary and Scientific Institution, was found; its northern fence is on the site of the Wansdyke, and forms the boundary between Warley and Bathford. A large moss-grown Oolitic block standing in the ditch on the north side marks the boundary. Crossing a few more water meadows into the last one on the Warley estate, called Horselands, the site of a Roman villa is marked by an old pollard tree. Just inside the southern fence of this field ran the old fosse road, supposed to have been part of the old British road to Lincoln.

May 29th.—The excursion to Brent Knoll. The church was first inspected. Entering the south porch and passing through a Transition doorway into the nave, the members recognized the usual type of the Somerset Perpendicular in the lofty piers separating the nave from the north aisle. Consisting of nave, north aisle, with a chapel on the south now used as a vestry, and a chancel, of which it will be sufficient to say that it was built about fifty years ago, the church has many features of peculiar interest. A fine waggon roof, of which the ribs are ancient—the intermediate woodwork having supplied the place of the pre-existing plaster—spans the nave; a very fine old Perpendicular roof, with its massive bosses, covers the north aisle, at the east end of which, and attached to the wall, is a Transition pillar and support for a piscina. In the chapel to the south of the nave the cusps of the inner arch of the west and south windows are similar to those at Bitton church, the work of Button, Bishop of Wells, and contains a credence table and piscina. The bench ends in the nave are carved in the usual fantastic style of Henry VII. period—here is a monkey at prayers, here a fox preaching to geese, in the garb of a Bishop probably, with a mitre and crosier in his right hand with the crook turned outwards—caricatures whereby the ecclesiastical animus of the period was displayed. Two monuments attracted attention, one a simple white marble slab to the memory of the Rev. Joseph Ditcher, deceased 1859, the other a sumptuous and obtrusive many-coloured mass of stone and plaster erected to the memory of one John Somerset, 1663. A font of the Decorative period, with quatrefoil bowl, and the fine Perpendicular western doorway, with canopied niches on either hand, were noticed. The party then proceeded to East Brent church, similar in structure to that of West Brent, consisting of nave and north aisle, with mortuary chapel on south. The three old grisaille figures in the east window of the north wall were especially admired, and the whole series of figures in the windows of the north side had been restored in modern imitation glass. The treatment of

the Crucifixion in the east window of the north aisle, temp. Henry VII., was peculiar: a man blind in one eye was represented pulling out the spear from our Lord's side. The coronation of the Virgin by the Father and the Son, the only piece in the window preserved in its original state, was also remarkable. Amongst other things to be recorded were the remains of the shrine of the Virgin in the north aisle, the peculiar Jacobean plaster roof of the nave, more curious than beautiful; the curiously-carved bench ends and the narrow shelf in front, not for a book rest, as generally supposed, but, as the Archdeacon suggested, most probably used for kneeling upon, so that the high altar might be more easily seen during the Elevation of the Host. The seal of Glastonbury Abbey was carved on one of the bench ends.

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.—May 30th. —Canon Greenwell in the chair.—Mr. Oswald read a paper on the ruins of the old church at Wallsend, in the course of which he referred to the building of the Roman wall at that part. He held that the church had been built probably about the same time as the church recently excavated at Gosforth, and contemporaneously with the one found at Longbenton. In his opinion it was also probable that a church of a still earlier period had stood upon the spot.—After some conversation, Mr. Hodgkin moved, and the Rev. James Steele seconded, that the members of the council of the society and the secretary be requested to sign the Corporation lease for the tenancy of the Black Gate at once.—Dr. Bruce produced a beautiful medallion belonging to the Northumberland "Pitt Club."



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Recovery of the Lost Newbury Charters.—The town of Newbury may be congratulated on the recovery of its ancient borough charters, which for well-nigh half a century had been practically lost, having in the year 1834 been impounded by the then town clerk, in part security for a debt of £1,000 incurred by some chancery litigation relating to the town charities. The charters are five in number, and may be briefly described as follows:—I. One of Queen Elizabeth, dated 1595, reciting a still earlier one of the same reign, prior to which the borough appears to have existed by prescription. This charter, written on two skins, and much worn, and soiled by frequent reference, bears a portrait of the Queen within its initial letter; but only a portion of the great seal, the remainder having succumbed to the ravages of time.—II. The ordinances for the government of the borough, dated 41st Q. Eliz. (1599). This document is beautifully written and illuminated, being decorated with the royal arms, the borough arms, and those of Aldermen Gabriel Coxe and William Barksdale.—III. The charter of Charles I., consisting of three skins, with a portrait of the king, together with heraldic, floral, and other ornamentation; and the great seal appended, which is in fine condition, and nearly entire.—IV. The charter of Charles II.,

including his portrait, and a greatly dilapidated seal. This document is ornamented in much the same manner as the preceding.—V. The charter of James II., with a portrait and seal almost gone. Accompanying these deeds is a terrier containing a list of payments due to the crown from the manor of Newbury, dated 20th October, 3rd Q. Eliz. (1561). These documents were publicly presented, on the 27th February last, to the corporation by Mr. Stephen Hemsted, jun., a trustee of the Townsend family, one member of which was the late town clerk, whose summary proceedings led to the incarceration of these valuable charters for close upon fifty years.

The Roman Villa at Itchen Abbas.—The villa and its splendid square of ornamental tesserae, to which allusion has been previously made in these columns, remains on the south-eastern slope of the hill of the village in good preservation, thanks to the conservative care of the owner, E. Shelley, Esq., his intelligent antiquarian tenant, Mr. Way, and the steward of the estate, Mr. Tanner. Found some time ago under a copse or plantation by a man stone-picking, it was explored and uncovered, and the gem of the piece roofed in, and this has kept it in good condition, with a straw covering also in winter, which is as trying to tesserae as it was to the former luxurious resident, whose apparatus of hollow floors and passages has been seriously damaged by "conies," rats, and other smaller quadrupeds. We have said the pavement is perfect, but there is a reservation. One small spot in the design is destroyed by the root of a tree, and another small space shows where ignorant and destructive visitors removed tesserae—a most unnecessary vandalism, for all around are hundreds of small irregular cubes which might be removed and no harm done, but English visitors, it seems, must destroy or write their names. Antiquaries are indebted to Mr. Way for his intelligent care of the Roman relic, and as he is soon going away some anxiety exists as to the future. It is to be hoped Mr. Shelley and his vigorous and obliging steward will still keep off the wet and also destructive animals of human kind. The room roofed in is a fine relic of Roman domesticity. The room is eighteen feet square. Parts of the polychromed wall, with its base moulding, remains, and the pavement also with its bold and striking design. The circle in the centre (diameter four feet) has a vigorous head of Medusa or some female personage, and the other parts of the design include squares, circles, and angles in four, coloured cubes, cream, red, black, and grey, the ornaments including a cable pattern in two sizes, a singular overlapping heart ornament, a kind of key pattern, and also a double knot and a pine-apple-shaped ornament. We sincerely trust such a valuable and splendid souvenir of Roman occupation, eighteen centuries back, perhaps, may not share the destruction of that at Bramdean.



Antiquarian News.

One of the oldest streets in Paris is about to disappear, as the Rue du Jour, near the Church of S. Eustache, which dates from the thirteenth century,

will shortly be demolished, in connection with the improvements which are being made in this part of Paris. The Rue du Jour, so named on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle, was very narrow and gloomy, and the only building of any historic interest is an old house, now used as a china warehouse, which was known two hundred years ago as the Hôtel Royaumont, and was at that time the residence of Philippe Hurault, abbot of Royaumont. At his death it became the property of François de Montmorency, who turned it to a very singular use, making it the trysting-place of all persons who were about to fight a duel. Every morning refreshments were provided in the dining-room of the Hôtel Royaumont, and the principals and seconds alike partook of them before proceeding to settle their differences in a room fitted up as a fencing-chamber. M. de Montmorency also had a choice assortment of swords to offer those who had not weapons to their liking, and he carried his foresight so far as to keep a surgeon constantly on the premises. The duel was allowed to take place after twelve o'clock, at which hour breakfast was served for all who were in a condition to partake of it. This went on for a long time; but two women who had quarrelled over their lovers fought a duel at the Hôtel Royaumont, and were both killed, and this mishap created so much stir that the lieutenant of of police forbade M. de Montmorency to accommodate any more duellists.

The Rev. B. J. Harker has been reinspectng the ruins of a British fort discovered by him in 1870, in Grass Wood, Grassington. The further examination of the interesting remains only serves to confirm the opinion that this beautiful locality contains some of the most distinct and extensive war relics in the shape of earthworks of the Celtic race in England. They are, however, not the only objects of high antiquity in the neighbourhood. For some twenty years Mr. Harker has been aware of certain ruins existing in some of the pastures above Grassington, and after his discovery in Grass Wood thought they might possibly be Roman, as their position, or situation, was one of vantage and strength, and likely to be adopted by forces attacking the rock-fortresses of the British. He determined, therefore, to visit them for the purpose of ascertaining their real character. He was accompanied by the Rev. E. G. Wales, late curate of Linton Church, and both gentlemen were astonished to find that the remains were of a most formidable and extraordinary kind, consisting of square and oblong intrinchements, well-defined, and covering several score acres of ground. The chief portion of the encampment, the name which the place now must bear, is in a pasture called "The High Close"; but the encampment extends into a number of other pastures, and a narrow way has evidently run through the middle of the whole. Several mounds appear which may be sepulchral, and there are also remains of two Druidical (?) circles. One of these, indeed, is of dimensions and style sufficient to dignify it with the name of temple. The circles have both existed anterior to the encampment; the mounds possibly not. The army which has spread itself over such a large area for defensive operations must have consisted of at least eight or ten thousand men. Outpost intrinchements of the same character

as those of the camp are at the bottom of Lea Green, nearer to the fort in Grass Wood.

On the bluffs near the junction of the Hart and Missouri rivers, and about two miles from Mandan, Dakota, there is reported to be an old cemetery of fully 100 acres in extent, filled with bones of a giant race. This vast city of the dead lies just east of the Fort Lincoln Road. The ground has the appearance of having been filled with trenches piled full of dead bodies, both man and beast, and covered with several feet of earth. In many places mounds from 8ft. to 10ft. high, and some of them 100ft. or more in length, have been thrown up and are filled with bones, broken pottery, vases of various bright-coloured flints, and agates. The pottery is of a dark material, beautifully decorated, delicate in finish, and as light as wood, showing the work of a people skilled in the arts and possessed of a high state of civilization. This has evidently been a grand battle-field, where thousands of men and horses have fallen. Nothing like a systematic or intelligent exploration has, says the *Mandan Pioneer*, been made, as only little holes 2ft. or 3ft. in depth have been dug in some of the mounds; but many parts of the anatomy of man and beast, and beautiful specimens of broken pottery and other curiosities, have been found in these feeble efforts at excavation. Five miles above Mandan, on the opposite side of the Missouri, is another vast cemetery, as yet unexplored. Enquiry of an aged Indian as to what his people knew of these graveyards only elicited the reply that they "were here before the red man."

Senhor Ribeiro, who has resided for a long period in the interior of South America, has given a private view of a new anthropological exhibition at Piccadilly Hall, London, consisting mainly of five Indians of primitive type from the Brazilian provinces of Minas and Espiritu Santo, and belonging to a tribe called the "Botocudos." There are three females and two males, all adults. Three of the party consist of a mother, son, and daughter, and two of the females have the long protruding under-lip resulting from piercing and the wearing of discs of wood during infancy and childhood. All are of low stature, and have black hair, and their physiognomy and tribal peculiarities, some of the latter of which are to be displayed before visitors in practical form, can hardly fail to interest the public. A canoe and many other adjuncts are provided to illustrate native life and habits.

The Grand Imperial Crown, originally made in the reign of the Emperor Paul I., is stated by the *Novoe Vremja* to be estimated to be worth three millions of roubles. The smaller crown, valued at more than half a million, is distinguished by the delicacy of its workmanship. In the sceptre sparkles one of the largest diamonds known to exist, weighing 194½ carats. It is about the size of a pigeon's egg, and formed at one period the eye of the great Hindoo idol representing Brahma. The story is that it was stolen by a Frenchman, who sold it to Nadir-Shah, upon whose death it passed into the hands of the Armenian Schaffras. The latter, having bought it at Bagdad for 50,000 piastres, sold it again in 1772 to the Empress Catherine for 450,000 roubles, and a patent of nobility as well.

The relics of another unfortunate exploring expedition—that of La Pérouse at the end of last century—have just come to light. A French missionary to the Samoa or Navigators' Islands in the Pacific informs the French Geographical Society that the remains of De Langle and several other of La Pérouse's companions have been found, together with dates, proving that they perished in December 1787. French search expeditions in the early part of this century had already proved the destruction of the two vessels bearing the expedition on the coast of Mallicollo, one of the New Hebrides, but nothing further was discovered respecting the explorers themselves.

A sovereign of Edward VI., presumed to be the second best known, was knocked down on May 28th, by Messrs. Sotheby, in London, for £100. This famous coin, which bears the likeness of the King seated on his chair of state, has held a place of honour in the Grey, Mead, Willet, Durrant, Brown, and Addington cabinets. Many other coins were sold for high prices. A sovereign of Henry VII., with the King seated under an ornamented canopy, realized £31; another of Henry VIII., £21; a thirty-shilling piece of James I., fine and rare, £11 17s. 6d.; and a noble or "spur rial," bearing a design of His Majesty standing in a ship, £13 10s.

Mr. Samuel Reid, of Braebuster, and Mr. J. W. Cursiter, F.S.A. Scot., Kirkwall, have within the last few weeks made an examination of a prehistoric mound found on Provost Reid's estate of Braebuster, about ten miles from Kirkwall. The mound, which is circular, and about 15 or 16 feet high, is about half a mile north of the farm buildings, and known in the neighbourhood by the name of Eveshowe. It is on the centre of a ridge between a small shallow loch and the sea in Deer Sound. It has evidently when in use been almost surrounded by water, and access has been obtained by means of a causeway from the land on to the east side. Two lines of stones on edge, at a distance of about ten feet between, seem to justify such a conclusion. Work was commenced by the explorers on the north side, where small zig-zag drain-like passages were discovered. A few hours' digging laid bare the inside of the wall of a brough, and search was then made for the outside of the wall, which was easily found, and traced for about three parts of the circumference. The measurement taken shows the thickness of the wall to be 10 feet, and the external diameter to be 43 feet. The excavations were not continued to a sufficient depth to discover an entrance, and no trace of a chamber was found in the part of the wall exposed. During the excavations a few bones of sheep were found, as well as some broken or pounded fish bones, and a rudely hollowed stone, which might have served as a small mortar or lamp. A stone of an oval shape, convex on one side, and ground smooth on the other, 16 inches long and 8 inches broad, was found partly embedded in the mound. It was evidently a grain rubber. There seemed to be about 10 feet of building remaining, but the quantity of rubbish inside and around was too great to be cleared away in one day. There are no traces of out-buildings visible.

Geologists will be interested in learning that a discovery, which is expected to throw some light on

prehistoric times in what is now Germany, has been made near Andernach on the Rhine. Remains of prehistoric animals have been found in a pumice-stone pit, and Professor Schaffhausen, of Bonn, has investigated the spot closely. A lava stream underlying the pumice-stone was laid bare, showing a width of only two metres. The crevices between the blocks of lava were filled with pumice-stone to a depth of half to one metre; below this, however, there was pure loam and clay, and in this were found numerous animal bones, apparently broken by man, as well as many stone implements. It is supposed that there was a settlement there, of which the food remains fell into the lava crevices, before the whole was covered with pumice-stone.



Correspondence.

BISHOP DOLBEN.

"H. R. W. H." will find some account of David Dolben, Bishop of Bangor (1631-1633), in Williams's *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Welshmen*, p. 122. Dr. John Dolben, Archbishop of York, is said to have been of the same family.

D. SILVAN EVANS.

In reply to your correspondent "H. R. W. H.," I find that Dr. Doublen was Bishop of Bangor from the year 1632 to 1634. His signature is appended to two licences as Vicar of Hackney in 1618, so that his living of Essendon, which he held from 1625 to 1629, must have been a sinecure. His name has been variously spelt,—Doulben, Dolben, Dolbyn, Dalbyn. He was Doctor of Divinity of St. John's College, Cambridge. In *Some Account of the Monuments in Hackney Church* (a most interesting work, printed for private circulation) there is a copy of the two licenses, which were to eat flesh, and granted to Mrs. Fraunces Burde and to Mrs. Bridget Swayne, "as the eatinge of fische was not agreeable for lykinge or healtthe." The charge for these licenses was 6s. 8d. each.

Some years ago there appeared in the *Hackney and Kingsland Gazette* a series of papers relative to Hackney and neighbourhood, entitled *Our Local Sketches*, all of which I have carefully preserved. Many are the valuable particulars they contain of the history of the old town. Bishop Doublen is here mentioned as writing, in 1663, to his sometime parishioners of Hackney, and "especially to the poorest sort of people, that maintain their livelihood by carriage of burthens to the city of London:—"I, David, by the permission of God, Bishop of Bangor, some time your unworthy pastor, in testimony of my unfeigned Christian love to you, as to the place where I was so much beholden to you all, do earnestly entreat you to accept and take in good part this mite of £30, to be employed for continuing and everlastingly repairing, I hope, to posterity, the causeway or footpath leading from Clapton and Hackney Church to Shoreditch."

The monument of Bishop Doulsen was placed above that of Dean Urswick (who died 24th of March, 1522, directing that his body be buried "in the chauncell of my church of Hakney, afore the image of St. Awstyn"), at the east end of the altar in old Hackney Church, whence it has been removed to the northern entrance of the new church. The inscription, which may perhaps be read by the aid of water and sponge, begins thus:—"Hic jacet justorem resurrectionem expectans Reverendus in Christo Pater David Dovlsen."

Bishop Doulsen was succeeded in the vicarage of Hackney by Gilbert Sheldon, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

JOHN ALT PORTER.

Dalston.

This prelate was a younger son of Robert Winn Dolben, of Denbigh, and was born at Segroet, near Denbigh, about 1581. He was of St. John's College, Cambridge. On 18th January, 1618-19, he was admitted to the vicarage of Hackney, being then M.A. As S.T.P. he was instituted to the Golden Prebend in the cathedral of St. Asaph, 23rd February, 1625-6. On the death of Dr. Lewis Bayly, Dr. Dolben was promoted to the see of Bangor, being elected 18th November, 1631, and consecrated 4th March, 1631-2. Dr. Gilbert Sheldon succeeded Dolben in his vicarage of Hackney, 2nd May, 1633. Bishop Dolben died at Bangor House, Shoe Lane, Holborn, 27th November, 1633, and was buried in Hackney Church, aged 52. Dr. Edmund Griffith was his successor at Bangor. Cf. Wood's *Ath. Oxon.*, by Bliss, ii. 881, 888, iv. 857; Le Neve's *Fasti*, by Hardy, i. 85, 106; Newcourt's *Repertorium*, i. 620.

J. INGLE DREDGE.

Buckland Brewer Vicarage, near Bideford.

CALLEVA-ATTREBATUS.

For a considerable time past I have held the impression that "Calvepit Farm," Coley, near Reading, is the site of this Roman station, mentioned by Ptolemy and Antoninus; and I expressed this opinion in a paper published in the "Notes and Queries" of Vol. XXXII. of the *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (1882); and, being at Reading lately, I determined to make an exploration for myself of that locality.

My first object of search was this Calvepit Farm, which I had found laid down in some old maps. I could, however, hear nothing of this place near Reading, nor until I reached Southgate junction of the railways, about two miles from Reading. There the farm homestead was pointed out to me, and I observed an old mansion near, named, I was told, "Southgate Manor House." Here I learned that coins had been, and are being, found in the gardens of the Manor House, and in the fields of Calvepit Farm adjoining. The labourers who had found some of these coins said they did not know what they were; but they were told to take them to an old lady who lived near, and knew all about them, and had made a book of them, and also that the gentleman resident at the Manor House had a collection.

With this pleasing information,—that coins had been found on Calvepit Farm and in the gardens,—I

felt satisfied that I had hit upon the right spot for this station, and that I need not go further to the homestead, and so I turned to go back to Reading by another road. But I was to find yet further evidence. I had been under the impression that the name of "Calvepit" was a corruption of Callev-Attrebat. But near the Bath road I came upon an enormous pit (now grown full of fine trees), such as I had never seen before, for size and depth; and, considering the matter, I came to the conclusion that *this* was the pit, the "Calleva-pit," whence Calleva-pit Farm, now shortened into Callev-pit and Calve-pit. Then next the name of the Manor struck me as peculiar—"Southgate Manor," "Manor of Southgate." Why South Gate? Gate of what? Of a field? That would be too insignificant to give name to a manor. Then what gate could have been of sufficient importance to give its name to a manor 800 or 1000 years ago? On reflection, I concluded that if there had been a city here, it might have walls and gates; and if so, that one of its gates would be of sufficient importance at that date to give its name to a manor.

I assert, then, confidently, that these three things—the coins, the name of the farm comprising the pit, and the name of the manor—all point to the fact that here was the site of the city of Calleva, and the Manor House marks the south gate of the city.

The next day I related these matters briefly to Mr. Godwin Austen (my early teacher and guide, who, from ill health, was barely able to listen to me), and, being acquainted with the locality, he said it was very interesting to him; and he added that the coins found at Southgate were known (probably through the old lady's book).

Further, there may be found, marked on the maps, "Northcot" and "Southcot," with parks on the west and east, bearing names derived from Calleva,—thus, Calleva-cot, Call-cot, Calcot; Calley, Colley, Coley; and Calleva-pit Farm in the midst.

I do not possess the Domesday Book of Berks, but it is not improbable that, if searched, it might furnish some name or particulars bearing upon this locality.

As many other places have been claimed for the site of Calleva, and amongst them Wallingford, I submit, as my conviction on this matter, that Calleva and Gallena were separate and distinct places, but have got confused together in Ptolemy's table of longitudes and latitudes. I believe that Gallena represents Wallingford, and that both the longitude and latitude of that station are given in Ptolemy's table; but that in the course of various transcriptions, the latitude of Calleva has been dropped out, and only the longitude left, which has been applied to a conjunction of the two names, as an alternative longitude; and by that means the two stations have become conjoined and confused together, with the longitudes of both (being about the same), but with the latitude of Gallena only. Upon this supposition, Gallena may well be Wallingford, and Calleva equally well be Coley, or Southgate, near Reading.

H. F. NAPPER.

Saxwood, Sussex.

[Mr. Roach-Smith holds that Silchester represents Calleva. What are the coins that have been found? —ED.]

The Antiquary Exchange.

Enclose 4d. for the First 12 Words, and 1d. for each Additional Three Words. All replies to a number should be enclosed in a blank envelope, with a loose Stamp, and sent to the Manager.

NOTE.—All Advertisements to reach the office by the 15th of the month, and to be addressed—The Manager, EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT, THE ANTIQUARY OFFICE, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

The Manager wishes to draw attention to the fact that he cannot undertake to forward POST CARDS, or letters, unless a stamp be sent to cover postage of same to advertiser.

FOR SALE.

Ruskin; Modern Painters, 1st edition, original cloth, equal to new, £29.—Two Paths (with plates), 1859, 27s.—Elements of Drawing, 1st edition, 30s.—Giotto and His Works in Padua, 21s.—Dickens: Haunted Man, 1st edition, red cloth, 8s.—Milton's Paradise Lost, 3rd edition, fine copy, 15s. J. Lucas, Claremont House, Cawley Road, South Hackney.

Fragment of leaf of ancient illuminated Missal or Office-Book, forming, when found, part of cover of an Aldine copy of some of Demosthenes' speeches. Venice, 1554. Leaf sold separate, or leaf and book together.—228, care of Manager.

Boar Spear, 16th century Damascene work, £2 2s.—Breeches Bible, 4to maps and woodcuts, 21s.—Gerardi Blasii Anatome Animalium, 1681, Amstelodami 4to, 64 fine plates (Sir Thos. Hare's copy, with book plate), 20s.—Huntingdon Peerage, with Portraits, 4to, 10s.—Life of Charles Mathews, by Mrs. Mathews, 4 vols., plates (original edition), 30s.—Ackerman's four Views of Westmoreland (tinted), 1799, oblong folio, 7s. 6d.—Four Views of Sherborne (Dorset), 6s.—County Maps from Camden's Britannia, 1s. each; and others.—J. Gray, 4, Scott Street, Bradford, Yorkshire.

Foxe's Martyrs, 17" x 11" x 2½", gilt edges, by Kelly, 1882, perfect, 94 Engravings, cash 50 shillings, or exchange for 12 lens Binocular Field Glass.—Mrs. Goodchild, 72, Liverpool Street, Salford, Manchester.

The Carved Head of the War Canoe in which the Natives of New Zealand went out from Queen Charlotte Sound to meet Capt. Cook on his second voyage. Open to offers. Now being exhibited at the Fisheries Exhibition.—227, care of Manager.

THE ANTIQUARY, from commencement to present time, clean, price 2 guineas.—T. R. Monow, 12, Woodhouse Terrace, Gateshead.

Autograph Letters of Hume, Old Peers, Smollet, Locke, Gibbon, Thomson, Arne, Admiral Blake, William Blake, Brindley (engineer, very rare), Admiral Byng, Mary Carlyle, Coleridge, Darwin, Delane, Doddridge, Hone, Dean Hook, John Howard, Dr. Paley, Pope, George Selwyn; Poems in Autograph of Congreve, Cunningham; Sign Manuals of Queen Anne, Elizabeth, Charles II., George I., George II., George III., and a number of others.—

List on application to F. Barker, 15, Brooklyn Road, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Several Poesy, Intaglio, and curious Rings for sale, cheap.—Particulars, 220, care of Manager.

Autograph Letters of Argyle (Duke of), Exeter (Bishop 1843), Hook (R.A.), Ansdell (R.A.), Ripon (Marquis of), Manchester (Duke of), Buccleuch (Duke of), Devonshire (Duke of), Heywood (Hardy), Bramwell (Baron), Wilberforce (Archdeacon), Percy (Earl), Hotham (Lord), Cardigan (Earl), Devon (Lord), Burke (Ulster King at Arms), Herries (Lord), Sefton (4th Earl), Rylands (Peter, M.P.), Cowen (Joseph, M.P.), Thornbury (Walter), McLaren (D., M.P.), Wilson (Sir M., M.P.), Laird (Jno., M.P.), Rutland (Duke of), Cobbett (J.P., M.P.), Crossley (J., M.P.), Peel (Sir Robert, cheque signed), Home (David); and a number of others, very cheap.—List on application to W. E. Morden, 5, Longley Terrace, Lower Tooting, S.W.

Chauncey's Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire, 1700, fol., calf.—Clutterbuck's History of Hertfordshire, 3 vols., 1815, 1821, 1827, fol., bds.—Salmon's History of Hertfordshire, 1728, fol., bds.—229, care of Manager.

Shakespeare, edited by Payne Collier, 6 volumes, 1858, new, half morocco, £3.—A Treatise of Fysshynge with an Angle, by Dame Juliana Berners, being a facsimile reproduction of the first book on the subject of fishing printed in England, by Wynkin de Worde, at Westminster, in 1496, with an introduction by the Rev. M. G. Watkins, M.A., printed on vellum, only six copies issued, £8 8s.; also a copy on handmade paper, bound in polished antique morocco, gilt edges, £3 3s.—Herbert's Temple, Walton's Angler, and Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, first editions in facsimile, bound in polished levant morocco, £3 3s. the set of three.—190, Care of Manager.

WANTED TO PURCHASE.

Armorial Book Plates purchased or exchanged.—Dr. Howard, Dartmouth Road, Blackheath.

Dorsetshire Seventeenth Century Tokens.—Also Topographical Works, Cuttings or Scraps connected with the county.—J. S. Udall, 4, Harcourt Buildings, Temple.

Ruding's Annals of the Coinage, 3 vols. 4to, 1840; Histories of Banbury, Chesterfield, and other Towns having Plates and Pedigrees; Ancient Autograph Letters and MSS.; Parchment Deeds before 1558, and English Antiquities.—Henry Wake, Fritchley, near Derby.

Swift's Works, 19 vols., 1824; Walpole's Letters, edited by Cunningham, 9 vols.; Books published by Pickering, ante 1855; Hervey's Memoirs of George II., 2 vols., 1848; Doran's Their Majesty's Servants, 2 vols., 1864. Good prices for good copies.—Biblis, 20, King Edward Street, Lambeth Road, London.

Arundel Society Publications; Raffael's Philosophy, Poetry, Justice, and Wisdom.—226, care of Manager.

Antiquarian Repository, 4to, vol. iv., 1808.—209, Care of Manager.

Antiquarian Topographical Cabinet, 10 vols.—210, Care of Manager.

Antiquarian Itinerary.—211, Care of Manager.
Gough's Anecdotes of British Topography.—212, Care of Manager.



The Antiquary.



AUGUST, 1883.

Old Oak.

By J. S. UDAL, OF THE INNER TEMPLE.

NO one who has a hobby for collecting—be it what it may—can have derived anything but pleasure from the perusal of that charming little volume by the Rev. W. J. Loftie, F.S.A., entitled *A Plea for Art in the House*, one of the first of the *Art at Home* series.

In its pages the everyday experiences of what may befall a collector after old furniture or quaint books are set before the reader in a way that goes straight home to the heart of each embryo collector amongst us, and sets us longing to begin at once, so assured are we of making rare bargains, if we only follow the good advice therein set out.

Weil, one of my hobbies is old oak furniture, and the idea has occurred to me of placing before the readers of *THE ANTIQUARY* a few remarks upon old oak furniture, conscious at the same time that the love I have for my subject must make up for a somewhat limited experience in the pursuit of it.

I do not propose to bring within the scope of this paper furniture earlier than the Tudor period, for the reason that, comparatively speaking, very little oak furniture is in existence prior to that time, and what there is is very seldom to be met with.

In the words of Mr. Hunt in his book on *Exemplars of Tudor Architecture*, ed. 1836:—

Anterior to the Tudors, household furniture was in general of a rude, substantial character . . . such as clumsy oak tables, covered with carpets, benches or "joined forms" of the same material, and cupboards for plate, pewter, "treene," leather jugs, glass, etc.

Neither do I propose to deal with furniture of a later period than the seventeenth century, preferring as I do the comparatively plain yet handsome style of carving of that period

VOL. VIII.

to the florid and realistic ornamentation of Grinling Gibbons and his followers.

The object of my paper will be to show, whilst noticing some of the many pieces of old furniture, of almost national and historical interest, that exist in England at the present time, such articles of domestic furniture as may still be found in many a hall or manor-house, notwithstanding the far too frequent fires of late years, that have caused the ruin of more than one historical mansion, and the destruction of furniture that nothing can replace.

It is perhaps hard to say what part of England abounds most in old oak, though no doubt some districts are more noted for it than others. I am inclined to think that those districts which still show us those grand specimens of half-timbered dwellings that are to be found in Cheshire, Lancashire, Worcestershire, together with parts of Yorkshire and Derbyshire, perhaps, are among the most favoured in this respect, and afford the richest field to the collector and the greatest treat to the antiquary. Here and there, too, in the West of England, may be found fine specimens of the period in question.

Cabinets and Buffets.

To descend to particular kinds of furniture, we find that cabinets or buffets were amongst the principal articles of domestic use, and were used for all the purposes for which our sideboard is at the present time; and I doubt whether any sideboard, as now understood by the term, made of oak, was anything more than an innovation of comparatively modern times, and could not long have preceded, if indeed it did not copy from, the designs of Chippendale, Sheraton, and Hepplewhite,—those great workers in mahogany and rosewood.

The earliest sideboard in anything like the modern shape, that I am aware of, is one shown in Mr. Shaw's *Specimens of Ancient Furniture* (ed. 1836), from St. Mary's Hall, Coventry, of the time of Henry VIII., but it is decidedly ecclesiastical in character. Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick says, in the description of the plate, that it appeared to have been "originally a church chest, having been altered to its present form by moving its sides

to the front, and putting on a new top," so that after all it is somewhat of a "make-up." Mr. Shaw also gives an illustration of a very handsome piece of furniture which he calls a sideboard, but it is really much more like a cabinet in shape. Also a sideboard or buffet, in two tiers, magnificently carved, more in the style of a modern dinner-waggon on a large scale, supported by figured columns at the corners, temp. Elizabeth or James I.

Mr. Hunt says that

cupboards answered in some respects to the "sideboards" of the present day.

They were sometimes mere planked tops, resting on trestles, or fixed with legs against the wall; at others framed on stages, rising one above another, and movable; these were called "joined cupboards," occasionally carved, and, like tables, covered with carpets.

And again—

Cabinets of massy proportions, carved in oak, ebony, walnut, and other woods inlaid, some of which answered the double purpose of repositories and cupboards for plate, from having drawers and recesses enclosed by doors and broad shelves between the tiers with turned columns, were conspicuous objects in parlours and bedrooms at this period.

Such cabinets are still to be met with in many parts of the country at the present time, a fine specimen of which is depicted in Mr. Shaw's book, as preserved at Cornishead Priory, Lancashire, and which,

if in its original form, instead of recent composition may have belonged to the class of sideboards. If this be the case, we may have before us the representation of a court cupboard, mentioned in the play of *Romeo and Juliet*, Act I., sc. 5:

"Away with the joint stools, remove the court-cupboard."

I have in my possession an oak cabinet, somewhat in the shape of a modern cheffonier, an illustration of which is here given, taken from a photograph. The handles are modern. In each of the two large front doors are inserted two very quaint panels; and in the two sides two panels each, making eight panels in all; whilst the back is constructed of three low recessed and handsomely carved panels. The tradition attaching to this cabinet is that it was long in the possession of an old Staffordshire family, and was made from old wood taken from the remnants of the choir-stalls and pews of old Lichfield Cathedral after it had

been sacked by Oliver Cromwell in the time of the Civil War.

By Oliver Cromwell, I presume, is intended the parliamentary troops in general; for though Cromwell was not there in person, popular tradition always credits him with taking a personally active part in the destruction and desecration of cathedrals and churches. It remains, though, a fact, I believe, that as the result of the struggle between the Parliamentarians and the Royalists under Prince Rupert in the year 1643, old Lichfield Cathedral was burnt, and the remnants of the wood-work of the edifice were carried away by the people in the vicinity, unchecked, until, upon the appointment of the new bishop, the restoration of the cathe-

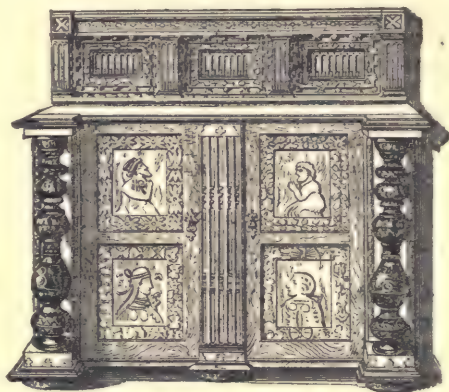


FIG. I.—OAK CABINET.

dral was undertaken. What more likely, then, than that some of these materials may have been used in the construction of a cabinet, made to commemorate the event? The upper panels at the recessed back indeed show unmistakable marks of having been burnt, and are considerably charred; but the lower panels are unmarked. These lower panels are very quaint and interesting; and my object in bringing this cabinet at such length to the notice of the readers of *THE ANTIQUARY* is to endeavour to obtain from them some information respecting it, in aid of the inquiry as to what portion, if any, of the old cathedral did these panels form a part. For this purpose I subjoin a detailed description of each panel; and may add, as an additionally interesting

coincidence, that I fancied I noticed a resemblance in some of the ornamentations of the cabinet,—such as the Latin and other kind of ecclesiastical crosses,—to certain portions of the new tessellated pavement leading to the altar of the present cathedral, which I examined during a visit I paid to Lichfield a few years ago.

Four front panels.

(i.) Half length figure, head to right, long face, with square-shaped cap, and hands extended as if in prayer. Small cross on body. From the right-hand corner of panel rain (?) appears to descend in the form of cuts in the wood. Floral bordure round panel. Sex doubtful.

(ii.) Half length figure to right. Hair extending in pig-tail down the back, and bound with fillet, tied at back in large knot. On right shoulder and breast appear two globular balls, which, possibly, may be intended for breasts. From front of breast arises what may be a floriated staff or a flower. A decorated bordure round panel, in the four corners of which are carved four small and quaint figure busts; the two upper ones inverted. An ornament (which I cannot make out) issues from the bordure towards the head of the figure. Sex, female (?).

(iii.) A kneeling figure to left, with hands clasped as if in prayer, turned towards what is apparently a shower of pellets, issuing from top (left side) of panel, which is surrounded by a floriated bordure. In front of the knees appears a small ornament that may be a cap. Sex, doubtful.

(iv.) Half length figure to left, with hair apparently covered by cap. On body appear two round balls, which may be intended for breasts; and beneath, on one side of a deep and broad cut, are three pellets, and on the other a crosslet. A bordure surrounds the whole, composed of quaint animals, elves, and butterflies. Issuing out of the bordure, at the back of the head, is an ornament I cannot make out. Sex, female (?).

N.B.—Nos. 2 and 4 appear to be of an Eastern type.

Left-side panels (2).

(i.) Head and shoulders of figure to right, of somewhat feminine appearance, with one breast (?) showing, and from collar of pellets

what looks like a plume of feathers issuing from back of head. Bordure of crosslets. Sex, female (?).

(ii.) Half-length full figure, with head to left, wearing conical-shaped cap, drooping to right. Body clothed in jacket, with arms akimbo. Ornaments on either shoulder and collar. Floriated bordure. Eastern type. Sex doubtful.

Right-side panels (2).

(i.) Half-length figure, head to left. Hair of a matted appearance, like that of a negro. From front and back of shoulder issues an ornament like a large tail, which curls up and ends in a quatrefoil. From the right shoulder, across the body, apparently forming the top of a dress, slopes an ornamental border. A bordure of Latin crosses, with tops turned towards the principal figure.

(ii.) Half-length figure, head to left, with a helmet-like covering, from bottom of which issues a kind of tail. Arm extended and hand holding open book, from which the figure is apparently reading. Decorated bordure of crosslets, and other ornaments of a somewhat ecclesiastical appearance.

Generally speaking, the faces are very quaint, with elongated chins, *a la* Rowlandson, and several of a decidedly Eastern type and aspect.

The front corners of the cabinet are supported by two handsomely-carved pilasters, ornamented with crosses, etc.

Bedsteads.

Everybody who takes an interest in old oak furniture must be well acquainted with those massive old bedsteads, with their richly-carved figures and decorated canopies,—the grand old four-posters of the seventeenth century. Perhaps the most interesting of this class of bedstead is the well-known Great Bed of Ware, in Hertfordshire, which possesses considerable historical value, inasmuch as it is mentioned by Shakespeare in his *Twelfth Night*, Act iii., sc. 2, where Sir Toby Belch says to Sir Andrew Ague-cheek—

And as many lies as will lie in thy sheet of paper, although the sheet were big enough for the bed of Ware in England, set 'em down.

An excellent engraving of it is given in Mr. Shaw's book, in which its dimensions are given as follows:—Height, 7ft. 6½in.; length,

10ft. gin.; width, 10ft. gin.—truly a noble piece of furniture. It is there described by Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick as “a fine specimen of a bedstead of the time of Queen Elizabeth, in oak, in good preservation.”

This bedstead, which is, in all probability, one of the largest beds of the kind existing in this country, is still preserved at Ware, as we may gather from the following extract, quoted from Cussans's *History of Hertfordshire*, vol. i., p. 147:—

It was originally in the Crown Inn; and on the demolition of that building, in June 1765, it was transferred to the Bull, whence it was afterwards removed to the Saracen's Head, where it now stands. It is said to be upwards of four hundred years old, but the style of the carving does not indicate a period earlier than that of Queen Elizabeth; the date 1463, painted at the head, is comparatively modern. In form it is nearly square, each side being about twelve feet in length. The massive posts are plain at the bottom, and at about two feet from the ground are four pillars, one at each angle of the posts. The pillars support four arches, above which the posts, elaborately carved, continue for about four feet more, the total height being about eight feet. The canopy and the head of the bed are finely carved, the latter with human figures, fluted work, heraldic roses, and Gothic arches. Its beauty is much marred by initials and names, cut by idle sight-seers. It was put up to auction in 1864, and bought in for 20*l*.

Some idea of the size of the beds of our ancestors may be imagined when we learn that the royal bed of Henry VIII. at Windsor Castle was eleven feet square! (From the *Hampton Court Inventory*.)

There was also a wonderful bedstead at the White Hart Inn, at Schoale, co. Norfolk, (which was famous for an enormous oak sign thirty-three feet in height and thirty-five in length, extending over the road, and under which carriages drove as through an archway), which was described as “a large round bed big enough to contain fifteen or twenty couple.” (Richardson's *Studies from Old English Mansions*, ed. 1841.)

The same author also gives an illustration of a fine old bedstead at Cumnor Place (*vide* Sir W. Scott's *Kenilworth*), with a magnificently carved head and canopy. The canopy overhangs the bed considerably at the foot, and is supported at that end by two very finely-carved pedestal columns. This is the only kind of bed that I have seen where the canopy is distinct from and extends beyond the foot of the bed in that way.

I myself, when at a sale in the country some few years ago of old oak furniture from an old Worcestershire manor-house, witnessed a fine old bedstead of this period, with beautifully-carved canopy and head, knocked down to a cabinet-maker for sixteen guineas, for the purpose of being broken up and made into cabinets and sideboards.

The following interesting note on bedsteads is from Mr. Hunt's pen:—

The posts, head-boards, and canopies or spervers, of bedsteads were curiously wrought and carved in oak, walnut, box, and other woods, and variously painted and gilt. Ancient documents describe these bedsteads as “beddes of tymbre.” They were further enriched with devices and mottoes conspicuously placed on the panels and other parts. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for November 1811 there is an account of a very curious bedstead at Hinckley, in Leicestershire, which is embellished with no fewer than twenty-nine emblematical devices, every one accompanied by an appropriate motto. [See *ante*, vol. vii., p. 186.] And in Nicholson and Burn's *History of Cumberland* one is described as existing in the year 1777 at Nunnery (a small house of Benedictine nuns), called the Nun's bed, with this inscription:

Mark the end, and
Yow shal never doow amis.

Tables.

Tables [says Hunt], usually described as “bordes,” were not in great variety, the sorts which were few being little distinguished by workmanship. . . . There was one kind of hall-table formed of narrow leaves or boards, hinged together, folding up into small compass and resting on trestles.

Shakespeare makes Capulet, entering with his guests and maskers, exclaim:

Give room;
More lights, ye knaves, and turn the tables up.
Romeo and Juliet, Act i. sc. 5.

The architectural ornaments of the Grecian style [says Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick], intermixed with foliage, are distinguishing marks of the Elizabethan style, and these are finely developed in the existing specimen [a massive example table from Leeds Castle, Kent], although greatly mutilated. Two ends are made to be drawn out by main force, which then become supported by sliders, while the centre, previously held by these in a higher position, falls to its place from its own weight. The immense diameter of the legs is a characteristic of this reign and the beginning of the next, and which we also find in the front posts of bedsteads.

I have in my possession a fine old dining-table, to which, in a great measure, this description would seem to apply, though I am rather uncertain as to whether it is not Flemish or Belgian work, though it came

from a west of England source so far as I can trace it. The circumference of the legs in the widest part is two feet all but an inch, and the top is of oak beautifully inlaid with ash and divided into two sections, with a centre of some darker wood, such as mahogany or cedar, in the shape of a small star. The ash has become much worm-eaten,* and has had to be renewed in several places. The top draws out, but not in such a primitive manner as in Mr. Shaw's specimen.

Settles.

Settles, or settees, of good solid oak work are still occasionally to be met with; and with their handsomely carved and panelled

appear to be massive embossed table legs, or old communion rails, and other old pieces of oak, being called in to repair the ravages of time.

Dinner-waggons.

Here and there, too, may still be picked up (but they are scarce) fine old pieces of furniture, which, for want of a better name, I must call dinner-waggons, running up on finely-carved columns and rich backs to two or three tiers. Such an one may be seen in the Chetham Library at Manchester. I remember, some years ago, paying a visit to that famous library, and being much struck with the handsome appearance of its seven-



FIG. 2.—OAK CHEST.

backs and plain seats, add much to the appearance of a hall, even if of too severe a form to add to the comfort of a sitting-room. I have in my possession a settle which has the reputation of having been used by Oliver Cromwell during a visit of a week's duration which he paid to an old manor house in Worcestershire. The back is certainly in good preservation, but little of the original front, I am afraid, now remains; what

teenth-century carving, darkened by age, with the date (if I remember rightly) and name—HVMPHRY CHETHAM—staring you in the face, just as the pious old founder might have placed it there more than two centuries ago.

Chairs.

It is unnecessary to say very much about the chairs of this period. Many, thank goodness, are still to be had all over the country, and many an old country church has one or more in its chancel. Everyone is conversant with the shape which the handsome old elbow-chairs present to the eye,—massive and upright, with tall, stately backs, and bold arms and legs, and not so uncomfortable to sit in, after all, as would appear at first sight.

* Though this table is in constant use, and has been well polished from time to time, it is most difficult to get rid of these destructive little insects. Fresh holes were constantly appearing, and with the point of a pin I have picked them out and examined them, when they appear, on close inspection, to be very much like most diminutive cock-chafers both in colour and shape.

Of the more historically interesting specimens of this class may be mentioned the well-known Abbot of Glastonbury's chair (*temp.* Henry VIII.), reproductions of which flood the country, of thorough ecclesiastical style, with its crossed legs, and legend running along the top of the back and down the arms on each side—the prototype, I should imagine, of the modern collapsible camp-stool style of garden-chair.

Representations of still older chairs may be seen in Mr. Shaw's book, all of ecclesiastical style, one at Evesham, said to be of early part of fourteenth century; another, *temp.* fifteenth century, preserved at St. Mary's Hall, Coventry. Such chairs as these, however, partake more of the nature of thrones, and hardly come under the head of domestic furniture.

The same remark may apply to the magnificent oak screens, such as may be seen at the Middle Temple Hall, Crewe Hall, and various other places that will readily be called to mind; to fireplaces and over-mantels that still exist at most of our old English mansions, together with the grand old staircases and panelled rooms that seem inseparable from such places.

Chests.

Perhaps the most familiar form in which the old oak furniture of our ancestors has survived to us is in that of chests, of which many fine specimens are to be met with in most parts of the country.

The majority of them are nearly plain, and but poor in design, but others are richly carved, and of really fine proportions. The use to which these chests were put was variable in the extreme.

According to Mr. Hunt,

Coffers and chests were the general depositories for articles of every kind; writings, apparel, food, and even fuel, were kept within them. Many of these chests, which were raised on feet, to protect them from damp and vermin, were beautifully ornamented with carving and other sumptuous enrichments.

No doubt one of their earliest uses was that for the custody of church property,—plate, books, deeds, registers, etc., etc.,—many of the earliest known specimens being distinctly ecclesiastical in character. Mr. Shaw gives three examples of church chests,—one of a very plain and rude design of thirteenth cen-

tury work, and two others of a more elaborate character and decoration, one being dated 1519. It is very seldom you find furniture dated so early. A more domestic purpose for which chests were used was that of keeping linen in. Such chests were of considerable size, as we may well imagine, from the sad and widespread story of the unfortunate bride who had in sport hidden herself in one, and, being unable to raise the lid again, was suffocated, and, as the story goes, not discovered until she was a ghastly skeleton.

The smaller ones, or coffers, may well have been used as dower chests, though I rather imagine that this kind was more common in Italy than in our own country.

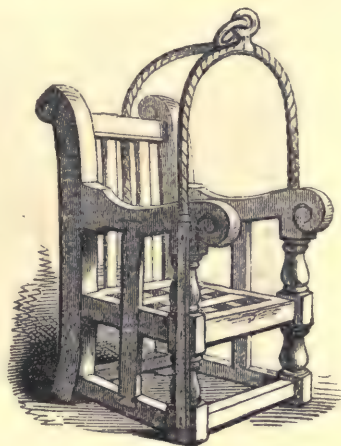


FIG. 3.—DUCKING STOOL.

I am the fortunate possessor of a very fine old chest of seventeenth century work, of considerable size,—and in which I also have been shut up; very massive and beautiful in design, with the favourite tulip scroll-work of the period running round under the lid, and the lower part divided into partitions, intersected by carved figures. An illustration of it, taken also from a photograph, is given on p. 45.

Some people seem almost to have a mania for collecting old oak chests, if we may judge from an account (now lying before me) of a sale that took place in Devonshire, not many years ago, in which *more than one hundred old carved oak chests* were put up for sale! They varied, of course, very much in character

and value, but such is the demand for genuine old oak at the present time that they all fetched good prices. I have frequently seen the plainer and more common kinds of chests used as corn-bins in the West of England, but even those are now, if of any artistic pretensions whatever, eagerly rescued from their humble but useful positions, and bought up to be made up into cabinets and sideboards.

Ducking-stools.

I don't know whether the article I am now going to mention can come under the head of furniture, but as at one period of our national existence it formed no inconsidera-

back. I have, however, a very interesting example of one in old oak, sanded over, of a dark colour, which I picked up at an old furniture shop in the West of England, a short time ago. It is in the form of a Medusa's head, with the customary serpents clinging round her neck. The face—that of an old hag—is repulsive and forbidding enough, but though rude, true to nature, even to the little wen in the throat, and by no means “devoid of artistic merit.” There was apparently an inscription existing at one time below the bust, but now effaced, though at the back can be discerned the following in painted characters, together with what appears to be a coat-of-arms (? a portcullis),

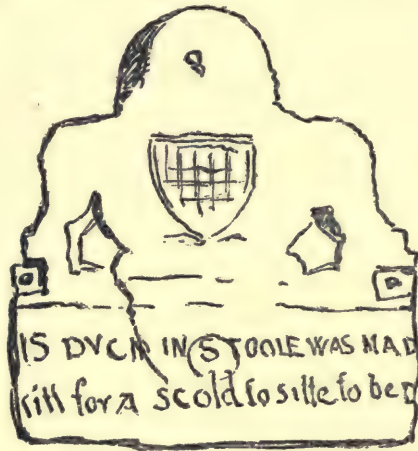


FIG. 4.

ble feature of its domestic polity, I will allude to it, and that is the ducking or cucking-stool. Those of my readers who desire to know more of this interesting form of punishment, I would refer to Mr. Wright's *Archæological Album*, pp. 49-56, where Mr. Fairholt gives an illustration of the example still preserved at Ipswich, and which is reproduced in Fig. 3. A little book recently written by Mr. Andrews, of Hull, entitled *Punishments of the Olden Times*, also contains several illustrations of this curious article; but in none of them, nor in any other publication, can I find any account of this kind of chair ever having had a figurehead, so to speak, at the top of the

probably that of the borough in which this instrument of torture was kept:—

[TH]IS DVCKIN STOOLE WAS MADE
fitt for a scold to sitte to be D[uck]ed.]

The above engraving (Fig. 4) is from a pen-and-ink drawing by my friend, Mr. Wilmot Pilsbury—the well-known water-colour artist—who kindly made a sketch of it for me. I shall feel very glad if any reader of *THE ANTIQUARY* can give me any information that will lead me to identify the borough or town from which it came. I myself believe it to be unique. Mr. Wright says of the Sandwich cucking-stool, that on the arms and back were carved, or painted, figures of men and women scolding. A woman is

made to call the man knave, while the man applies to his fair antagonist a still more indecorous term. On the cross-rib of the back of the chair is the following inscription:—

"Of members ye tonge is worst or best :
An yll tonge oft doeth breede unreste."

But this does not give me any clue to mine.

And now a word in conclusion as to old furniture sales, and old oak sales in particular. The enormous mass of it is without doubt a "make-up" and sham. Often maybe the wood itself is genuinely old, from broken-up old chests and bedsteads, but still oftener disfigured by modern carving, and worse than all, the forgery of dates. If I had my way, I would make the forgery of a date as much a false pretence, and as great a fraud, as the forging of a hall-mark on plate. The class of furniture I am now alluding to is well known to collectors and dealers, and is generically termed "Wardour Street," because in that locality are the chief retail shops for this so-called "antique" furniture. The east end of London, however, as well as certain parts in the provinces, do a large trade in this way. Of late years a considerable improvement has shown itself in the manufacture of this kind of furniture, and by a judicious admixture of genuine old wood and carving, the dealers often contrive to deceive any but experienced collectors. The better knowledge in the use of chemicals for producing the requisite colour, and the more skilful handling of the carving tools and sandpaper, render detection at times very difficult, especially as in a great many cases they work with genuine old models and authentic dates before them.

If you go to a sale-room, you can hardly help being struck with a certain sameness in the articles exposed to view—a too harmonious tone and colour which pervades them all, and which could scarcely exist in a collection often professedly gathered together from all parts of the kingdom. Of course there are sometimes amongst them genuine and valuable pieces for sale, both in an artistic and historical point of view, but they are few and far between, and do not leaven the mass.

No doubt, as Mr. Loftie says (in the little book I alluded to at the beginning of this

paper), the operation of the Code Civile in Holland is making itself felt in the breaking up of the old family estates, and consequently of their furniture, but that hardly accounts for the number of "Elizabethan cabinets," no less than for the "Chippendale" and "Sheraton" sideboards and bookcases that one sees in an "importation of antiques" from that country.

Indeed, it is pretty well known that a large trade is being done by the Dutch, Belgian, and Flemish workmen in carving old wood, and knocking it up into cabinets for the English market. The fact is, so long as there is a demand for that kind of thing, and people are satisfied to believe that everything that is sold as such is really old carved oak, so long will there be forthcoming a supply,—conducive it may be to the prosperity of the furniture trade and cabinet-making industry of the country, but not to the best interests of art itself, or to that national character which I am afraid we are fast losing in these go-ahead utilitarian times—a reverence for all that is genuine and true.



Boxley Abbey.

BY FREDERIC R. SURTEES.



AS a corollary to the Rev. J. Brownbill's article in the April and May numbers of THE ANTIQUARY, I submit a paper read at the meeting of the Kent Archæological Society at Maidstone, August 2nd, 1882, as the tenant and present occupier of Boxley Abbey. In some respects I have differed from Mr. Brownbill, but when this is so, my statements rest on the highest historical authority I could obtain.

The Manor of Boxley, then termed Boslie, I find entered in Domesday Book thus—*Robertus Latinus tenuit ad firmam*—viz., held it of the Crown. It is there described as possessing three mills and *silva porcorum*, or a wood of swine. In the well-known letters, T.R.E., time of Edward the King (the Confessor), Arnod Cilt *tenuit*, or held it.

Boxley Abbey was founded in 1144 or 1146 by William de Ypres, Earl of Kent, so

created by King Stephen, and who died blind, a monk of Laon, in Flanders. He was said to have been an illegitimate son of Philip, Earl of Ypres, in Flanders, and was a man who, says Freeman, "made his mark in the history of his time." We, some of us, know his work in the Ypres tower at Rye. Freeman says his earldom is doubtful, but in the *Extinct and Dormant Peerages* of Ulster, King at Arms, it is distinctly stated as a creation of 1141. The presence of mercenaries, and particularly from Flanders, in the civil wars of Stephen, was justly called "an unmixed evil." After the murder of William de Ypres' son, and his own death, when the earldom became extinct, part of his property passed to his sister.

Boxley Abbey, of the Cistercian order, built as an atonement for burning the Abbey of Wherwell, near Southampton, where the nuns had harboured some of the adherents of the Empress Maud during the civil wars of the time, was dedicated, like all other Cistercian houses, "to the Blessed Virgin." The Cistercians were a branch of the Benedictines or white monks, called Cistercians from Cîteaux in Burgundy. In Stephen's time the order increased enormously (*Capit proficere ordo Cisterciensis* was written of it), and in 1152 it was forbidden in the general chapter of the Cistercians to found any more Abbeys of the order, as there were already 500. Boxley Abbey was specially named *Abbatia Sanctæ Crucis de Gratiis*—Abbey of the Holy Rood of Grace, for which Holy Rood it was celebrated and visited from all parts of England, for certainly a considerable period.

King Richard I. gave Boxley Manor to the Abbey, 1189, which was confirmed by Henry III. in letters of *inspeximus*, in the 37th of his reign, when he also gave a right to hold a market. In the 7th of Edward I., the Abbot of Boxley claimed a right of free warren in lands in Kent, which was allowed, and it was ascertained that the Abbot had a free Court.

Of this once important Abbey, little visible remains. Important it was from its size, as indicated by the *enceinte* of outer walls now standing, as from the position once held by its Abbots, one of whom negotiated with men of note for the re-

lease of Richard I. in Germany. In Edward I.'s reign, Abbots of Boxley sat three times in Parliament, but the number of Abbots generally sitting in Parliament in Edward III.'s time was reduced, and from that period, for Kent, Canterbury alone (St. Austin) sent an Abbot there. At the Dissolution of Monasteries, Boxley Abbey was surrendered to Henry VIII., January 29th, 28th of Henry's reign, by John Dobbs, its last Abbot, pensioned at £50 a year, the Abbey being then valued according to Dugdale at £98 19s. 7d., the clear income then amounting to £204 4s. 11d. The lands, as Cistercian, were tithe-free.

I have not precisely discovered at what time the main portions, comprising the ecclesiastical part, or chapel of the Abbey, were pulled down, but I am inclined to think it was shortly after it came into King Henry's hands. Henry VIII. exchanged with Sir Thomas Wyatt, of Allington Castle, for other premises, the house and *site* of the Monastery of Boxley lately dissolved. With these were also Boxley Abbey steeple and churchyard, etc., excepting to the King the living of Boxley. All these were soon afterwards again revested in the Crown, and regranted to Sir Thomas Wyatt, son of the Sir Thomas Wyatt before named, to hold *in capite*. By him they were forfeited, in consequence of his rebellion, 1st of Queen Mary, who graciously granted the Manor of Boxley and other lands to his widow, but the Abbey, or *site* of it, remained in the Crown; for Queen Elizabeth granted the *site* and mansion of it, in the fourth year of her reign, to Sir John Astley for a term of years. George Wyatt, son of the attainted Sir Thomas, was restored in blood by the 13th of Elizabeth. After being in the families of Sclyard, Austin, and Amherst, Boxley Abbey became the property of Lord Aylesford. Between the time of Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth's reign, an Elizabethan House, only part of which now stands, was probably erected by the Wyatt family from the Abbey materials; there are the tool marks of that period on a part of the present walls. Then it was, probably, too, that the present terrace was erected to join the wing of the house that ran out on or near the site of the Abbey cloister-court wall—on the terrace low walls are now coping stones

that apparently must have belonged to the quondam Abbey. I have collected all the architectural *débris* about, and they denote good and bold work; the greater part, save a piece of (perhaps original Stephen's time) stone spouting are of the Decorated period, when it would seem the Abbey may have been added to, and was probably at the summit of its splendour. These preserved stone *indicia* are,—two massive spandrils of a large arch with quatrefoil well cut—probably of incipient Perpendicular; a mask or return of hood moulding, part of Decorated window mouldings and arch, part of foliated cusps, and two corbels of Decorated work, not *in situ*, bearing two shields of somewhat different chargings of the Abbey arms. Hasted says that these corbels bearing shields (for I cannot suppose he refers to any others) were in his day on the capitals of two pillars, “from which,” he wrote, “springs a small circular arch, in the garden at the back of the Abbey.” The two corbels with coats of arms now at the Abbey have no signs of having been capitals of pillars, or aught but corbels, pure and simple. The Abbey arms, as tricked in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, and on one of the shields of the corbels now at the Abbey, are—“Argent five lozenges conjoined in bend sinister gules, on a canton of the last, a crozier in pale or”—the other coat bears a bend dexter over a crozier in pale, the lines denoting colours being worn away. There is a stone sepulchral slab, which has been once let into the earth, and probably marked the grave of one of the first Abbots, now on the lawn, bearing on its entire length a rudely sculptured cross of twelfth century work. Of Decorated work (about A.D. 1350) is the excellent timber roof of the Tithe Barn, of collar beam construction, but here and there are tie beams with King posts and struts. Of Decorated work are the arches and other relics of stone in the present residence leading to the kitchen. Three silver small coins of the Edwardian period have been found about of late years, and are in my possession*; as also a good piece of encaustic tile *vesica piscis* pattern (double), fourteenth

century, or Decorated period work. The Decorated period we know (of about seventy years' duration) was during the reigns of the three first Edward kings, and history, as well as Boxley Abbey ruins, testify to its greatness then. It was from Boxley Abbey that King Edward II., while on a visit there on his road to take vengeance on Leeds Castle, executed a grant to the city of London to elect a Mayor every year out of their own body, whereas previously they had been governed by a baliff, or *prepositus*, placed over them by the King. Leeds Castle had refused to admit Edward's Queen on her pilgrimage to Canterbury—the “she wolf of France” as she has been termed by the poet, Gray.

About Boxley Abbey now are to be found architectural remains of Bethersden marble; the capital of a shaft of it—early English—is, I think, in this* Museum; and at the Abbey is now a good base of a pillar—early English—of the same stone. Tufa is here and there to be picked out of parts of the walls standing. A portion of the wall of the residence is of several feet thickness, and, externally, has the remains of three lancet windows blocked up. The archway leading to the Abbey—shamefully mutilated by modern Vandalism—is of a superior brick, of various patterns, and is of about Henry VII.'s time. One can distinguish the site of the early Cistercian buildings fairly throughout, and the base of the cloaca massive wall below where stood the buildings, has the apertures above the drain gullies still remaining. In the larger external wall round the meadow is a singular lintel of single stone projecting from the wall, as if where a doorway would have been. The jambies prostrate. These are of rough unworked stone like those of prehistoric times.

The terrace, constructed, I conjecture, about the time of Elizabeth, was visited by Baxter, the well-known Nonconformist, in 1681, when on a visit to the Wyatt family, who has thus recorded it:—

It did me good when Mrs. Wyatt invited me to see Boxley Abbey in Kent; to see upon the old stone wall in the garden a summer house with this inscription in great golden letters: “That in that place Mr. George Sandys (the poet), after his travels over the world, retired himself for his poetry and contemplations.”

* These silver pennies of Edward IV.'s time, as verified to me at the British Museum, would, of course, belong to a period when Perpendicular architecture prevailed, and the Decorated had passed away.

* Maidstone.

This summer house has disappeared, but there are traces on the terrace of where we may imagine it stood. I possess an old print of 1809-11, which seems to indicate on the terrace, where was George Sandys' retreat. He died at Boxley Abbey in 1643, and, to a reader caring for the early English poets, it would be anything but a *mauvais quatre d'heure* to dip into his "Divine Poems."

There was once a chapel (St. Andrew's) hard by the outer wall and gate of the Abbey, which was served by Boxley Convent, to whom it belonged. Of this there now remains almost the entire shell of the fabric, now used as a cottage. This is a curious relic of old monastic time, having attached to what has been the chapel proper a house for the chaplain, of two rooms, one above the other. The building is of free stone to a great extent, but a portion of the more domestic work is of lath and plaster work, oak tacks being used. There are several blocked windows, but others are open. The building is of 15th century work. The site of Boxley Abbey, though occupied by so many buildings more or less modern, is remarkable from the fact that these appear to be set out on the old lines. They are all at right angles to each other, and face east and west, and their place, if laid down on paper, would show very much of the form usually noticed in a Cistercian house of moderate size. Thus the dwelling-house occupies apparently part of the site of the Abbot's house. The usual cloister court is represented by a green lawn. The place where the chapter house and slype and day-room is found is here a raised bank, while the high terrace of masonry leading from the latter appears to occupy the site of the church. An ancient semi-circular arch to the east of the present house, and a long portion of original walling, would appear to be a part of the kitchen and refectory. The site is covered to a great extent by comparatively modern raised banks for garden purposes, or by the curious masonry terrace. The barn, already referred to, is a "fine and noble specimen," as Mr. Loftus Brock terms it, of a monastic store-house, still, as an archaeological relic, in good preservation.

In the above paper, I purposely abstained

from any allusion to the "rood" found at the Abbey at its dissolution. Mr. Brownbill's admirable remarks upon it, however, prompt me here to ask with him, "Was there any fraud?" Its story was mixed up with the religious heat of the time, and was a trump card to King Henry VIII. in forwarding his views of monastic spoliation and robbery; but, beyond that, I have found no evidence of systematic fraud on the part of the Boxley Abbey monks as to its possession, though that there was a crucifix there, such as described by Reformation historians, with a figure moved by rough mechanism, is certain; but when or how used, or for what purposes, there is no trustworthy explanation, while it is a remarkable fact that not one single witness, so far as I have discovered, was adduced at its exhibition for denouncement on Maidstone market day, to state that he had seen the Boxley Abbey monks applying it in any supposed working of miracles; whereas, as Mr. Brownbill urges, the fact of the wood of the crucifix being "rotten," and its mechanical wires "rusty," seems to indicate that no such use was made of it, at all events, at the time of the Abbey's dissolution.

The word "miracle" has more than one meaning, and in a non-theological sense merely denotes the marvellous. In the Dark Ages it was customary to exhibit on solemn festivals the lives and miracles of the saints, or important stories of Scripture, such as the Passion and Resurrection of Christ. This was done by mysteries, or miracle plays, illustrated by figures or otherwise; and these plays were acted in England soon after the Conquest, and lasted up to the Reformation, when they were succeeded by moral plays, or moralities. Miracle plays flourished much in the days of Chaucer, when Boxley Abbey was in its prime.

In 1524 Archbishop Wareham wrote of Boxley Abbey as "so holy a place, where so many miracles were shown" (not "*performed*"); which, it may be supposed, referred to the images of St. Rombold and the crucifix rood in question, termed elsewhere "sotelties" (subtleties). Before we conclude, and take it for granted, like Bishop Hilsey, of Rochester, that they were held up as objects of adoration, (and not mere worship in its purer English meaning—honour: "with my body I thee

worship," says the marriage service),* we should have some evidence of their having been seen to be so used by the Boxley Abbey convent, and of their having been described by the monks as working miracles in a scriptural and supernatural sense, of which there appears to be literally no evidence whatever.

At any rate, as to the mere possession of a Rood or image at the time of its suppression, Boxley Abbey was within its right, for the practice of the Greek and Latin Church alike permitted it; indeed, through the remainder of Henry VIII.'s reign images were allowed in churches, and up to Edward VI.'s time, when the order in Council was given for their removal,—an order, as Hallam has termed it, "executed with a rigour which lovers of art and antiquity have long deplored."

In pre-Reformation days, Boxley Abbey was far from being the only ecclesiastical edifice that possessed a "Holy-Rood" or crucifix of great sanctity. There was one, for instance, in the Church of the Trinity Friars Monastery at Peebles, as the poem of *Peebles to the Play*, composed by King James I. of Scotland, testifies. What can be more descriptive of nature than the rude but touching lines,—

Wat Alkin said to fair Alice,
"My bird now will I fare"—
The devil a word that she might speak,
But swooned that sweet of swair,†
for kindness of Peebles to the play.

He fipplet like an featherless fowl,
And [said] "Be still, my sweet thing,
By the haly Rood of Peebles
I may not rest for greeting."

He whistlet and he pipit baith,
to make her blyth that meeting,
"My bonny heart how says the sang,
There shall be mirth at our meeting yet
of Peebles to the play."

A key to the depreciatory tale against Boxley Abbey may be found perhaps in the following circumstance. When the Reformation was in progress, and discontent was expected from the clergy on the loss of monastic lands, the witty Sir Thomas Wyatt, the poet, whose lands of Allington Castle adjoined Boxley,

* This meaning was fully explained by King James I. to the Nonconformist divines at the Hampton Court Conference.

† Sorrow.

suggested to the king, to "butter the Rooks' nests, and they would never trouble him,"—meaning a propitiation of the great families by gifts of Church possessions; and through this advice being followed, he obtained at its dissolution Boxley Abbey from the king. If the king, as is recorded, was delighted at the "exposure" of the Boxley Rood, no one was more likely to have brought it forcibly to his notice than Sir T. Wyatt, who would be naturally entitled to reward for so practical an argument. "I will give thee the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite." But it is well to mark the Nemesis that awaited the ill-gained possession.

This very Boxley Abbey, with the Wyatt paternal estate of Allington Castle, was forfeited to the Crown, not twenty years afterwards, by the son of Sir Thomas Wyatt, who was executed on the accession of Queen Mary, for high treason, on Tower Hill.

When so great and good a man as Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder erred in availing himself of the tempting offer of Church plunder, can we wonder that others failed? Sir Thomas Wyatt knew the king's weaknesses well, and despised them, as shown by his poem entitled, *He ruleth not, though he reign over realms subject to his own lusts*.

The aspersion on this time-honoured place has been handed down from generation to generation, but seems to stand on that foundation, mainly named by La Fontaine, "La raison du plus fort est toujours la meilleure."

Boxley Abbey (*Abbatia S. Crucis de Graciis*).



A Rock-hewn Greek Monastery in Apulia.

BY THE REV. H. F. TOZER.



THE remarkable place of which it is the object of the present paper to give an account is situated in south-eastern Italy, in the neighbourhood of the town of Brindisi. My attention was first called to its existence by the mention of

it in the *Academy*, by that distinguished archæologist, M. François Lenormant; and it has been made the subject of a memoir by an Italian ecclesiastic and *savant*, Signor Tarantini, in whose pamphlet, entitled *Di alcune cripte nell' agro di Brindisi* (Napoli, 1878), much information has been brought together concerning this and similar hermitages. The curiosity of the place, as described by those writers, and its connection with the Greek settlements in southern Italy, which are full of interest, made me desirous of exploring it; and this I succeeded in doing at the end of last September, in company with my friend Mr. Crowder, taking Signor Tarantini's memoir for our guide.

These antiquities are situated close to a farm, called the *Masseria Giannuzzo*, which lies about six or seven miles north-west of Brindisi, between the railway from that place to Ancona and the sea, near the San Vito station, which is the first station out from Brindisi. The ground in the immediate neighbourhood of that town is for the most part an unbroken level, but at a distance of about four miles it begins to break into gentle undulations, which yet are so slight as to make the position, to all appearance, a hopeless one for archæological discovery; because it is too open to allow of anything being concealed. But the *tufa*, of which all the rock in this neighbourhood is composed, now appears at intervals through the light soil by which it is covered; and here and there small valleys are formed, with *tufa* cliffs at the sides, varying from ten to twenty feet in height. Less than a hundred yards from the Giannuzzo farm is such a valley; and in the rocks on the southern side of this are found the antiquities. They consist of a rock-hewn chapel, dedicated to St. Blaise, and the habitations, if so they can be called, of the monks. The chapel was in the middle, and the habitations were on either side of it. Let me describe the latter first. In the cliffs to your right, as you face the chapel, is an opening in the rock leading into a chamber of no great size; in one part of which, slightly above the floor, a level place has been scraped in the stone, sufficiently large for a man to lie upon; while in parts of the side-walls small niches have been rudely carved, which could only have been used for

depositing lamps or similar vessels. Just beyond this chamber, again, six tall niches have been cut side by side in the face of the cliff, which ended downwards, two feet from the ground, in hollow seats, resembling basins, which would admit of persons sitting or partly reclining in them. In the cliff to the left of the chapel a large chamber has been excavated, about twelve feet in height, and sixty feet in diameter, and, roughly speaking, circular in form. In various parts of the side-walls of this are level places for lying on, like the one which has been mentioned in the small chamber. The roof has lately been supported in the middle by a stone pier, to prevent its falling in. Other rude dwelling-places of the same kind are found in the neighbourhood.

The niches with hollow seats which we find here were intended to serve for places of repose for the monks at night. Signor Tarantini has brought together ample evidence from ancient Christian writers, from Sozomen onwards, to prove that one of the things most strictly ordered in the early monastic regulations was, that the monks should not enjoy comfortable or unbroken sleep. With a view to this, arrangements were made that they might not lie flat, or stretch out their limbs to their full length. Their position in taking rest was to be either a sitting or a reclining posture, and that within confined limits. These requirements were amply provided for in these stone niches. But the primitive monastic laws, it must be remembered, were intended to suit the mild climate of Egypt; and their severity was greatly increased when they were applied in a country exposed to violent changes of climate. We may well suppose, therefore, that the excavated chambers were constructed to serve as refuges in inclement weather. They may also have been inhabited by those of the brethren whose constitutions were incapable of enduring the stricter rule.

The chapel, which was situated midway between these habitations, was rectangular in form, forty-three feet in length, by eighteen in breadth, and nine in height, and was entirely excavated in the *tufa*, with a flat roof. It faced due east, and ran parallel to the face of the cliff, just within it, and separated from the open air by a wall of rock, which was left

for that purpose. It was originally entered by two doors, pierced through different parts of this wall; but the more easterly of these has now been partially built up, so that only the upper part remains open, and forms a window. Within, at the east end, a wide, oblong recess has been hewn out of the rock, and the slab formed by the lower level of this, about three feet from the ground, was the altar; in front of it was a raised step, for the priest to stand on. At the back of this recess three figures of saints have been painted at a late date, and these have been partly defaced, and are of no interest. A seat, about a foot high from the ground, runs along the south and west sides of the entire chamber; otherwise the place is devoid of architectural features.

The eastern half of this chapel has no ancient decorations, and does not seem to have had any, though the space of wall which intervenes between the two doors shows traces of pictures which once existed there, and are now almost obliterated. But with the exception of a part of this wall, the whole of the western half, including the roof, is covered with Byzantine frescoes of the most interesting description, the colours of which are often faint, and the figures, in some cases, partially defaced; but when we consider that the place was neglected for many centuries, and at one time used as a shelter for cattle, the wonder is that so much remains. Some of the paintings have also been wantonly mutilated, for in 1864, when the neighbouring railway was in course of construction, a number of the workmen employed upon it inhabited the chapel, and drove nails into the frescoed wall to hang their tools from, and even fired bullets at the heads of some of the figures.

We are not left without evidence as to the period at which this work of ornamentation was executed. On the under side of a slab immediately within the lintel of the door, which is still open, is a long inscription in mediæval Greek, the greater part of which is no longer legible, but enough remains to inform us that the chapel was dedicated to St. Blaise, and that the time at which it was decorated was the end of the twelfth century. The date is fortunately in the innermost part of the inscription, and consequently has escaped the effects of weather better than the

remainder. It is given in Greek numerals, and is the year 6705, according to the Greek era of the world, which is 1197 of the Christian era. The indiction which is appended to it corresponds to this.

I will now proceed to give an account of the frescoes themselves. To begin with the space—a narrow one—between the door and the western wall. Here there are two figures—on the right of the spectator an ascetic, grey-bearded person, on the left a youth with shaven face and priestly garments, holding in his left hand a book, richly set with gems. Tarantini says the latter is St. Hesychius, but no searching enabled me to discover the name. Between the two, but not more than half their height, is a small figure, only traceable in outline, with the letters Ω close to it, standing, we may suppose, for Ἰωάννης . This could not have been St. John, as the title $\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ is not prefixed to it; from which circumstance Tarantini is led to think, with some probability, that it was the name of the person at whose expense the paintings were executed. The figure on the western wall, next to these, is that of St. Blaise, the patron saint of the place, of whom I will speak more at length later on. His head is surrounded by an aureole, his left hand holds a book, and he wears an alb, a richly-flowered *paenula*, or *p'aneta*, and the *pallium*. His name is given on either side of his face in vertical lines, as is often the case with Greek frescoes—O AOS BAACIOS. His right hand is extended, in the act of blessing a number of wild animals,—a tiger, or leopard, a stag, and others,—which occupy the lower division of the next compartment of the wall; above them are several human figures, hard to distinguish, but probably representing the pious women who wiped up the saint's blood at the time of his martyrdom, and a youth who was healed by him. The next figure is that of St. Nicolas, who faces the spectator, in the act of giving the blessing; he, also, has the aureole, and vestments in most points resembling those of St. Blaise; but he is distinguished from all the other personages represented here by having his name inscribed in Latin characters—S. NICOLAUS. The remaining portion of the western wall is occupied by two of the youthful warrior saints, so familiar in Greek ecclesiastical

painting—St. George and St. Demetrius. St. George rides a white horse, St. Demetrius one somewhat darker in colour, and both are armed with breastplates, narrow triangular shields, and lances. St. George is transfixing the head of the dragon, and St. Demetrius some object now obliterated.

A considerable portion of the southern wall is occupied with subjects relating to the Nativity. In the right-hand upper corner the Angel of the Lord is appearing to the shepherds, who have the title ΠΗΜΕΝΕC. And here I may remark, in passing, that the itacism, and other errors of orthography which are found in the inscriptions in this place, show that these painters wrote Greek like the inferior copyists of the period. But the most conspicuous group in this neighbourhood is one which Tarantini interprets to be the circumcision, including a large figure of the Madonna, and others of St. Joseph and of two women, one of whom holds the infant Saviour, with a basin on a stand between them. There was also another figure, which is now obliterated. The Madonna is distinguished by the letters MP ΘΥ (μήτηρ θεοῦ). Beyond this picture come the Magi, all three on horseback, Melchior and Gaspar being placed above, with their names, and Balthasar below; so that here, as elsewhere, there is no attempt at perspective. Finally, the paintings of the south wall are concluded by two figures—the first, in attitude and dress resembling St. Nicolas, which Tarantini says is Pope Sylvester I.; the second, St. Stephen.

We now come to the frescoes on the roof, which are, on the whole, very well preserved. The decorated portion of this—that is, the western half—is divided into three compartments, running across from one side to the other. In the first, or westernmost, of these two subjects are represented the Flight into Egypt and the Presentation in the Temple. In the former the Virgin is seated on a white ass, in front of which, holding the reins, walks a youthful figure with the title ΙΑΚΟΒΙ; this must be St. James the Less, who, as a relation of the family, is supposed to accompany them on their journey. Behind them comes St. Joseph, carrying the Holy Child, and above the group is a flying angel. In the picture of the Presentation the central figures

are the Virgin, and Simeon holding the Child in his arms; and on one side of them is Joseph, bearing a cage, with doves; on the other Anna the prophetess. In the second compartment is seen the Annunciation, which subject comprises the Virgin and the archangel Gabriel, together with half-length figures of the prophets Isaiah and Zechariah; and the Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem, with the Saviour seated on an ass, and on one side a palm tree and some Jewish personages. In the third and last compartment is one grand subject combining the visions of Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. In the centre is a large seated figure of Christ, in the act of blessing, and holding in His right hand the book of the Gospels, open, on which is written the text, "I am the vine, and my Father the husbandman" (ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἀμπελος, ὁ πατήρ μου γεωργός); about His head is inscribed the text from Daniel, "The Ancient of Days," in an abbreviated form—

Ο ΙΑΑ ΤΩΝΙ ΜΕΡΟΝ.

On either side of him are two of the four beasts of Ezekiel's vision, which are, at the same time, the emblems of the four evangelists, and the names of these are attached to them. All have wings, and the nimbus round their heads. Flanking these are figures of seraphim, with six wings, as in Isaiah's vision; and, lastly, on one side is the Prophet Ezekiel, on the other the Prophet Daniel.

With regard to these frescoes, it is to be observed that they are unmistakably Byzantine, and possess the power, which the better pictures of that style usually possess, of representing the passive virtues, such as resignation and humility. Byzantine painting generally has been somewhat unreasonably depreciated, because it is only known through the inferior specimens which are found in Western Europe; but still there is, unquestionably, more expression in the faces of these of which we are speaking, and more originality of treatment in the subjects, than is usually found in Byzantine works of art. There is also much delicacy in the execution. All this probably arises from the artists having been withdrawn from the traditional types, and working more on lines of their own, whence their work became less mechanical.

We have seen that the period at which

these decorations were executed was the end of the twelfth century; this, however, must not mislead us with regard to the date of the monastic settlement itself, for the rudeness of the dwellings seems to imply a much greater antiquity. It should also be remarked that this Greek hermitage is not a solitary instance in South Italy. About a mile distant from this one, a similar rock-chapel exists, with a smaller number of frescoes, and in a field adjacent to it is a large subterranean grotto, now half filled with soil, called by the country people *Le Sette Camere*, which was a retreat for ascetics. Others also have been found, both in the neighbourhood of Brindisi, and near Ostuni, to the north-west of that place, though they are of inferior interest;* and more, no doubt, remain to be discovered. The questions then suggest themselves, what account is to be given of these settlements of Greek anchorites? and with what system or movement were they associated? The evidence on this subject, as might be expected, is very meagre, and we have to be content with side lights by which to illustrate it. It is further connected with another debatable question, viz., at what periods, and to what extent, Greek was a spoken language in Southern Italy. As to this latter point, which I cannot do more than touch on, my own opinion is that the use of ancient Greek in Magna Græcia died out during the first or second century of the Christian era. Anyhow, there is no doubt that the Greek which is now spoken in those parts (for it is still used in two groups of villages, one near the heel, the other near the toe, of Italy), is not lineally descended from it, but was introduced by colonists from Greece, who established themselves there at various periods from the sixth to the seventeenth century. It is probable that the most extensive of these emigrations took place in the eighth and ninth centuries; and as that was the age of the iconoclastic controversy in the Eastern Church, during which time the worshippers of images were frequently persecuted, and as the monks were the strongest adherents of that worship, there is great likelihood that many of these religious devotees then took refuge in Italy, where they could maintain their traditional practice

* Tarantini, p. 26.

without molestation, and that these monastic settlements date from that time.

Let us now turn to St. Blaise, who is the patron saint of this hermitage. He was bishop of Sebaste (the modern Sivas), in Cappadocia, at the beginning of the fourth century, and was martyred at that place in the time of the Emperor Licinius. He had been a physician before he was made bishop, and one cause of his subsequent popularity as a saint throughout Europe was, that he was supposed to have the power of curing the toothache. But his especial gift was that of removing a fishbone or other bone which had stuck in a person's throat—an art which he exercised during his lifetime in the case of a youth who was dying from that cause (this is the youth who is thought to be represented in the fresco, described above), and which he continued to possess after death. A Greek medical writer, Aëtius, who lived about two centuries later, mentions the formula to be used in getting rid of such an obstacle; it runs as follows:—

O bone, if thou art a bone, or whatsoever else thou art, come forth: Blaise the Martyr, the Servant of Christ, says to thee, "Either go downwards, or come upwards."

In England, St. Blaise is the patron saint of wool-combers, in consequence of his flesh having been torn with iron combs shortly before his martyrdom. Finally he became the patron of wild animals, because on one occasion at a time of persecution he retired to a cave on the side of Mount Argæus, in the south of Cappadocia, and during his residence there the animals resorted to him, and were healed by him of any pains that they were suffering, after which they refused to leave him.* This part of the story accounts for their being associated with him in the painting here.

It is the mention of Mount Argæus, in this part of the legend, which has led me to dwell on the story of St. Blaise, because in the neighbourhood of that mountain are found the traces of the most elaborate system of rock-hewn monasteries that existed anywhere, except perhaps in Egypt. In that region the cliffs, in places, are literally honey-combed with monastic habitations; and the

* The story of St. Blaise is given in the *Acta Sanctorum* for February 3rd.

valley of Gueremeh in particular, which I visited four years ago, though it is totally deserted, and though no mention of it exists either in history or local tradition, must have been an extraordinary centre of eremitic and coenobitic life. As the object of a paper like the present is to communicate original matter, and the information which I have to give on the subject of these Cappadocian monasteries is already published in my volume on Asia Minor and Armenia, I will not enter farther on this subject. Suffice it to say, that of the many strange places it has been my fortune to see, none has appeared to me more wonderful than this valley, with its innumerable chambers in the rocks, many of them now inaccessible, including dwelling-places, burial-places, refectories, and churches, all of which were excavated, and the places of worship ornamented with elaborate architectural carvings and rich Byzantine frescoes. The monastery which I have been describing in Apulia possesses many features of resemblance to these, though *it* was rather an association of hermits, while *they* represent an advanced phase of coenobitic life. In both districts the cliffs are composed of soft yet firm *tufa*, in which the chambers have been hollowed out; and in both of them, in various parts of the dwellings, are low seats or places for reclining on, and small niches in the walls. The similarity is still further increased by the paintings.

These correspondences, however, might be accidental, or might have resulted from the same system working itself out under similar circumstances. But the name of St. Blaise seems to afford a further connecting link between them, for it is not only to the hermitage at the Giannuzzo farm that it is attached; the one which has been discovered near Ostuni also is situated on a mountain dedicated to St. Blaise, so that we might almost surmise that he was the representative saint of these communities. On the other hand, though St. Blaise is held in honour in the Orthodox Communion, and here and there churches are found to bear his name, I have nowhere in Greece or Turkey met with a monastery dedicated to him. It is therefore all the more remarkable that among the Greek monks of southern Italy he should have been held in especial honour. This

would be more easy of explanation if we could suppose some connection to have existed between the Cappadocian and the Apulian monasteries. That there was such a connection I do not venture to say; I only suggest the possibility. The period of history to which they belong is a dark one, and the ramifications of the monastic system were such as to admit of the strangest influences and most improbable combinations.



Public Rights in the Thames.

BY HUBERT HALL.

PART I.



ALMOST all of us have an interest in the Thames. We have been wont to boat on it, to loiter beside its banks, how and where we pleased; or, if we have not ourselves, then we know others who do so; and our natures have not prevented us from taking at least as active a part in the pleasures of others as in our own.

Add two further recreations, angling and bathing, and the sum of the enjoyments to be derived from the river is complete. This is not a very varied programme for the citizen versed in the brilliant entertainments provided for him nearer home; yet it is one which never fails of meeting with a hearty reception from him, and from others less interested than he. However, it seems that even this list is to be cut down, and, what is worse, cut down at the wrong end. Certain recent decisions, based indeed on no high legal authority, but none the less, from the impunity which has been granted to them, powerful for evil, have practically annulled the right of open fishery throughout the Thames, which has been the privilege of the subject from time immemorial. Such a decree is all the harder to be borne, inasmuch as, whilst this venerable liberty—to which all the rest are linked as in a chain—is thus attacked, comparatively modern encroachments, notoriously harmful to the interests of the public, are either openly indulged, or at most but faintly resisted. Steam-launches, scorning the cockney reaches of Hammersmith and Putney, squeeze their

way up to the higher and clearer waters, through locks and cuts never made for their bulk, and there disport themselves, huge reeking, blowing, hungry Tritons amongst the tender holiday fry. At the same time, too, that the contemplative angler is ousted from his more secluded haunts, the most public portions of the river are appropriated at certain seasons to the sole use of the unapproachable bather.

Now, though from opposite extremes, these evils have the same tendency. The one is an infringement of the great trust committed to the Crown on the part of the nation; the other is its abuse.

The Norman kings, who by the most valid and binding acts debarred themselves and their feudal followers from any further interested enjoyment of a public river, certainly no more contemplated the resumption of such rights at a future period under the very eyes of the law, than they did the possibility of the luxurious barge being converted into a steam-launch; or, of their subjects making use, unbidden, of any greater quantity of water than could be contained in a brazen ewer of the period. So the case stands, and though it is ever irksome to be compelled to produce evidence of a right which might be thought sufficiently sacred through long custom, yet as none such, even when unrighteously attacked, has been successfully upheld without the fullest exertions on the part of those whom it concerns, a strenuous defence must be, and happily is being, here also made. The angler, and the rower no less, will for the moment lay aside his gear and become, if not an amateur historian or antiquary in "the cause," at least a ready supporter thereof, however humbly, in purse and person.

It is a satisfaction to know that, owing mainly to the untiring warnings and exertions of one man, and a few more like him, an association has been formed which will at any rate provide means for carrying the cases which in the future are likely to arise before the superior courts of law; even if it does not succeed in effectually awakening the interest of those to whom the guardianship of this trust rightfully belongs.* Yet, as even

* Thames Rights Defence Association. Hon. Sec., 11, Old Jewry Chambers, E.C.

then the subject will be made to wear chiefly a legal aspect, a short sketch of the constitutional principles involved may be of interest to the aquatic community and their friends or sympathizers.

When our ancestors settled this country by way of townships, part of the land was occupied by allodial owners, and a still larger share remained at the disposal of the nation. From this surplus stock grants were made to the king as the representative, broadly speaking, of the unity of the race; but after the Conquest, at the latest, all the remaining folc-land lay at the discretion of the Crown; which, by the gradual extinction of allodial tenures, and the assimilation of territorial possession with territorial jurisdiction, became the supreme land-owner of the country.

Now, leaving on one side the gradual development henceforward of jurisdictions from the local to the central, we must keep in mind the great objects that were meant to be attained in this altered territorial position of the sovereign.

In those rude times, the king's "peace" was the only lay warrant which had the same force everywhere, and it was through his position of chief landlord that the ends of justice could best be reached by the chief magistrate. Not only was such a supervision of use in the case of the great vassals and of all their humble dependants, but still more in that of the community at large; and later still, in a more marked degree, of the mercantile portion of the same. This was the happy result of the unfettered jurisdiction of the sovereign within that vast area which he had taken over as the residue of the old folc-land. The forests, wastes, and commons afforded boundless facilities for that lawlessness towards persons and property, which it was the chief object of every good, and, therefore, every strong king to repress: and those who judge the forest *régime* by the analogy of a society girdled with an imperial police, would do well to bear in mind the end which justified such means, and the success which glorified them both!

The objects of the protection thus afforded were chiefly those who travelled—seldom then but for weighty reasons—by the great roads or rivers.

Those highways led from one inland town to another, and it was these that were mainly interested in the preservation of the king's peace throughout their avenues of commerce.* As the very hardships of the forest-laws afforded a protection from worse evils to the peaceful subject, so the special jurisdiction of the king on the highroads and navigable rivers assured his exemption from arbitrary molestation at a very trifling cost. The itinerant merchant who had paid the king's dues would be secure from any invitation to minister to the personal wants of Robert de Belesme; nor in any stream which the king had placed "in defence" for his own gratification, would the wool-laden barge be arrested by dams of wicker fish-kettles erected each spring by the riparian owners.†

It was, then, to the interest of the Crown to consult the safety and convenience of the public upon the great central thoroughfares. By so doing it fulfilled the trust it had, perhaps arbitrarily, assumed; and even thus early, it has been seen, it benefited thereby in a more substantial manner.

This latter motive was soon still further stimulated. A corporate life, distinct from the national organization, was repulsive, and therefore practically unknown to the Teutonic settlers; yet half a century after the conquest saw considerable progress made in certain great towns, towards municipal independence.

Both parties interested gained equally by such an arrangement, for liberties and free customs acquired by fine have always strengthened the hands of the Crown, whilst increasing the prosperity of the recipients. It was so in the case of the charters sparingly granted by the Norman, and more lavishly by the Angevin kings, each of whom saw in the progress of the great cities an inexhaustible source of strength, if not of wealth, to the Crown.

The steps taken to promote this early local self-government were simple enough, being at first mainly connected with independent taxation. Next the local jurisdiction is

* Excerpts *De Pace Regis*, Cott. MSS., Claud D. II., *infra*.

† For example, during Lent. Contemporary and later accounts and inquisitions will show the enormous consumption of fish, and the value of fresh-water fisheries.

severed from the central; varying but ever extending immunities and graces are added, and for all practical purposes the organization is complete. Later franchises are more or less completely assimilated with those of an earlier grant, that of London being the coveted model for them all. Now having gone so far, and before entering upon an examination of the nature of these grants, in so far as they concern our purpose, it will be well to ascertain what it was that the Crown gave up for the above-mentioned considerations.

The change of tenures from the allodial to the feudal had been hastened by other than internal causes. The conquest had placed immense tracts of land at the disposal of the Crown, and these it had portioned out amongst its faithful supporters; so that the king as a usurper, and the great vassals as the well-paid servants of the Crown, now held in perpetuity what had once in large part been enjoyed only as a trust. Thus came to pass the possibility of the later legal assumption—that any given passage or natural enjoyment will belong of presumptive right to the territorial owner. Thus in the case of a river, the right of fishery is *primâ facie* enjoyed by the riparian owners, up to mid-stream, on either side; or if one person owns the land on both sides, he is vested with the whole of the rights. It was at this point that the Crown came into contact with its tenants in the public interest, so as to have perpetuated another legal maxim, which completes the view of the whole case as it stands at present. This second position is this. That certain great rivers, being free fisheries, have become public and common by incontrovertible show of expediency, and so exempt, since 1 Ric. I., from any several profit or enjoyment whatever.*

The interested standpoint of the Crown with regard to this subject will be easily concluded from some previous remarks, but, stated more at length, it may be given thus.

The special jurisdiction which the king had taken over with the public lands was extended, from motives as much of expediency as of convenience, to the territories of his vassals. A monopoly, or rather, so to

* Hale; Glanville "Of Purprestures."

speak, a pre-emption of sport, was the perquisite he gained in consideration of undertaking a great deal of unpleasant work. As a matter of policy, too, it was desirable to keep a closer hold upon the working of the great baronies. A refractory vassal might brow-beat the king's justice, but when he had to appear on certain days before the Chief Forester, for all the world like a suspected poacher, he could not but feel that he had here to deal more immediately with his feudal superior. It is notorious that under Cnut, the great thegns made a near approach to that state of feudal anarchy which it was the firm resolve of the Norman kings not to see reproduced in England, and the only authentic forestal decree of Cnut declares that "every man shall be entitled to his hunting in wood and in field, on his own possession."*

In the case of rivers, the great highways for traffic,—and, of rivers, before all the Thames,—the interest in safe custody was the same with that of the forests—and even greater, though the personal gratification to be derived therefrom was far less considerable. It was during its inland passage that the merchant or adventurer most needed protection for his cargo. Upon the narrow seas the dignity of the Crown was only represented by the faintest show of nationality on the part of its subjects. The mariners of the Cinque Ports swept the channel, and for centuries the French pirates played a losing game against these most audacious of marauders.† But to run the gauntlet of the obstructions, the exactions, even confiscations of the river-side barons, was no slight peril, and that these were not wholly imaginary is proved by the violent outcries raised against such encroachments.

It was especially during the reign of a weak king that these evils made themselves felt. The "land rats" who under Stephen pillaged the towns and devoured the crops‡ could turn "water-rats" on occasion, with little regard for the king's peace in places where, in the best of times, it had been with difficulty

* "Secular Dooms," cap. 81. It was claimed for the Crown in Bates' Case to afforest anywhere at discretion. Lane's Reports, State Trials, II., p. 400, etc.

† See *Petitions to Parliament*, 14th and 15th centuries.

‡ Wm. Newb., i. 22.

maintained. We seem to recognize, too, the authors of the encroachments on the Thames, and, doubtless, also on other common rivers, complained of in Magna Charta, when we have ascertained the whereabouts of the local jurisdiction of those whom Matthew Paris stigmatizes as the "most wicked councilors" of King John—De Vere, FitzPeter, De Wrotham, De Cornhill, Waland the German, and all the rest of the servile gang to whom the king's castles were given over to keep, and the king's people to pillage.* Doubtless the Crown connived at such wrong-doings, but it must soon have made the discovery that the paltry share which it received of the spoil was but a small set-off against the evil wrought upon the prosperity and loyalty of its city.

The sport which could be obtained from a river, though not forming the only reason for placing it "in defence," was, no doubt, still an important consideration. On some bright winter's morning the king might choose to hawk along the banks of the shallow, pebbly Thames, attended, we may suppose, by his courtiers, and his long train of mounted falconers, each in charge of a "herne" or a goshawk.

The fisherman who had the charge of supplying the royal table would throw his nets for the luce or lamprey; but above all, those who could show the royal letters patent might reap a fat harvest from their salmon-slucies or eel-bucks.

Yet the game was hardly worth the candle. The king had really no excuse, as he had no inclination, for playing fast and loose with the welfare of a great community, for his own exercise and disport were drawn almost exclusively from another source—the royal forests. Here, indeed, he showed himself a jealous master and a grasping neighbour; but here, at least, he jarred on no important interests. The three bakers who "destroyed one eel in the forest of Passing," felt, as the forest rolls† inform us, the full weight of the royal displeasure; when the riparian magnate, the proprietor of a dozen fish-weirs, would have escaped free but for the clamours

* I have identified most of the above in the Patent Rolls of John.

† This reading is perhaps apocryphal; still, the disparity is the same.

of those wealthy friends and powerful enemies of the Crown, the mayor and barons of London.

This view of the case is so happily expressed in a passage from the famous treatise of Richard, Bishop of London, that I venture to give a version of it here :—

In the forests, too, is placed the retreat of kings and their chiefest delight ; for hither, laying aside all cares, they repair to take their hunting, to the end that they may be refreshed by some taste of ease. There, losing at once the suits and strife of courts, for one short space they breathe the fresh air of sylvan liberty ; and hence it is meet that they who offend against this state should lie at the sole mercy of the king.*

The Crown, then, could appreciate the beneficial effects of "sylvan liberty" upon a hard-worked portion of the community ; and, above all, it could here afford to be generous. By constituting the citizens guardians of their own territory, by removing the restrictions which debarred them from hunting in the neighbouring shires, or from the enjoyment of their river at least as far as they cared to extend it, it vindicated its dignity by providing for their security, and added to the same through their increased prosperity, thus attaining the two objects to which even the interested provisions of the forest laws and defence writs were subservient.

A motive for such transfer of jurisdiction having been thus suggested, it remains for us to ascertain in what way this was effected, and to what extent it was thereafter maintained.

(To be continued.)



Coinage of the British Islands.

By C. F. KEARY, M.A., F.S.A.

II. (continued).

FROM THE REIGN OF HENRY VII. TO OUR OWN TIME.



WE have, in order to dismiss the history of copper coinage, advanced far beyond the period with which we had been dealing. Before we again return to it,—that is, to the English coinage immediately subsequent to the death

of Elizabeth,—we will take one glance at the Scottish coinage during the intervening period between the accession of James IV. —spoken of in our last paper—and that of James I.

The coinage of Scotland during this period follows the same general lines as the English currency, but in many respects it likewise shows clear traces of French influence. Such influence is most apparent in matters belonging to art. We have said that the first coins with portraits are some groats of James IV. These pieces are noticeable from the fact that the type of bust does not resemble the type on any English contemporary coin. It is a three-quarter face to left. James V. at first struck groats nearly resembling those of Henry VII.'s later coinage ; that is to say, having a crowned bust to right. The most artistically beautiful among the Scottish coins belong to this reign and the early part of the succeeding one—the reign of Mary. Nothing can be more artistic than the bonnet pieces of James V., a gold coin in weight $88\frac{1}{2}$ grains, midway between the English half-sovereign and the angel, and having on the obverse the bust of the king wearing a square cap or bonnet ; except perhaps the ryals of the early years of Mary's reign. The same influences which were at work bringing about an immense extension of the English coinage, are traceable, though in a less degree, between the reigns of James IV. and James VI. A large number of gold coins was issued during these reigns. James IV. struck *St. Andrews*, *riders*, and *unicorns*, with the divisions of these pieces ; James V. *ecus* and *bonnet-pieces* ; Mary *ecus* or *crowns*, *twenty-shilling pieces*, *lions*, *ryals*, and *ducats*, with the divisions of most of these coins. The same queen struck silver *ryals*, a much larger coin than had been issued by any of her predecessors. Her other silver coins were the two-third and third *ryal*, and the *testoon* and half-*testoon*.

We have said that the Scotch monarchs went far beyond the English both in degrading the title and in debasing the material of their money. No professedly *billon* coins were ever issued from the English mint : the Scottish had long established a currency in this base metal standing between silver and copper.*

* Among these billon pieces the *barwee* (corrupted from *bas pièce*, in Scottish French) was the longest

* *Dialogus de Scaccario*, i., 11.

Moreover the Scottish penny had long fallen in value far below that of the English penny. The kings of Scotland made from time to time efforts to establish a currency which should be exchangeable with that of the neighbouring country, and we find orders taken for the making of certain special denominations of money designed to serve this end. In 1483, for example, it was ordered that a rose noble should be struck of the fineness and weight of the English rose noble, and groats of the value of the English groat. The first of these designs was never carried into effect, but in 1489 a groat of the desired standard was coined. We find that it was equal to fourteenpence Scottish, so that the Scottish penny was between a quarter and a third of the English coin. When James VI. came to the English throne, however, the Scottish penny had sunk to be one-twelfth of the English.

James I. of England and VI. of Scotland had to maintain a double currency. In fact, the coinages of the two realms were not brought into uniformity until the reign of Anne, when the complete union was effected. For Scotland James struck in gold the *twenty-pound piece*, the ducat, the lion noble, the thistle noble, and the rider, before his accession to the English throne; and in silver, the *sword dollar*, the *thistle dollar*, and the *noble*, and the divisional parts of most of these coins, as well as pieces of two, four, five, eight, ten, sixteen, twenty, thirty, and forty shillings, as well as several billon pieces. After his accession his peculiarly Scottish coins were the sword and sceptre piece, and the thistle mark.

The English coins of James were the sovereign, and the double or rose ryal. These were during his reign generally current for thirty shillings. The type of the ryal was that of the sovereigns of Henry VII. The half of this was the spur ryal, which at first followed the old type of the rose nobles or ryals, but afterwards showed on one side a lion supporting the English shield (quartering Scotland and France), on the reverse the spur, or sun as on the rose nobles. The angel showed some variety of type from that

remembered, and is the most worthy of notice. The name is expressive of the influences under which the base money was introduced into Scotland.

of the previous reign. But the most distinctive coin of James I., and that which superseded all the others, was the *unite* or *broad*, a piece of twenty shillings, and designed to pass current in both countries. The type was at first a half figure holding sword and orb; subsequently a bust, either crowned or laureate. This last type prevailed, and earned for the piece the name *laurel*, while the motto *FACIAM EOS IN GENTEM UNAM* was the origin of its older name. The laurel wreath had never appeared upon the head of any previous English monarch upon his coins. As it is commonly seen upon the bust of the Roman emperors on their money, it was most likely adopted by James with the object of proclaiming his imperial rank as king of England, Scotland, and Ireland; for we find that he also, for the first time, adopted the title *Imperator* upon some of his medals.

It is noticeable that in the reign of James I. we for the first time have the values of the coins given upon them. His thirty, fifteen, ten, and five-shilling pieces in gold, and his shillings, sixpences, half-groats and pennies, are marked with numerals expressing their value. The custom was continued in the reign of Charles I., and during the Commonwealth.

The variety of coin denominations reaches, as has been said, its maximum under Elizabeth. From the introduction of the *unite* this number begins rapidly to decline; so that in the reign of Charles I. it almost reached the same simplicity which it now has. A comparison might, in truth, be instituted between the respective coinages of the Tudor and the Stuart dynasties and their respective literatures. The greatest artistic excellence belongs to the coinage (as to the literature) of the first era, while that of the second era stands next to it, and superior to anything which was subsequently produced. In the second class we find a marked tendency toward simplicity and adaptability to the ordinary needs of life.

Thus the silver coinage of the Stuarts is practically the same as that which now exists, with the exception that James I. did not strike the smaller pieces, and that Charles I., in the midst of the civil war, struck some large coins which were never afterwards re-

produced. The crowns and half-crowns of James I. represent the king on horseback, the shillings the crowned bust of the king, the ordinary shield (now without any appearance of a cross) forming the reverse in each case.

Charles I.'s usual gold coinage is the broad, half-broad, and crown. These pieces have the king's bust on the obverse, and on the reverse a shield. His silver coins of higher denominations were like those of his father, and the lower denominations follow the type of the shilling. After the outbreak of the civil war Charles adopted for the reverse of his coins, both in gold and silver, what is called the Declaration type, namely the legend RELIG. PROT. LEG. ANG. LIBER. PAR. (The Protestant Religion, the Laws of England, and the Liberty of Parliament), written in two lines across the field of the reverse. Of this type he struck some pieces of three pounds, as well as large silver coins worth twenty and ten shillings, made out of the plate which was brought by his adherents to the royal mints.

Charles I. established mints at a great number of towns during the civil war. Altogether we have coins struck during his reign at the following places:—Aberystwith, Bristol, Chester, Cork, Dublin, Edinburgh, Exeter, London, Newark, Oxford, Weymouth, Worcester, York. Beside the regular coinage, there was during the civil war a large issue of *siege pieces* struck in towns or castles which were in a state of siege. These are of Beeston Castle, Carlisle, Colchester, Newark, Pontefract, and Scarborough.

Some of the Pontefract pieces may count as the earliest coins struck in the name of Charles II. The castle still held out after the death of Charles I. Accordingly the governor placed upon the siege pieces the legend CAROLUS SECUNDUS, or CAROL II., etc., and on the other side POST MORTEM PATRIS PRO FILIO.

In artistic merit the coinage of Charles I. is only inferior to that of the earlier Tudor sovereigns. This king, whose taste in art is well known, employed upon his money several engravers of distinguished merit. Among these were Thomas Rawlings and Nicholas Briot. The latter had first been engaged at the French mint, and while there had invented several improved methods of striking coins; but finding no appreciation of his talents he came to England, and was at once employed by Charles. Rawlings was for a long time engraver at the Tower mint, and on the outbreak of the civil war he removed with the mint to Oxford. While there he executed the famous *Oxford Crown*. The coin, though it does not differ materially from the crowns of Charles I. of the Declaration type, shows, behind the figure of the king on horseback, a

view of the city of Oxford, in which the fortifications and some of the chief buildings, notably Magdalen tower, are very clearly portrayed.

The Commonwealth employed as

their engraver the famous medallist Thomas Simon, whose medallic portraits, made in conjunction with his brother Abraham, are among the finest art products of that age. The extreme simplicity of the types upon the coins did not give Simon room for any great display of artistic talent. The coin bore upon one side a shield charged with St. George's cross (England), on the other side two shields, one with St. George's cross, and the other with the harp of Ireland. Presumably the figure of the saint would have been considered more idolatrous than his emblem presented in the baldest form. It is remarkable, too, that during the Commonwealth was adopted for the first, and also unhappily for the last time, the sensible device of having the legends both on obverse and reverse in English instead of Latin. On the obverse was simply THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND,



FIG. 2.—OXFORD CROWN OF CHARLES I.

on the reverse the motto GOD WITH US. When in 1653 Cromwell was raised to the rank of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth, he entrusted to Thomas Simon the task of preparing dies for a new coinage, which had on one side the profile bust of the Protector, on the other the shield of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and as an escutcheon of pretence that of Cromwell himself. The motto was appropriate and expressive: PAX QUÆRITUR BELLO; and the whole piece was one of the finest of Thomas Simon's works.

All this time the coinage had been wonderfully simplifying its character. We have seen that James VI. definitely settled the silver currency upon the basis (so far as the number of pieces is concerned) which it has since rested upon. In the time of the Commonwealth there were, in reality, only two regularly current gold coins—the broad and half-broad. During the reign of Charles II. further changes were made, which had the effect of definitely settling the denominations of coins down to the middle of the reign of George III. So that all that is really worth record in the history of English money comes to an end in the course of the reign of Charles II.

After his restoration Charles II. continued for some little time to employ the engraver of the Commonwealth, Thomas Simon, and this artist executed the sovereigns and shillings of the first years of the reign, which are the most beautiful of Charles II.'s coins, in truth the last really beautiful coins which were issued from English mints. Simon was superseded by the engraver Blondeau, who had produced some patterns for Commonwealth coins, and Blondeau was succeeded by the Roettiers. Simon, in order to obtain his recall, executed his famous *petition crown*, in which the king is besought to compare the likeness upon that piece with any that was issued by the Dutch engraver to the Royal Mint. And in truth there can be no question that this pattern is in delicacy of treatment superior to any other English coin.

In the same year the twenty-shilling pieces began to be called guineas, from the fact that most of them were made from gold brought from Guinea by the African Company. The pieces actually made of this gold were stamped with an elephant below the bust, but the name which properly belonged to them was trans-

ferred to all, and by accident the value of the piece increased from twenty to twenty-one shillings. The earliest coinage of Charles had consisted of twenty and ten-shilling pieces and crowns; but in 1662 this issue was exchanged for a coinage of pieces made by the mill, which were five guineas, two guineas, guineas, and half-guineas. This currency became henceforth stereotyped, so that from the reign of Charles II. to that of George II. inclusive, the English coinage consisted of five guineas, two guineas, guineas, half-guineas, in gold; of crowns, half-crowns, shillings, sixpences, groats, threepennies, two-pennies, and pennies, in silver. The copper coinage during these reigns was much less fixed. It generally consisted of halfpennies or farthings.

Five-guinea and two-guinea pieces were not coined after the reign of George II., and in the course of the reign of George III. a twenty-shilling piece was once more introduced, bearing the older name of sovereign.

The only coins struck subsequent to the reign of Charles II. which are of interest to the historian, are those issued in Ireland, by the authority of James II., after his abdication of the English crown.

The king began first, in order to meet his pressing necessities, to strike copper (or bronze) sixpences. Subsequently he issued shillings, half-crowns, and crowns in the same metal. The value of these pieces was of course a purely fictitious one, the real worth of a crown being no more than a penny, and the loss to the nation when the money was recalled by William III., and paid for at its actual value, was very great. It was found that the total issue amounted nominally to £22,489, of which the actual value was £642.

The silver coins of Anne, made from the treasure seized in the Vigo Bay expedition, and in consequence marked with the word *vigo*, and the coinage of George II., marked with the letters *s s c*, because struck from silver furnished by the South Sea Company, are worthy of a passing notice.

The copper coinage of Anne, which consisted of a limited issue of farthings, would claim no mention here, but that through some unexplained cause a ridiculous notion has gained currency that these pieces are of immense value.

The History of London.

IT is not a little curious that while the books on London would make a tolerably lengthy bibliographical list, there has been of late no attempt to write a history of the great city. Mr. Loftie, in two substantial, well-printed, and well-illustrated volumes,* now comes forward to remedy the deficiency, and we may say at once that, though Mr. Loftie has far from exhausted the subject, he has gone so thoroughly the right way to work that what more is yet to be accomplished will naturally follow the lines which Mr. Loftie has here laid down.

Of London before the houses we have as yet known very little. But, meagre as are the data, it is remarkable how very substantially, even if gradually, they help to build up a very fair amount of knowledge on the subject. Looking at the modern topography of London there is much to help us in obtaining some facts about its ancient topography. The dip in Piccadilly, continued through the park and leading into the basin of the ornamental water in St. James's Park, has a meaning, for it reveals the old waterway of a stream once connected with the Thames, and is now degraded to the rank of a sewer, or survives in the name of a district, the West-bourne. Of the other rivers of this ancient London district we have the Tyburn, its source being in Conduit Fields, now partly covered by Fitzjohn's Avenue, and a portion of its old course being still marked by the crooked route of Marylebone Lane, which once overhung its left bank; the Fleet, rising, as did the Tyburn, at Hampstead, penetrated through high banks on each side, and joined the Thames at Blackfriars; and the Walbrook, rising in the fens beyond Moorgate, passed into a creek at Dowgate. These rivers give us a very different picture of London to that we now see. There was a vast delta of low-lying lands, overflowed by the high tides, and there were some well-defined hills rising, as it were, from this marsh and morass. Upon these

hills the city was founded, and after the Romans had occupied it, its southern wall flanked the Thames, its western the Fleet, its northern and eastern the moor and marsh which looked back upon forest and hill-tops far distant. We would recommend those of our readers who delight in London topography to take Mr. Loftie's book in hand and stand where he bids them stand to pick out from modern street levels, such, for instance, as at Break-neck steps, Ludgate-hill, once a bank of the Fleet, or behind the houses in Bond Street, once the bed of the Tyburn,—evidence, as true as any evidence ever was, of the oldest landmarks and waterways of the country now occupied by London. This is where the history of London begins—not in ancient manuscripts, or in ancient archives, or in early historians; but in unobliterated topographical facts. River-beds have been turned into sewers or built over, valleys have been filled up to hill levels, moor and marsh have been drained and raised. The eye can often detect these facts, and where it cannot the work of the excavator has to be called into requisition to give us an account of the old levels where virgin soil has been buried beneath city ruins, or beneath the engineer's spade.

From thence we pass to Roman London; and Mr. Loftie, despite the name of Augusta by which London was for a short time known,—too short, happily, to obliterate its older British name,—makes out a picture somewhat less grand than some would give to this period. "It does not appear," says Mr. Loftie, "to have contained a single building of importance! There was no forum, no amphitheatre, no temple." The evidence for this conclusion is drawn from the poorness of the remains which have been from time to time found, and from the scanty mention of London to be found in early writers. Taken altogether, we cannot but think that Mr. Loftie is perhaps correct in his view, but there is another side to the argument. London, in Roman times admittedly a commercial city, has always been so. Burnt and ravaged by the Saxons, it was rebuilt for commercial purposes. Whatever changes have since taken place have taken place for commercial purposes. There was no tenderness towards Roman buildings at any time, and even in

* *A History of London.* By W. J. Loftie: with maps and illustrations. (London, 1883: Edward Stanford.) 2 vols., 8vo.

our own day no systematic excavations are possible in order to discover what Roman remains yet lie buried in their English grave. There may then be evidence of a grander Roman Augusta than has yet been discovered. Not to have been mentioned by historians is scarcely evidence of a want of grandeur or of importance, for that is the fate with towns whose important Roman remains stand to this date.

Saxon London was different from its Roman predecessor. When we examine the direction of the Roman remains, says Mr. Loftie, the facing, for example, of a villa, as shown by its pavement, we do not find it coincide with the direction of the modern streets. The barbarian did not in truth care for the polished luxury of the then civilization; he built his pigsty or his cattle-pen where the palatial residence of the conquered Roman was, and he resided himself in his wattle and daub or his timber dwelling. The map of Saxon London is, or should be, the map, modified here and there by topographical obstructions, of a town community. The forum gave way to the folk-moot, meeting in the open air at the spot long known by its name, near St. Paul's Cross. No grand roofs were required by free Saxons. The markets—the tradesmen congregating in their special localities—the gates and streets, with their new names, all betoken a different life to that of the solemn-hearted Roman.

Having thus dwelt upon the earlier portions of this history of London, there is not much room to speak of the later history. We get glimpses in Mr. Loftie's book of a London not generally known before—of a London some of us have thought ought to have long ago been made known, but which, nevertheless, has been hidden from the light of critical investigation. As we have suggested, there is something yet to be done. It appears to us that the corporate life of the city has hardly yet been adequately handled. Mr. Loftie gives, in excellent chapters on the Struggle for Liberty, the rise of the companies, the wards and companies, and the corporation; but he does not deal with this portion of the work in the same manner as Mr. Freeman views the subject, standing, as it were, from afar off, and tracing out the place that London holds

in the history of English towns, and in the town-history of Europe. There is this yet to be done. And there is something more—there is the village history of London to be worked out. The Saxons and Danes, who between them changed Roman London into English London, had views of town life which have left indelible marks upon the history of other English towns, and they must have done so here. They pulled down the villas, overthrew the magisterial buildings of Roman London, because these things had no use with them, because their town life had not yet begun, and when it did begin would begin upon its village prototype. All this has a place somewhere in the history of London, and Mr. Loftie, if he does not give us the narrative, at all events tells us where it will fit in, and prepares the way for its elucidation.

We cannot leave this most interesting book without saying that the remaining chapters treat of York and Lancaster in London, Shakespeare's London, the war, the plague, and the fire, Wren, the bank, Middlesex, Westminster, the hamlets of Westminster, parks and palaces, the Tower and Tower Hamlets, the northern suburbs, the western suburbs, the southern suburbs, and the Metropolitan area. The value of this book is greatly enhanced by the important maps and some few illustrations, and makes us all the more regret that old London is to us only the old London of books, and not of reality.



Simon de Montfort and the English Parliament.

1248—1265.

PART II.

BY THE REV. WENTWORTH WEBSTER.



ASK my readers to glance over with me rapidly what was the condition of the liberties, the privileges, the customs, the laws of commerce and of property, which the Pyrenean populations enjoyed at this time. The feudal system had not yet penetrated there in all its brutality—with its exaggeration of the soldier, the knight,

and the lord, its contempt for commerce and the industrial arts, its disdain of the citizen and of the lower classes. The progress of feudalism was still opposed by two forces of great antiquity, which were common in the higher regions of the Pyrenees on both sides.

The one force then existing dated back to the "Municipia" of Ancient Rome, and to the free local administration which she so often left to the populations of conquered provinces. This habit of local administration had never been lost among the citizens of the great towns, even through all the successive invasions of hordes of barbarians.* If the Goth and the Frank on their side despised the effeminacy of the man of the towns, these burgesses equally contemned the barbarism and the awkwardness of their conquerors. It was not then, as it was afterwards, that the pure blood (*la sangre azul*) of the Goths or Franks was the most respected. On the contrary, the greatest of these barbarian kings or chiefs were ambitious of bearing the Roman names, Imperator, Cæsar, Augustus, Patricius, Consul, or even the Greek βασιλεύς. The citizens who traced their descent up to Roman patricians despised these barbarians, who were of yesterday, who came no one knew whence, and went no one knew whither, almost as much as the descendants of these barbarians despised them later. The missionaries of the north were despised in the south, and a union of a Frank with a Basquaise was considered as a *mésalliance* for the latter.† It was long ere Frankish and southern monks could dwell at peace in the same convent.‡ The Roman name of "Consul" was cherished by the magistracy of the towns of southern France even down to the revolution. The Basques have never forgotten that their race was much older in the land than the Goth or even the Roman.

The geographical configuration of the country gave occasion to liberties of another kind. It is almost a necessity for the inhabitants of the plains in warm climates to drive

their flocks and herds to the high mountains during the summer. The shepherds necessarily carried arms for their own defence and for that of their flocks. They had need of visiting yearly the same spots, and of finding there, or making there, peace and security. Hence arose the privileges given to the shepherds for defence of their flocks and rights of pasture—liberties which date from a remote period. Mention, I believe, is made in classic writers of the Bergamesque shepherds, who still lead their flocks every year from the neighbourhood of Bergamo to the pastures of the Upper Engadine. The privileges of the Vallée d'Aspe were already copied and carefully preserved at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and the originals must have been far older. Many of the documents in the Pyrenees, in their naïve anachronism, mention Charlemagne as their author, which simply means that they are of unknown antiquity. Treaties between the different valleys on either side of the Pyrenees (which are still observed, like that of the "Pierre de St. Martin" near Ste. Engrace) show that the Pyrenean shepherds knew very well how to preserve these privileges for themselves without having recourse to the lords either of France or Spain. The *Fors*, or *Fueros*, as they are now written, are indeed promulgated under the formulæ of feudal legislation. As to the form, they are charters—privileges granted by some seigneur; in reality, they are often only the recognition of rights and liberties long anterior to these charters; sometimes they are rather conditions imposed upon the seigneur than privileges granted for the first time by him to his vassals.*

We have the proof of this in the fact that, on both sides of the Pyrenees, in many of these transactions between the seigneur and the inhabitants, the seigneur was obliged to swear first to respect the privileges, the customs, and the *fueros* of the country before he could enter on his functions; and until then the inhabitants owed him no fealty, nor did they swear it to him until afterwards.

* "Las cartas forales no indican su advenimiento á la vida pública, sino un periodo de desarrollo, señalado por el reconocimiento auténtico de la legalidad de la institucion." *Municipalidades de Castilla y Leon*, p. 110. Cf. Fernandez Guerra, cited among others by Joaquim Costa. *Poesía popular Española*, p. 235 note.

* *Municipalidades de Castilla y de Leon*, por A. Sacristan y Martinez. Madrid 1877, pp. 88, 89.

† *Acta Sanctorum*, Febr. vi., p. 823; *Life of St. Amand*, and May 12, p. 82; *Life of Ste. Rictrudis*.

‡ I believe this fact is noticed in Gauban's *La Rôle*; but I have lost the reference, and have not the book at hand; the date would be in the eleventh or thirteenth century.

Thus we find that the Seigneur of Bearn was obliged to halt at the "Ruisseau du Puy," at the entrance of the Vallée d'Aspe, and to swear there to observe all the liberties of the Vallée before he was allowed to enter it.* In the Basque Provinces all the business relating to the provinces was discussed and settled before any message or proposal of the king could be introduced or put to the vote; and if any subvention was granted him, it was always the last proposal made, and granted voluntarily, as a pure gift. The Wolfenbuttel MS., so often referred to, shows us an analogous state of things in Gascony even after the date of Simon de Montfort's government. *E.g.*, the inhabitants of Ste. Eulalie d'Ambarès "swore fealty to their prévôt only after he had first taken the oath to them."† At Bourg, in a charter dated March 22nd, 1273, we read—

When the king comes for the first time to Gascony, he swears either by himself or by his seneschal to defend the city towards and against all, to preserve it from all harm, and to observe its *fors* and customs. In return the inhabitants swear oath of fealty to him.‡

At Issigeac, in 1268, we have the fact stated in still more remarkable terms:—

Let all men present and to come, know that the *prud'hommes* and members of the commune of Issigeac, of their own and free will, without being constrained by fraud, trickery, or violence, but according to right and truth, acknowledge and grant to the honourable and noble lord, Edward, eldest son and heir of the noble King of England, that from all antiquity he has right to the fealty and homage of all the inhabitants of the city of Issigeac, with the exception nevertheless of the seignery and rights of the dean and of the church of the same place. This homage must be rendered in the following manner:—When the Lord King or his lieutenants in the Duchy of Guyenne require the inhabitants to take their oath, he must first swear to them to defend them towards and against all, to maintain and to improve their good customs, and to suppress the bad ones. After which the *prud'hommes* will swear . . . the king may require no other dues from the commune without the consent of the *prud'hommes*.§

* The privileges of the Vallée d'Aspe are summed up in a volume with the following title: "Sequense lous Priviledges, Franquesas, et Libertats, donnats et autreiats aux Vesins Manans, et Habitans de la Montaigne et Val d'Aspe per lous Seigneurs de Béarn; et primo per Mossen Archimbaud en l'an mille tres cens navante-oit. E'puteo veritas à Pau, chez Jérôme Dupoux Imprimeur et Marchand Libraire proche l'Horloge:" qto, MDCXCIV.

† Delpit, Wolfenbuttel MS., p. 56.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 73, note a, 74.

§ *Ibid.*, pp. 82—84, and notes.

But the most remarkable perhaps of all these ancient documents in its tone of rude and haughty independence is Article 11 of *Les Anciennes Coutumes de la Ville de Bayonne*:—

There were people before there was a lord; and that the poor people may live a good life . . . they make a lord in order to restrain and keep down wrong doers . . . the people submit themselves to a lord, and give themselves to him as they are, so that he may maintain them as they are. In testimony of which the lord ought first to swear to his people before his people to him; and the latter oath which the people make to the lord means this, that if the lord who takes the oath first break his oath to the people, then the people shall no longer be bound by oath to him, because that thus the lord commits treason against his people, and not his people against him.*

Beside the contested oath of the Aragonais to their king,† many other of the *fueros* of the north of Spain present analogous facts. The *fueros* of the Valle de Aran, 1309, quote "the primitive laws of this valley." And that this is no fiction is shown by our finding there the antique law of money compensation for homicide and wounds; the inhabitants claim the power of making either peace or war with their neighbours without the consent of the king.‡ The inhabitants of Deva, in Guipuzcoa, claim the right of self-government, "that they should live and govern themselves all among themselves in the said town and its territory, both as regards persons and as regards goods."§ At Lerida, the sources of the *fueros* of 1228 are "de instrumentis, privilegiis et de donationibus regis, nec non de bannis, cotis, et statutis scriptis

* *Balasque et Dulaurens*, vol. ii., p. 594. Appendix 4, *Anciennes Coutumes de Bayonne*. Abans fon poble que seinhor, et que los menutz poble volen vive de bona vite . . . fen seinhor per contestar et abate los fortz fazedores . . . los poble se someton a seinhor et len den so que ed sa et edz sartiencon so que edz san. En testimoniage de le quoau cause lo seinhor deu prumer jurar a son poble que lo poble no fey a luy; et porte tant lo darder segrement que lo poble fey au seinhor, que si lo seinhor qui fey lo prumer segrement passe son segrement au poble, ja lo poble no sera a luy tingut de segrement, per so quar assi lo seinhor comet faucetat contre son poble (*et no*) son poble contre luy.

† Cf. *Discursos leídos en la recepción pública del excmo Señor D. Antonio Romero Ortiz*, 30 Jan., 1881. Madrid, Hermandez, 1881.

‡ *Colección de Fueros y Cartas Púeblos de España por la real Academia de Historia*. Catálogo, Madrid, 1852, sub voce, Aran.

§ *Ibid.*, s. v. Deva.

et non scriptis, et moribus et usaticis, etiam legibus goticis et romanis."* We might also cite to the like purport the *fueros* of Medinaceli Soria, 1124; of Najera, 990; of Palenzuela (Palencia), 1074, and many others. In these cases, as M. M. Delpit remarks when speaking of the freemen of the Bordelais, "Here feudal forms cover a more ancient organization; and this is, according to us, another difference to be noted between the north and the south of France;"† and the remark may be extended equally to the whole region on both sides of the Pyrenees.

That the municipal liberties dated from the time of the old Roman Empire is equally clear. On this point it will be perhaps sufficient simply to quote the opinion of some competent authorities. In the *Compendio Razonado de Historia General*, por D. Fernando de Castro, vol. iii., pp. 262-3:—

The Roman Municipium preserved by the clergy, and early transferred to the people with notable advantages, began to make our towns as it were little republics, so strong and powerful that they prevented the full development of the feudal system in Spain.

And in the continuation by D. Manuel Sales y Ferré, iv. 556, we read of

The foundation of municipal government without doubt traced on the basis of the ancient municipia.

So too, St. Sacristan y Martinez, in his *Municipalidades de Castilla y Leon*, pp. 88-9, observes that the Code of Alaric

sanctioned, with insignificant variations, the Roman municipal legislation. We have a decisive proof that the municipalities existed throughout the whole period.

The "defensores" are cited in the *Fuero Juzgo* as still existing, and the "decuriones" are mentioned by Isidore of Seville.‡ This municipal freedom and influence, connected with that of the clergy in ante-feudal times, subsisted much longer in the south of France than in most parts of Spain, where already, in the eighth century, most of the great cities had fallen under the yoke of the Moors. The crusade against the Albigeois was almost as much a war of races and political systems as a war of religion. It was the Germanic North of France against the Keltic and

Roman South; the last effort of the old Roman municipia to maintain themselves against the invasion of feudalism and the exaggerated rights attached to landed property. And even down to the Revolution we find the cities of the south, and especially of the south-east, still governed by consuls and a senate. We have before noticed this at Lectoure, Bergerac, and Monsegur, etc., within the limits of Guyenne. In the towns and country in Gascony, especially round Bordeaux,

a remnant of the ancient Roman population had maintained itself free both in the town and country.*

It is not opposed to this fact that some of these good people, in their naïve ignorance of history, traced the origin of these privileges to Charlemagne, as the men of l'Entre-deux-Mers, in 1236,

trace their liberties to the epoch when the King Charles drove away the Saracens.†

Or, as the citizens of Bordeaux affirmed, 20th March, 1273,

our city has observed these usages since its first origin, and even in the time of the Saracens, as we believe.‡

This is simply equal to our phrase "from time immemorial," or "beyond memory of man." Another confirmation of the fact is found in the tenure of property. The land belonging to these old towns and to these freemen was almost wholly allodial and free.

They owe nothing to the king nor to any living person.§

M. M. Delpit, and other writers both French and Spanish, have proved that the feudal maxim, "*Nulle terre sans seigneur*," was not the rule in the provinces of the south.

These provinces, much more Roman than those of the north, preserved for a longer period the traces of ancient civilization, and the persistence of Roman law in the south of France has no need of proof.¶ In the old towns and in the cities allodial property is the rule, whilst in the new towns and in the communes, the property is feudal.

* M. M. Delpit, Wolfenbittel MSS., p. 55.

† *Ibid.*, p. 50.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 37. On the Spanish side cf. G. de Azcarate's *Ensayo sobre la Historia del Derecho de Propiedad*, Madrid, 1880, vol. ii., 95; and Cardénas *Ensayo sobre la Historia de la Propiedad Territorial de España*, and others.

* *Ibid.* s. v. Lerida.

† Delpit, Wolfenbittel MS., p. 55.

‡ Cf. also p. 106. To these authorities we may add that of Don Joaquin Costa, *Polsia Popular Española*, Madrid, 1881, p. 235, notes and refs.

As to the selection of burgesses and their representation in the highest courts and assemblies in the land, we have already seen that Simon de Montfort maintained their rights steadily against the encroachments of the nobility, and severely punished those seigneurs who refused to appear before the burgher courts. In this he did but follow the precedent of his father, who at the height of his power held a parliament at Pamiers in 1212, in which not only the clergy and nobility but also burgesses took their seats.* His son was very strict on this point. When the nobility pretended that they dared not appear before the court of St. Macaire for fear of being burnt, Simon replies,

The truth is that they were summoned before the court to answer the fact that they did not observe the "establishments" which had been agreed upon by common court both of prelates, and of barons, and of knights, and of burgesses, since the court came into the country . . . and these "establishments" were more for the profit of the burgesses, and of the commonalty, than for other people.†

This interference and representation of the burghers in the highest political affairs was by no means rare at this period throughout all the region of the Pyrenees, and in Castile. We shall cite only a few examples. The acts of the Cortés of Léon held in 1188 under Alonso IX. have this title:

Decreta que dominus Aldefonsus rex Legionis et Gallitie constituit in curia apud Legionem cum archiepiscopo Compostelano et cum omnibus episcopis, magnatibus, et cum electis civibus regni sui.‡

So also at Burgos in 1169. At the Cortés of Léon, 1208,

The bishops, magnates, and proctors of the cities were present.§

At Seville in 1253,

The taxes were made with the counsel and consent of my uncle, D. Alphonso de Malina, and of my brothers, D. Fernando and D. Felipe e D. Manuel, and of the bishops, and of the "ricos omes," and of the knights, and of the orders, and of the good men of the cities, and of the other good men who had come together to me.||

* Pauli, p. 233, and note.

† *Balasque et Dularens*, tom. ii. 580. *Réponses de Simon de Montfort*.

‡ *Coleccion de las Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de la España por le real Academia de la Historia*. Cataloga, Madrid, 1855. V. sub anno.

§ *Ibid.*, sub anno 1208. "Assistieron los obispos, magnates y procuradores de los ciudades."

|| *Ibid.*, 1253. "Las posturas fizlos con conseio y

At Toledo, in 1253, the fact is repeated. In Navarre the men of the lower estate were summoned to the Cortés in 1194, and deputies were present elected from all the principal towns of the kingdom. Still earlier than in Castile and in Navarre, the proctors of the cities met together with the "ricos-hombres," the "mesnadores," and knights, at the Cortes of Monzon, or Borja, in 1134.* In *Lo llibre vert de Manresa*, lately published at Barcelona by R. P. F. Fita, S. J., we read that on October 4th, 1218, "Messengers of the cities and towns"† sat with the nobles at the Cortés of Villafranca del Panadés; and there is nothing to show that this was for the first time. In the constitutions of the Cortés of Barcelona, 21st December, 1283, it is resolved that

Once in the year, at the time which shall appear to us the most convenient, we and our successors shall celebrate in Catalonia a general Cortés for the Catalans, in which, with our prelates, clergy, barons, knights, citizens, and men of the towns, we may treat of the good estate and reforms of the country.‡

And this is no new law, but dates back at least to 1218. If we come geographically nearer to Guyenne, the Juntas Generales, Bilzaars, and assemblies of the Basques at the Oak of Guernica, and elsewhere, are well known. At these even the clergy and lawyers were eliminated, and the representation consisted almost wholly of the gentry and bourgeois. Every Basque who could show four generations of Basque blood, whatever might be his rank or profession otherwise, could be elected to any office. In the Vallée d'Aspe, the privileges of which have so close a resemblance to the Basque *fueros*, the memory of the ancient local parliaments or assemblies is still preserved. I have had pointed out to me the very spot—"lou Til-habet," or grove of "tilleuls" (lime-trees)—where the "Jurats" of the upper valley used to meet, although there is now not a single lime tree near. I have also been

acuerdo de mi tio . . . e de los obispos e de los ricos omes e de los cavalleros e de los ordenes e de omes buenos de las villas e de otros omes buenos que se acercaron conmigo."

* *Compendio razonado continuacion de Sales y Ferré*. Tom. iv. 570.

† "Missatjers de cuitats e de vilas."

‡ *Revista de Ciencias Historicas*. Barcelona, 1880. Vol. i., p. 313. "Cuidadanos y hombres de villas, tratemos del buen estamento y reformas del pais."

fortunate enough to see the copy of the book which contains the privileges annotated by the hand of the last jurat, Dominique Manandas, of Accous, proving that the constitution was in full working up to 1789. In other villages I have seen the original documents of various dates, showing with what care the copies of these privileges were kept "in this valley, which was anciently a little republic independent of all sovereignty."*

There is one other fact, to which we can only refer, which connects Simon de Montfort with the parliamentary liberties of southern Europe. In 1238, soon after his marriage, he paid a visit to his brother-in-law, the Emperor Frederick II., in Sicily. At this date, Frederick had reformed and extended the parliamentary representation of Sicily, and in the two annual sessions besides the barons and prelates, "each of the larger cities sent four representatives, each smaller city two, each town or other place one."†

It is not, I think, necessary for me to dwell at length on the divers methods of election to these assemblies, in these different countries. Some kind of secondary election was very prevalent. The Basques, in their various municipal and general elections, seem to have tried almost every conceivable mode, from universal suffrage to the nomination by a single person chosen by lot, even attempting the representation of minorities.‡ We see in the different arbitrages, treaties, etc., of Simon de Montfort in Gascony, how attached he was there to the principle of secondary election, and that often in its most cumbrous and complicated forms. This is also a feature in nearly all the schemes of government proposed in England, from 1244 to 1265.

It may be asked what is the meaning of all these tiresome details? The great historical fact which I am attempting to establish by this essay, is this—that constitutional and representative liberty, the liberty which respects the rights of others, as well as one's

own, is not, as is often asserted, the exclusive appanage of the Teutonic races; and that the so-called Latin races,* are not incapable of it. On the contrary, these so-called Latin races enjoyed and practised these liberties long before they were introduced among the English. We have seen that the burghers were represented in all the *cortes, juntas*, assemblies, courts, and parliaments of the whole region before 1265. If I am asked why these liberties were not preserved in the south, I answer, that in France it was the Norman and the Teutonic Franks who destroyed the liberties of the south. In Spain, I must refer you to my own little work *Spain*, where, pp. 148-150, I have briefly sketched out the circumstances which made the extension of the liberties of Northern Spain to the Southern Provinces impossible. In other cases, I reply that these liberties were preserved and practised in their fullest extent, in some cases, as in the Vallée d'Aspe, down to the Revolution; in others, as in the Spanish Basque Provinces, down to our own day. Certainly there was no part of Europe better administered, where wealth was better distributed, where the people were more fully represented both in Church† and State, than in the *Provincias Vascongadas*. Even for England, if I am not mistaken, this paper, short and insufficient as it is, if it tends to prove anything, shows that Simon de Montfort, who introduced there the parliamentary representation of burgesses, had first learned and practised it in his administration of Guyenne, where he found it established in the ancient customs and liberties of the country.

But we may go still farther back than this. Besides the authorities referred to above, Don Narcisso Pagés has recently shown, in the *Revista Contemporanea*, of August 1882, that the municipal government of Spain under the Roman Empire was much more free than is generally supposed. While writing this paper, an article by W. G. T. Stokes has appeared in *Macmillan's Magazine*, November 1882, entitled "Home Rule under the Roman Empire," which shows an analogous state of

* *Seguense lous Priviledges*, cited above. *Declaration Generale* of 1692.

† Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. vi., p. 154.

‡ Cf., *inter alia*, the long list of the electoral system in Alava alone, pp. 519-522, of the *Historia de la Legislacion de Espana*, par el Marquis de Montesa and Cayetano Manrique. *Fueros Basques*. Second Edition, Madrid, 1868.

* Nothing can be more absurd than this title. In all the races of which I have here treated (excepting perhaps the Basque), Celtic blood is predominant.

† Cf. Larramendi's *Corografia de Guipuzcoa*, by P. F. Fita. Barcelona, 1882.

things in Asia Minor; and he asks of these representative institutions (p. 58):—

Is it too wild a suggestion that they may have exercised an important influence on the rise and development of our modern parliaments? They certainly existed in Southern Gaul till the break-up of the Empire, and the rise of Mediæval States.

I believe that I have shown that they lasted much later; and that one point of contact between these ancient representative institutions and the English parliament lies in the administration of Simon de Montfort as governor of Guyenne.

One word before concluding. Everyone must have remarked a considerable gap in my quotations and references. I have mentioned neither the republic of Andorra, nor the central region of the French Pyrenees. The reason is that my friend, Mr. Patrick Stuart-Menteath, so well known by his labours as a geologist in the Pyrenees, has personally examined and controlled the archives of Andorra; and in a paper, which has been long in the press, but which is not yet published, he has maintained the same thesis, and has come to a like, though perfectly independent, conclusion with myself. I do not wish to encroach on his just claim to priority, nor to use at second-hand materials of which he has examined the still unpublished originals.



Reviews.

Reminiscences of the Royal Burgh of Haddington and Old East Lothian Agriculturists. By JOHN MARTINE. (Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1883: John Menzies & Co.) 12mo, pp. xii., 413.



HIS is another example of the extreme usefulness of local newspapers getting together information about their native places. Much of the book now before us was published in the *Haddingtonshire Courier* and in the *Haddingtonshire Advertiser*, and though we are bound to confess that the title is a little too extensive for the actual performance, yet we are none the less thankful for what Mr. Martine has placed before us. He should have given more burghal history and more agricultural history in the more out-of-the-way facts, and then he would have performed a service which every antiquary would have appreciated. For instance, the customs stone, a large square whinstone boulder, should have had a chapter to itself, instead of an incidental notice. Its history

belongs to the nation as much as to Haddington, and we should be very thankful for the smallest scraps of information, fact or traditional, which can be obtained. The market cross, on the other hand, obtains its full measure of notice. The story of its destruction—by an Englishman, for a wager!—is a sad one. Many of the customs enacted by its side are not a little curious from an archaic point of view, and Mr. Martine relates them in a most interesting manner. Proclamations and other official documents were affixed to the cross, and the old instrument of punishment, the Tuggs, stood in its near vicinity. The chapter on old burghal possessions is very interesting, and gives some useful information as to the passing away of the land into individual ownership, after having been owned in common. An old town rhyme, called "Coal and Candle," once officially called by the town crier, is a very curious relic of the past, and Mr. Martine puts forth a plea for its revival. Some chapters are devoted to the incorporation of Haddington, and one chapter is given to the old library. We cannot now linger over these most interesting pages any longer. Mr. Martine has performed a distinctly good service in publishing this work, which is full of memorials of old life and old ways and manners, and is as entertaining as a novel, dealing as it does with living characters whose prototypes are now all dying out, but whose peculiarities and ways are always so fascinating to those who love the past.

The Archaeology of Rome, Part VI. The Via Sacra, and Excavations in Rome from 1438 to 1882. By JAMES PARKER, C.B. (Oxford and London, 1883: Parker & Co.)

Those who know (and who does not?) Mr. Parker's enthusiastic energy in the archaeology of Rome will welcome the boon which he here provides. A portion of the volume has been published before in the larger series of works; but such extensive excavations have since been made in the Via Sacra that Mr. Parker rightly determined to issue this volume separately, and right glad will his many readers be. We have photographs of the elevations and plates of all the ground plans, besides most excellent descriptions in the letterpress; and when one comes to go over these remarkable reminiscences of old Rome, there is a great deal to induce the archaeologist, even the most experienced, to pause in wonderment at the "finds" that Rome has yielded for the delight and instruction of modern days. Let any of our readers open the book, as we first opened it by chance, at the bird's-eye view of the lower part of the Via Sacra, and then even Mr. Parker's life-long enthusiasm seems almost too little. We are apt to ask who is to follow Mr. Parker? Has he yet entered his apprenticeship, and will he worthily follow up the anxious care and labour of his master? For Rome is a place not to be exhausted by one generation of archaeologists. Excavations are still going on, and Mr. Parker's record of this work from the year 1438 to last year tells us a little of the wonderful nature of these works. It is utterly impossible for us to go into the work which this book sets before the student—it is so vast on the one hand, and so magnificent on the other. Let us

turn, for instance, to the east wall of the Templum Urbis Romæ, on which marble plans of Rome were fixed in the third century, and which were no doubt destroyed by the earthquake of the fourteenth century, of which Petrarch has given a vivid account in his letters. Some portions of this marble plan still remain, and Mr. Parker gives a photograph showing a fragment of a cornice of the third century, with brick stamps of the same period, and the fragments of the marble plan there found, the most important of which is the Porticus Livie, with that name upon it. The marble slabs were held to the wall by metal hooks. The shafts of these hooks can be still seen, the hooks themselves being broken off by the vibration of the marble plates when the earthquake shook them to the ground. The Basilica of Constantine fell on to the marble pavement in front of the wall, and one corner of that enormous fabric, with a corkscrew staircase within it, remains buried on the pavement where it fell. Mr. Parker goes into the smallest details, giving us sections and plans of every important portion of his excavations, and the result is that we have such an account of the archaeology of Rome which we suppose it were vain to hope would one day be taken as a pattern for the archaeology of England. Mediæval work is there represented as well as early Roman, and such a plate as No. 19, giving a plan of part of the Summa Sacra Via, on the Sub-Velia, is a good specimen of Mr. Parker's most instructive method of dealing with his subject. What a stupendous ruin and rebuilding Rome represents one can scarcely understand, but there is a chance of doing so with these labours of Mr. Parker's in our hands.

Aungervyle Society Publications, Nos. XIV.-XVIII.

Proper Lessons for the Tories (a satire on James II., written in imitation of the Book of Kings), *London and the Countrey Carbonadoed and Quartered into severall Characters* (in two parts), *The Mystery of the Good Old Cause* (2 parts), are the titles of the last five fasciculi issued by this Society. Of these, *The Mystery of the Good Old Cause* is perhaps the most curious. This political satire was well worth reprinting, the editor stating that there are only two copies of it known. *London and the Countrey* will be interesting to topographers, as it contains some very curious information. Three plates reproducing the pack of cards, *temp.* Charles II.—"Queen," "Knaeve," and "X"—are given with these numbers.

Byegones relating to Wales and the Border Counties. (Oswestry: Caxton Works. January to June 1883.) 2 parts.

The local antiquarian notes contained in this reprint are always welcome and useful. *Byegones* preserves a number of minor notes that would not otherwise be preserved in an accessible shape. There are notes on folklore and local customs, instalments of extracts from diaries of Philip Henry and John Howell, both local celebrities, and some very good notes on corporation customs of Oswestry, and guilds, together with meetings of societies and field clubs connected with the neighbourhood. We once more congratulate the editor upon the good work he is doing.

Clarendon Historical Society Publications, Nos. 3-4. 1883.

These publications contain a Glossary to Scotch words occurring in *Scotie Numisma*, a previous publication, *The Battle of Wakefield*, and *A Letter on the State of Religion in New England* (1742). These will be of considerable interest to antiquaries. The tract on the Battle of Wakefield consists of two letters sent to Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons, and a letter from Lord Goring to his son General Goring, found in his chamber at Wakefield. It was first printed in 1643, when two editions were issued.

Folk-Tales of Bengal. By the REV. LAL BEHARI DAY. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1883). Sm. 8vo, pp. xii. 284.

We owe this very interesting volume to the suggestion of Captain R. C. Temple. In the author's *Peasant Life in Bengal* he makes a peasant boy spend some hours every evening in listening to stories told by an old woman who was esteemed the best story-teller in the village. On reading this Captain Temple pointed out to the author how interesting it would be if these stories were collected. The *Folk-Tales of Bengal* is the result, and a very pleasant result it is, for the world is the richer for all the tales that are rescued from oblivion. We have been made familiar with the foul Rakshas, the wise jackals, and other characters introduced into the stories by Miss Frere and Miss Stokes, but the tales themselves are fresh; we have read them with great interest, although we cannot say that we feel quite such confidence in them as we do in the matchless "Old Deccan Days." There is a little too much of the literary element, and it seems as if the natural turns of expression of the original story-teller had been somewhat altered in translation. We cannot allude to all the twenty-one stories contained in the book, but may remark that the plots of some of them are familiar to us, and that all will afford a useful subject for comparative study. The title of the twentieth story is somewhat strange. It is "The Ghost who was Afraid to be Bagged." A poor barber goes at nightfall to the outskirts of a forest, and lies down at the foot of a tree which is inhabited by a ghost. The ghost threatens to destroy the barber, but the latter, although much frightened, says he has several ghosts in his bag, and to prove his words he places a looking-glass before the face of the ghost, who thinks that the reflection is the figure of another ghost. The ghost begs not to be put in the bag, and promises to give the barber money and to build him a granary, which he does. This evil spirit has little in common with the ghost of western stories. Mr. Lal Behari Day has not encumbered his book with notes and disquisitions, but has produced a most readable volume.

Fairs Past and Present: A Chapter in the History of Commerce. By CORNELIUS WALFORD, F. I. A., F.S.S. (London: Elliot Stock, 1883.) 8vo, pp. x. 318.

Such fairs as still exist in England are so contemptible that it is not easy to carry one's mind back to the times when fairs held a most important place in the

social economy, when in fact the greater part of the trade of the country was transacted at them. Mr. Cornelius Walford has come forward to help us in this difficulty, and he tells the history of the chief fairs with abundance of learning. He has produced a chapter in the history of commerce which is of great value, and will be read with much interest by all who care to know about the life our ancestors lived. In considering the contents of this book we will pass over the chapters on the origin of fairs and the legislation affecting them, and come at once to Stourbridge fair, the first trace of which is to be found in a charter granted about 1211 by King John to the Lepers of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, at Stourbridge, for a fair to be held in the Close of the Hospital on the Vigil and Feast of the Holy Cross. This fair still exists, although there is now little to remind us that Stourbridge once rivalled in importance the great gatherings at Nijni Novgorod. The University of Cambridge for the last time "called the fair on the 18th September, 1855," but the Mayor of Cambridge still proclaims the fair which lingers on. Mr. Walford has collected a large amount of information to illustrate its history. Then follows an account of Bartholomew Fair, which has a very important history, but which is now discontinued, although the city still pays the rector of St. Bartholomew the Great the annual fee of 3*s.* 6*d.* in respect of the proclamation no longer made. The history of these two fairs occupies the larger part of the book, but the author finds space to tell us much of interest relating to the fairs of France and of Russia. When Russia is mentioned we naturally think of the far-famed Nijni Novgorod, which is now the great mercantile fair of the world; but there are many other smaller fairs in that great country which are duly mentioned by Mr. Walford. The subject of this book has hitherto been strangely neglected, and we are therefore much indebted to Mr. Walford for placing before his readers so much important information in a compact and interesting form. The subject is fresh and the treatment accords with the subject.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

METROPOLITAN.

Society of Antiquaries.—June 14.—Dr. William Smith, V.-P., in the chair.—Mr. Ralph Nevill exhibited some small objects, including a coin of the Constantine family, of the latter half of the fourth century, and some pottery from a Roman villa at Chiddingfold. No Roman remains have hitherto been known as existing in the locality, but Mr. Nevill stated that he had recently come on undoubted traces of Roman roads. Mr. Leveson-Gower exhibited three chalices from Westerham, Tatsfield, and Titsey; also a chalice from Westerham marked P. S., probably made at Nuremberg.—Mr. Leveson-Gower also exhib-

ited a pedigree of the Selyards of Brasted and Edenbridge, signed by Robert Cooke Clarencieux in 1578. The Rev. W. C. Lukis exhibited and explained plans made by him of the stone circles at Avebury, Winterbourn Bassett, and Stanton Drew, and of the cromlechs at Castell Corrig and Maesyfelin, near Cardiff, and others in South Wales. As to Avebury, Mr. Lukis is convinced that no avenue towards Beckhampton as described by Stukeley can ever have existed.—Dr. F. G. Lee exhibited a drawing of an embossed tile found in the prebendal house at Thame, Oxon.

June 21st.—The Earl of Carnarvon, President, in the chair.—Mr. W. Money communicated an account of the discovery of some Roman remains in Berkshire, between the villages of North and South Fawley. On digging for chalk four skeletons were found in distinct graves. With two of these skeletons were found a small bottle and a drinking cup, the latter of Castor or Durobrivian ware.—Mr. G. Payne, junr., exhibited a collection of Roman remains which had been discovered in the foundations of some Roman buildings at Boxted, between Newington and Lower Halstow, Kent.—Mr. H. Bradley communicated a paper "On Ptolemy's Geography of the British Isles," with a view to the identification of the sites mentioned by him.

June 28th.—Mr. H. S. Milman, Director, in the chair.—Lieut.-General Pitt-Rivers exhibited an extensive collection of locks and keys, illustrated by numerous large diagrams, intended to show the development and distribution of primitive locks and keys.—Mr. T. F. Kerby exhibited an interesting collection of deeds and seals relating to Hyde Abbey.—Mr. A. T. Everett exhibited three impressions of the seals of the mayoralty of Salisbury.

Royal Archaeological Institute.—June 7th.—The Rev. F. Spurrell in the chair.—The Rev. J. Hirst read a paper on "The Native Levies raised by the Romans in Britain," and sent by them, according to custom, out of the country to act as auxiliaries to the legions on foreign service, which was first alleged by Dr. De Vit, a Roman archaeologist of some note. The author showed conclusively that the small cohort of foot soldiers and one wing of horse, technically styled *Britannica*, was utterly inadequate, and, moreover, misleading, as they embodied in their total of native levies troops which, according to Hübner, Mac-Caul, Collingwood Bruce, Rhys, Thompson Watkin, and De Vit, were raised among a Continental race of Britons. The paper further treated of the probable total of British levies, and of the position they occupied in the latter age of the Empire.—Mr. Waller made some observations upon the early brasses in Cobham church, rubbings of which were exhibited by Mr. E. W. Wilmott.—Mr. E. Walford offered some remarks upon a portrait of Dr. Johnson which had lately come into his possession.—Mr. E. Peacock exhibited a good example of a *cinquecento* mortar in bronze from his probably unique collection of such objects.—Mr. F. Potts sent two little silver statuettes of St. James of Compostella in the habit of a pilgrim, and of St. Bartholomew carrying his skin on his arm.—Mr. O. Morgan exhibited a set of drawings, made some years ago, of the ancient clocks at Rye, Dover Castle, and Wells.—Mrs. Henley Jervis laid before the meeting books and MSS.—Mrs. Kerr sent photo-

graphs of human figures lately found at Pompeii.—Mr. Hartshorne exhibited a box with scales and weights, dated 1611, for goldsmiths' use.

Philological Society.—June 15th.—Dr. J. A. H. Murray, President, in the chair.—Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte read a paper "On the Names of Reptiles in the Living Neo-Latin Languages," collected from rare books, manuscripts, and private research during the last forty years. The reptiles were classes in the four orders of Chelonians, Saurians, Ophidians, and Batrachians, and thirty-four species. The names were given so far as could be ascertained in the thirteen living Neo-Latin languages and their dialects, interspersed with observations on the relations, analogies, and possible etymologies, so far as anything could be said with certainty.

Hellenic Society.—Annual Meeting, June 14th.—Prof. C. T. Newton, C.B., V. P., in the chair.—The annual Report of the Council was read and adopted. The council called the special attention of members to the project for establishing a British school of archaeological and classical study at Athens. On this subject, after some preliminary remarks from the Chairman, Prof. Jebb made a statement to the meeting of the position and prospects of the scheme. A circular would shortly be issued defining the lines on which the scheme would be based, and inviting, not pecuniary aid, but adhesion. After this had had time to take effect, a meeting would be held in London, probably in July, which would be made as representative as possible. At this meeting a general committee would be appointed, and also an executive committee, which would be charged with the duty of drawing up a scheme in detail.

Society of Biblical Archaeology.—June 5th.—Dr. S. Birch, President, in the chair.—The Rev. A. Löwy read a paper on "Underground Structures in Biblical Lands." He confined himself to caves fitted up for habitation, which abound throughout Syria, and especially on the eastern side of the Jordan.—A letter was read from Prof. Pleyte upon "Christianity in Early Egyptian Documents." He believes that he has found indications of Christian influence in the magic formulæ from the demotic bilingual papyrus at Leyden.

New Shakspeare.—June 8th.—Mr. F. J. Furnivall, Director, in the chair.—Dr. B. Nicholson read a paper "On the Textual Difficulties in 'The Winter's Tale.'"—Mr. T. Tyler read a note on a passage in "Cymbeline," III. iii., "Nobler than attending for a check," etc.

Anthropological.—June 12th.—Prof. Flower, President, in the chair.—Dr. E. B. Tylor read a paper "On Old Scandinavian Civilization among the Modern Esquimaux." Amongst other evidences of contact with European civilization the author made particular mention of the lamp used by the Esquimaux for cooking and for warming their dwellings. One of these primitive-looking lamps was exhibited by Dr. J. Rae; it consists of a flat semicircular dish of steatite or pot-stone, about 15 inches in diameter and 2½ inches deep, with slightly sloping sides; in it the natives burn oil, using for wick fragments of sphagnum arranged along the edge of the lamp.—The Director read a communication from Mr. J. H. Rivett-Carnac describing some palæolithic stone implements found

by himself and Mr. J. Cockburn in Banda, a hilly district of the North-Western Provinces of India.—Dr. E. B. Tylor read a paper, by Mr. A. W. Howitt, "On Australian Beliefs."

June 19th.—A special meeting was held at Piccadilly Hall, by invitation of Mr. Ribeiro, to view the Botocudo Indians brought over by him to this country.—Mr. Hyde Clarke, V.-P., in the chair.—Mr. A. H. Keane read a paper on the Botocudos.—Mr. Ribeiro presented the institute with a small collection of typical Botocudo weapons.

June 26th.—Prof. Flower, President, in the chair.—Mr. W. G. Smith exhibited a collection of palæolithic implements from Leyton and Walthamstow.—Mr. R. B. White read a paper "On the Aboriginal Races of the North-Western Provinces of South America."—Mr. J. P. Harrison read a paper "On the Relative Length of the First Three Toes of the Human Foot."

Royal Society of Literature.—June 27th.—Mr. J. Haynes in the chair.—Mr. Robert N. Cust read a paper on "Algeria, Tunisia, and the Sahara," from observations made by him during a recent tour in that part of the world.

PROVINCIAL.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.—June 14th.—Dr. Arthur Mitchell, Vice-President, in the chair.—In the first paper, Dr. R. Angus Smith, Manchester, discussed the question, "Who are the Celts?" Oneness of language, he remarked, was no proof of oneness of race. Ireland was a great example of the separate existence to the present time of various races. The nations now called Celtic, and those also which were called Celtic, have little similarity, and in some cases are remarkably diverse—as unlike each other as any one race is different from another. Taking the people of Gaul and of Celtic Britain and Ireland, he found that they did not answer the description of any theory of the Celts whatever. The Welsh and Irish are remarkably different in height, in weight, in expression of countenance, as well as in character. He regarded the races at present called Celtic as more mixed than less Western races, and as containing types from the earliest times. The Celtic nations were made up of various peoples—mixtures of men who came to Europe before them as well as after them; and their languages are in part remnants of the pre-Celtic tongues, which were overpowered by the true Celtic.—The second paper, by Mr. John M. Macnab, was an examination of the origin and significance of the symbol of the Twentieth Legion of the Roman army in Britain. The symbol, as is well known, was a running boar, and Mr. Macnab, after alluding to the instances in which that symbol was attributed to the legion itself, and to the vexillation of the legion to which it was first applied, went on to state that he regarded it as having reference to the Caledonians in flight before the victorious Romans, and he supported this view by reference to the sculptured stones of Scotland.—In the third paper, Mr. Angus J. Beaton gave descriptions and measurements of some ancient fortifications in the north-western district of the Black Isle, Ross-shire, including a fort near the Muir of Ord;

David's Fort in Conanwood, and near it another construction of circular form surrounded by a ditch, which, though it has been called a fort, is more likely to have been a place of sepulture; and a fort at Loch Lundie, near the old Hill of Kessock. He also noticed some remains of stone circles in the same district.—In the fourth paper, Rev. J. Menzies, Fordoun, gave a notice of some cup-marked stones which he had discovered built into the walls of the chapel of St. Palladius there. Mr. Alexander Hutchison, architect, Dundee, followed with an interesting account of the discovery of earthenware jars, built into the walls of a dwelling-house adjacent to "Whitehall Palace" in Dundee. Six jars in all, he stated, were discovered. They were all of a reddish-brown glazed ware and had handles. They were built into the outside of the wall, having their mouths flush with the face of the wall, so that they showed as round holes—three being placed as a triangle between two of the windows on the second story. This, he said, seemed to be the first time that this curious feature had been noticed in the domestic architecture of Scotland. Dr. Robert Munro, Kilmarnock, gave an account of the discovery of a hoard of fine flat bronze axe-heads and a bronze ring at the Maidens, near Culzean Castle, Ayrshire, in the course of operations for the construction of a ship-building yard on the property of the Marquis of Ailsa. They were found at a depth of four feet, of which the lower two feet was shingle, and the upper two feet a talus of vegetable soil. The distance from the shore was one hundred yards, and the height above the present sea level twenty-five feet. The axe-heads are all of different sizes, the largest about five-and-half inches in length. They belong to the earliest type of axes used after the introduction of metal. The other papers were a notice of the discovery of additional cup-marked stones near Killin, by Mr. D. Haggart, communicated by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F. S. A. Scot.; a notice by Mr. Romilly Allen of two wooden locks from China, similar to the old wooden locks in use in the remoter districts of Scotland; a notice of a collection of beads and spindle-whorls of stone, etc., from the north-west provinces of India, by Mr. J. H. Rivett Carnac, illustrated by a small collection sent to the museum by Mr. Rivett Carnac; and a notice of some of the urns in the museum that have been found associated with articles of use or ornament, by Dr. Joseph Anderson. Mr. Archibald Stavart of Hoscote exhibited a finely polished stone axe of aventurin quartz, recently ploughed up on his property near Jedburgh; and Dr. Blair exhibited an urn with peculiar ornamentation, found at Tents Muir, near Cupar. Mr. James B. Kerr, banker, Kelso, also exhibited and presented an interesting holograph of Sir Walter Scott, through Professor Duns.

Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club.—July 3rd.—The party journeyed to Ranston, the residence of Sir Talbot Baker, and close to two of the camps which were the object of the excursion. Before reaching the main entrance to the camp on the south-east several low defensive lines were crossed, and then came the chief outworks, consisting of four high ramparts with their ditches, the interior one the highest of all. Winding their way in through these a sloping way was seen leading off to the north-east, down the hill, under cover of the rampart, supposed

to be the water-way for the defenders, as a well of water either existed, or was known to have existed, below. Crossing another defence, which appears either to have divided the original camp, some three-quarters of a mile long, into two parts, or else indicated the presence of a later portion subsequently constructed, the highest point of the interior was reached—some 500 feet above sea level. Standing here with the "Giant's Grave" (a long barrow in front), from Mount Silver on the left, hiding the Quantocks, a wide extent of country stretched away to the horizon. As to the origin of these camps, the received opinion was that they were made by the natives for defence against the incursions of the bordering tribes, or of their foreign enemies; and that the Belgæ had made the one in question, and took refuge here from the attacks of the Durotriges dwelling on the other side of the Stour. Retracing their steps by the way they came the party were conducted across the slopes of the down to the south-east, and after descending a deep valley commenced the ascent of Hod Hill. Sir Talbot Baker drew attention to the features of the camp, pointing out the difference between the original and larger camp, including the smaller one inside it. Entering the latter at the north-west corner and following the line of the second and inner of the two north ramparts, he said that there could be no doubt that they were looking upon two different kinds of work—a Roman and a pre-Roman, the former being contained in a part of the latter. The north-west corner of an ancient pre-Roman camp of some fifty acres following the irregular form of the hill had been converted into a parallelogram or square in Roman times, by running straight lines of defence from side to side and thus enclosing a rectilinear space. Not only did the form of this smaller camp indicate its origin, but up to 1853 the site of Roman habitations was plainly visible in the interior, and many Roman remains had been found there. These were the times when the plough had been so busily at work there, and been the means of enriching Mr. Durden's museum at Blandford with so many treasures. The peculiar low broad space between the inner and the outer ditch on the east side indicated that the defenders trusted more to mechanical means of defence than to the height of the ramparts, for this was probably the platform for their engines of warfare, their ballistæ, etc. The entrances too were of different shape, and had places for slingers on either hand. The water-way leading to the Stour, which washed the foot of the hill on the west, the numerous round depressions on the south and south-east side, marking the probable site of the hut circles in the older camp, and the well-defended east entrance of the latter, were all visited. And especial attention was called to the numerous pits or scoopings visible along the slope of the ramparts both outside and inside on the north and south side of the camp, and their origin and uses were discussed. They then visited Mr. Durden's collection of Neolithic flint weapons, bronze hatchets and torques, Roman swords and fibulae, Saxon enamels, and many priceless local treasures which his genius and energy had during a long life collected together and admirably arranged.

Caradoc Field Club—12th June.—The Club made its first excursion of the season to the Brown

Clee Hill. On arriving at the secluded village of Clee St. Margaret, they were received by the Rev. A. Clowes, who conducted them to the church. It is a rectangular building, consisting of a nave and chancel, and on each side of the chancel arch, piercing the thick wall, is a squint or hagioscope. The exterior of the north and east wall of the chancel presents an example of the ancient, and somewhat rare, masonry, known as the herring-bone masonry. The date of this church is doubtless early English, and, being dedicated to Saint Margaret, gives its name to the village, and distinguishes this Clee (as Eytton remarks) from other Clees deriving their name from the mountain near which they stand. The next point of interest was the Heath Chapel, situate about one mile north of Clee St. Margaret, the early history of which nothing is certainly known. Its form is rectangular, consisting of nave and chancel. It is entered by a south door, with a Norman arch, with a zigzag moulding in fairly good preservation, and a tympanum devoid of all ornament. The chancel arch is extremely simple, and possibly of somewhat earlier date than the doorway. The stone foot is not the least interesting object to be observed, being, undoubtedly, of very early date, with very simple ornamentation round the upper part in the form of semicircles. The party then proceeded to the Roman Encampment on Nurdy Bank, one and a half miles from the Heath Chapel, after inspecting which the Rev. A. Clowes read a paper directing attention to the fact that this earthwork was an undoubted Roman work, having a road running from it, more or less traceable in the present day, *via* Tugford, Hungerford, Roman Bank, Rushbury, Cardington, and the Devil's Causeway, to Uriconium. The party then started for the summit of the Brown Clee Hill, the highest point in Shropshire, 1806 feet above the level of the sea, to inspect Abdon Burf, supposed to be of British origin. This is a large encampment, occupying the summit, surrounded by enormous earthworks, and having in its interior very curious circles of stone, some of which communicate with others by a straight passage, having milestones on either hand. These circles are believed by some to be the foundations of ancient British habitations, constituting a city enclosed with defensive works belonging to an earlier period than Nurdy Bank. The president gave a short address to the members of the club on the "Geological and physical aspect of the Clee and Titterstone Hills and surrounding valleys," pointing out in detail the geological formations. He remarked that the Clee Hills were capped with basalt, being the result of volcanic action, and that this covering had saved the hills from denudation, whilst the intervening valleys had been gradually acted upon by atmospheric and other agencies.

Manchester Scientific Students.—June 16th.—The Association made a geological excursion to Buxton. The museum adjoining Poole's Cavern was first visited, after which the cavern was entered. The cavern is readily accessible for the distance of a quarter of a mile, and to this extent is lighted with gas; in its loftiest part it is ninety feet high. A stream runs through it, the source of which has been traced to Axe Edge. At the quarries on the summit of Grin-low Mr. John Aitken pointed out the so-called ancient

seabeach. This is a nearly horizontal bed of limestone, laid bare by the quarrymen, showing an irregular water-worn surface. A still further ascent was afterwards made to a large heap of stones, supposed to be the ruins of a round tower, and known as Solomon's Temple.—Mr. Aitken read a paper on Carboniferous Limestone and Formation of Caverns. Mr. Aitken said caves might be described as subterranean water-courses, which have in most cases been left dry by the water having found an outlet at a lower level. In nearly all caves which have been explored, it is found that subsequent to their desertion by water they have become partially filled up by an accumulation of stones, gravel, and silt. With regard to Poole's Cavern there is not much of special importance to say, the researches which have from time to time taken place having failed to reveal the presence of any of the extinct mammalia or other indications pointing to its occupancy in very remote times, although it is far from being destitute of interest from a physical and antiquarian point of view. It is said to have derived its name from a celebrated outlaw, who, in the reign of Henry VI., made it a place of abode and a depository of his plunder. Up to 1865 no regular excavations had taken place. In that year the proprietor, Mr. Redfern, determined upon a systematic examination. Excavations were begun in the large chamber some thirty or forty yards from the entrance, where the accumulated material reaches some eight feet in thickness. Near the surface, and only slightly covered over, the workmen came upon a layer of stalagmite, about three-quarters of an inch in thickness; then a layer of brown clay of from ten to twelve inches, below which was a second layer of stalagmite about a quarter of an inch thick, resting upon another of brown clay, in which were found a large quantity of bones, mingled with fragments of pottery and charcoal, one of the pieces having the potter's name distinctly impressed in Roman characters. The bones all belonged to animals likely to have served as food. In another part of the cavern, about four years earlier than the date mentioned, a fibula of beautiful workmanship and two coins of the Emperor Trajan were found near the surface. Recently, more coins and broken pottery have been found, together with a number of human bones and flint chips and scrapers; also four stone hammers and some stone celts. Some of the remains seem to point to a more remote occupation of the cavern than that generally assigned to it. It is, however, probable that the stone implements were taken in during the earlier years of the Roman occupation of our island, when the inhabitants had frequently to flee and seek shelter from the fury of the victorious legions of Rome.

Edinburgh Architectural Association.—June 6th.—A supplementary meeting of this Association was held to hear the continuation of the President's (Mr. MacGibbon) lecture on "Scottish Castles and Houses." The lecturer pointed out that on the last occasion he had described and illustrated the great buildings of the thirteenth century, which formed a well-marked period in Scottish domestic architecture. Owing to the exhaustion of the country during the War of Independence, the castles of the succeeding century were of a much smaller and simpler description. The Norman keep was now the model adopted,

and buildings on this plan continued to be erected for several centuries afterwards. These towers were illustrated by plans and drawings of Lochleven Castle, and the towers at Alloa, Clackmannan, Liberton, Preston, Neidpath, Borthwick Castle, etc. In the fifteenth century the condition of the country had improved, and larger and more commodious dwellings were required. In many cases the old towers were preserved and added to by extending buildings round the courtyard, till these gradually came to assume the form of a mansion surrounding a quadrangle, as seen in the castles of Craigmillar, Castle Campbell, Crichton, Kilchurn, Balvaird, etc. Some of these castles, however, were enlarged with buildings adjoining, but disconnected from the keep, such as Huntingtower, in Perthshire, and the Dean, near Kilmarnock. During this period (fifteenth century) new castles were also erected, designed on the plan of a quadrangle, such as Doune, Tantallon, etc.

Erith and Belvedere Natural History and Scientific Society.—April 17th.—Mr. Greig, who had some curious examples of native work from Tripoli, said that the nature of some of them was somewhat doubtful.—Mr. H. W. Smith said he had brought some objects from Mr. Harris, who regretted he could not attend personally. The first was a 14th century dagger, made of iron, and about 14in. long; it was turned up during the construction of a new road through Mr. Wells' property at Belvedere a short time ago. He had also two bones from the Crayford pits; one was the left ulna of a lion, but the precise nature of the other, which was long and thin, he could not tell. A chipped flint from the same neighbourhood, and a copy of the plan of the Clarence Canal that was proposed in 1812, across the marshes from Erith to Woolwich, were also exhibited.

Shropshire Archæological Society.—July 4th.—The locality selected for the annual excursion was the district around Lydbury North, including a visit to Walcot, the Shropshire seat of the Earl of Powis, the ancient seat of the Plowden family at Plowden, and the famous ancient British encampment known as the Bury Ditches on Tangle Hill, near Walcot. The ascent to the Ditches was led by Canon Lloyd. The lines of entrenchment are very clearly marked, and consist of three nearly circular earth walls, the exterior one having in places a rocky escarpment so as to make it a very formidable fortress. The ditches between each wall and the outer fosse are, however, much choked by vegetation, and the heavy growth of timber obscures many of the features of the stronghold. Altogether the area of the camp contains about ten acres. By the kind permission of the Earl of Powis, Walcot hall, formerly the seat of the Walcot family, prior to its purchase by Lord Clive in the latter half of the last century, was thrown open for inspection. A move was then made to the village church of Lydbury North, a most interesting Norman structure, dedicated to St. Michael. The interior wall, and what is no doubt a finely-timbered roof, are hidden by a thick coat of plaster and whitewash. The pews are of oak and all carved in pattern. The aumbry, or cupboard for the sacred utensils, and the piscina of other days still remain, and on each side the altar are two stone brackets, formerly pedestals for images, but which now support rude gilt candlesticks of wood.

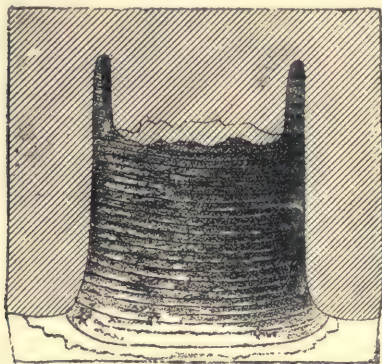
The Plowden Chapel, to the left of the chancel, contains the stone altar of pre-reformation days, and the floor is thickly inscribed with the names of the Plowdens, the Dormers, and the Stonors, whose ashes lie beneath. The Walcot Chapel contains several pews, in one of which are a number of prayer-books labelled "Lord Clive." There are also many slabs and mural monuments to members of the Walcot family, and one to the Baroness de Ferriers, a member or connection of the family of Bright, of Totterton, in this parish. A move was made to Plowden Hall, the seat of W. F. Plowden, Esq., an old mansion, partly Elizabethan and partly Jacobean, situate at the end of a lovely valley, and commanding views of great beauty. The collection of family portraits here is a very large one, and contains some gems by Vandyke and Sir Peter Lely. The Plowden family have been seated here since the eleventh century. The library was next visited, and here were many rare and curious folios. Mr. Plowden had, however, only time to exhibit the *editio princeps* of his great ancestor's Commentary on the Laws of England in black letter (1571), and a very clean copy of the *Acta Sanctorum*, a small quarto, printed by William Caxton. A collection of vestments, altar frontals, and other ecclesiastical articles was also shown, richly embroidered in gold and colours, and some of great antiquity. Among these was a chalice veil, heavily worked in gold, once belonging to St. Thomas of Canterbury. The domestic chapel was also visited, and here were noticed some very rare old engravings of the Beatitudes. Two "hiding places," used in Cavalier and Roundhead days, were also shown, and excited considerable interest.



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Tools of the Pyramid Builders.—A remarkable contribution to our knowledge of pre-historic tools, and of the methods used in working the large blocks of stone used in the construction of the Pyramids, has just been made by Mr. W. M. Flinders Petrie. The results of his observations were embodied in a paper read before the Anthropological Society a short time back, and they form the subject of a critical article in *Engineering* for June 22nd. Mr. Petrie seems to prove almost indubitably that the ancient Egyptians were acquainted with tools which are regarded as amongst the most recent triumphs of modern invention. It has long been a puzzle to antiquaries how the round holes, say, for instance, for the pivot holes of doors in temples, were made. It is now clear that they were bored with tubular drills, supposed to have been made of bronze, the cutting edge being set with hard jewels, probably corundum. When the drill had penetrated to a sufficient depth the "core" was broken off. In the article to which reference is made above there is given a section of a hole so drilled, but from which the core could not be entirely removed owing to the oc-

currence of a large patch of hornblende.* The presence of this portion of the core standing up at the bottom of the hole, with the annular incision all round it, affords unimpeachable evidence of the correctness of Mr. Petrie's conclusion. Stone coffins were hollowed out by a similar method, a series of annular holes just touching each other being sunk all over the area required to be removed. The cores being knocked off, it only remained to reduce the bottom and sides to a flat surface. Mr. Petrie also shows that the ancient workmen were acquainted with the use of circular cutters, or saws, the cutting edge being set with gems, like the drills, for slicing hard stone, fragments exhibiting well-marked circular scorings having been found. As regards the manufacture of stone bowls, the conclusions which our contemporary seems to draw from Mr. Petrie's researches are that the early Egyptian turner was acquainted with the use of mechanical "rests" for holding the turning tool. These contrivances are usually supposed to be not older than the end of the last century. The subject is of too technical a nature to pursue further, as



its details only appeal to those who have some acquaintance with workshop manipulation. We ought to state that Mr. Petrie's researches have been by no means confined to these mechanical details. They embrace also an accurate survey of the pyramids with instruments of precision. The Royal Society have recognised the value of the work by giving a grant for its publication from the Government Fund which is at its disposal.

Discoveries at Shrowner, near Winchester.—A very remarkable stone monument of a funeral character has been discovered at Shrowner, four miles from Winchester, on the property of Mr. John Colson, architect, of that city. It was thus discovered. In the cleared part of the underwood a piece of stone was observed protruding through the surface (there were no signs whatever of any *tumulus*), and on examining this by excavations, stone after stone

* By the courtesy of the proprietors of *Engineering*, we are enabled to give a woodcut representing the section of a pivot hole of a door in a lintel of the granite temple at Gizeh, built by the king of the Second Pyramid, Kkafra.

was found, of large dimensions, all sandstone, and of their natural shape, as dug from their original place. The owner, whose love of antiquarian pursuits is great, has made further investigations, once, in the presence of the Rev. C. Collier, M.A., Vicar of Andover, a well-known archaeologist; and there are now exposed to view a collection or ruin of over forty stones of all shapes, and immense size and weight in several cases. They present the appearance of a ruined stone chamber of colossal proportions. That it is a megalithic interment cannot be doubted; for in moving the clay and earth round and above the stones quantities of charcoal were found. A fine flint arrow-head, of remarkable preservation and elegance, is the only object yet secured. The area at present uncovered is about twenty feet by twelve, and the depth below the natural surface is considerable; whilst nearly fifty stones are now uncovered, some many tons in weight, and the massive mystery awaits and merits a proper investigation. It is curious, that almost close by are the ruins, apparently, of a cairn of calcined flints; some fine barrows are not far off, and also some curious entrenchments contiguous to the *tumuli* in the shape of a large parallelogram. The Roman road to London and Silchester is close at hand; and at the farmhouse of Shrowner was recently found an elegant, and almost perfect, Romano-British cinerary urn. A fine Roman villa and pavement, mentioned in the last number of THE ANTIQUARY, is at Ichen Abbas, about a mile off; and this month a perfect silver coin of the Emperor, if he may be so called, C. Messius Q. Trajanus Decius, was found in a place in the district known as "Dudley's Town"; so that the locality is rich in interesting memorials both British and Roman. That there is not a local archaeological society is a matter of regret, to aid in the care and investigation of such matters, and the enrichment of the local museum,—the proper receptacle of "finds," and which are far more valuable than the accustomed stuffed birds and Indian spears and similar miscellanies.—Communicated by W. H. JACOB.

Municipal Insignia, Dudley.—The following extract from the *Birmingham Daily Gazette* of June 22nd, 1883, may be worth preserving in the pages of THE ANTIQUARY:—

"New Mayoral Chain for Dudley.—A new badge and chain of office for the Mayors of Dudley has just been manufactured by Messrs. William Wray and Son, of 38, New Street, Birmingham. This beautiful civic decoration is of 18-carat gold, and is designed after the style of the Italian Renaissance. The chain comprises eighteen large links, and an equivalent number of smaller ones arranged alternately. The more important ones, which are somewhat of an oblong form, bear each a shield of the form known as the Knights Templars', upon which is engraved the lion, adopted from the arms of the Countess of Dudley. This shield is surmounted by a mural crown, and on its summit is a cross, one of the details selected from the borough arms. The smaller link represents the letter D, the initial of Dudley. These alternate links are connected by small oval links. The main link of the chain has heraldically emblazoned in the centre the arms, crest, and supporters of the noble donor of the gift, the Earl of Dudley. The shield has impaled the Earl's arms and the bearings of his Countess from

the armorial coat of the Moncrieff family. This is adorned with the Earl's coronet, correct in every detail, which in turn is surmounted by his crest, a lion (azure) issuing from a coronet. The shields stand upon an artistically-carved scroll, with which is entwined a flying rib, bearing the motto *Comme je fus*. On the scroll stand the supporters, two angels gracefully enveloped in raiment classically arranged. They are modelled and carved of the solid gold, and form a good specimen of the goldsmith's craft. From the centre link hangs the badge, which is very massive in construction. The framework is solid, and is adorned with scrolls and other ornamentation. This, as in the case of the other parts, has been carved and modelled by hand. A shield, larger, but similar to that bearing the Earl of Dudley's arms, occupies the most conspicuous position, and there are enamelled upon it in colours the arms of the borough and above it the crest. At one side is a branch of oak as a national emblem, and on the other a bough of laurel indicative of prosperity and greatness. Beneath is also an English rose, the whole of the foliage being carved. Behind the shield is a model of the town mace, symbolical of judicial dignity, and a wreathed sword, as the emblem of justice. A walled crown occupies the summit of the badge, and conveys the idea of a fortress or town. On the reverse of the badge a suitable inscription gives the name of the present mayor, who will wear the decoration. Each of the prominent links possesses a shield which may, if desired, hold the monograms or crests of future occupiers of the civic chair. The whole chain and badge form a beautiful specimen of workmanship, the arms and various symbolic parts being carved and illustrated with great taste and skill.³—*Communicated by HIRONDELLE VOLANT.*



Antiquarian News.

In the town of Agen, in the department of Lot-et-Garonne, there is an extremely curious and beautiful clock of the fifteenth century. Unfortunately the hated fleur-de-lys combined with the arms of the town are worked upon it. In the eyes of the republican town councillors this has sealed its fate. They have decreed that the clock shall be forthwith removed from the belfry of the hotel-de-ville, melted down, and converted into a bust of the republic!

The auctioneer's hammer has resounded within the seclusion of another of our ancient country houses. The grand old furniture and family portraits of Scrivelsby Court, in Lincolnshire,—for generations the seat of the King's Champions,—was advertised to be sold by order of the executors of Mrs. Dymoke. The Dymokes have been at Scrivelsby ever since the days of Richard II.—more than five hundred years. The head of the family for the time being was the King's Champion, and had to ride into Westminster Hall on Coronation Day clad in complete armour, and throw down his gauntlet as a challenge to any who disputed the new monarch's claim to the throne. Since the coronation of George IV. this useless but picturesque custom has been abolished.

A few weeks ago the Porte entrusted a Government official named Hamdi Bey, who is a son of Edham Pasha, minister of the interior, with an archaeological mission to the ancient Mesopotamian town of Urfah, believed to be the birthplace of Abraham. According to local tradition there are still descendants of the patriarch to be found in that neighbourhood. Hamdi Bey has reported to Constantinople that on the hill known as Tel Nimrod, situated in front of Urfah, he has discovered vestiges of ancient buildings, tombstones, etc., which are not, however, in a condition to be removed. Several Orientalists are to proceed to Urfah, accompanied by a photographer, to examine these interesting relics of the biblical age.

The little village of Butterwick, situated in one of the pleasant valleys of the Yorkshire Wolds, was the scene of much rejoicing on account of the re-opening of its restored church. This ancient church, situated a short distance from the highroad in a retired churchyard at the back of a large group of farm buildings, might, a year ago, by a passing stranger, have been entirely overlooked, especially if seen from the north, as its long, low, windowless stone wall and low slated roof, broken only at the west end by a decaying bell gable of brick, gave it all the appearance of being part of the farmstead it is close to. The church is a simple parallelogram in plan, measuring 62 ft. 3 in. by 21 ft. 7 in. externally, and 56 ft. 10 in. and 15 ft. 6 in. at the west end, and 16 ft. at the east end internally. About 31 ft. from the west end is a break in the masonry on both north and south sides, the portion west of it being Norman work, and that east of it of later date, probably of about the year 1340. The early Norman date of the western portion was proved on removing the floor and the plastering from the walls, when the traces of a chancel arch were clearly seen, the side walls showing plainly where it had been built into them, and the early date of the work was proved by several fragments of Norman moulding found under the floor. Amongst these are some pieces of the jamb mouldings of apparently the destroyed chancel arch, and five or six very rudely sculptured corbels with the characteristic Norman mask head. A small piece of zigzag work built into a modern buttress at the west end points to a Norman door having existed in the place of the present rude and plain square-headed one, which is dated 1773. The church is lighted by three windows, two being on the south side, and these, although their tracery and mullions were cut away, fortunately preserved fragments of their hood moulds with carved heads at their terminations, which enable them to be dated circa 1340. The east end had been partially rebuilt with a large square-headed window, partly composed of old stones. The roof was and is of a low pitch, quite modern, and covered with blue slates. Inside, the building was in a very sad state of decay, having been much neglected for many years. The walls green in parts with damp, windows broken and patched up with boards, high pews of different sizes and shapes, painted a dirty drab and mostly much decayed, a towering pulpit half-way down the church, and floor of brick wet with damp. There were, however, amidst all these dilapidations three features that told of better days

the font and two monuments. The font is a large cylindrical bowl 2ft. gin., in diameter, ornamented with arcade of early Norman character in very slight relief, and placed on a low pedestal. It stands on a step of the same date. Of the two monuments, one is an effigy of a cross-legged knight in rudely sculptured armour of the early part of the fourteenth century, with the hands joined in prayer and the feet resting on a puppy, and a monster with the head of a woman. The charges on the shield carried on the knight's left arm are nearly entirely erased, but he is supposed to be Sir Roger de Butterwick. The other monument is a fine, boldly-carved grave cover of the thirteenth century, bearing a shield over a cross-handled sword on a ground of foliage, and with the nail-head ornament running round the edge of the slab.

The half-timbered building erected in 1621, and known as "The Old House," Hereford, has lately been restored and adapted to the purposes of a banking business by the Worcester City and County Banking Company. The two upper floors, with their numerous overhanging many-mullioned windows, have been but little altered. The whole exterior, with its black beams and cement panels, has been carefully preserved, and the grotesque and other carving scraped and cleaned where practicable.

An interesting relic of antiquity was lately received at Berlin from Mayence, consisting of the remains of piles belonging to the bridge which once led from Castel to Mayence, and which is proved to have been in use fifty-three years before the Christian era. The pieces of wood are trunks of various trees, including oak, elm, and white beech and red beech. They are said to be internally sound, and to have pieces of iron at one end. It is intended to devote part of the wood to the manufacture of a piano-case. The German papers state that the acquisition of these remains was difficult, as English collectors were offering high prices for such objects. Prince Alexander of Hesse has had some ornamental furniture made from oak which was discovered at the spot referred to, which he has presented to his son, Prince Alexander of Bulgaria.

Among the many remains of prehistoric ages in England, says a writer in the *Builder*, which have been either entirely ignored by county historians and the Ordnance Survey, or dismissed too briefly, are two sites of considerable interest in Cornwall, in the adjoining parishes of St. Teath and St. Advent, not far from Camelford; the former barely noticed by Maclean in his "History of Trigg Minor," the latter quite new to archaeology. That in the parish of St. Teath is locally known as "The Rounds." It is an extensive earthwork of circular form divided unequally by the Boscastle Road between Trevain and Cockcrowing. The outer *vallum* is complete, except for the space of about fifty paces on the St. Teath and Delabole side. A very small portion only remains of the inner *vallum*, but there are distinct traces of it throughout the whole circuit, in some places as high as two feet. The Rev. T. Worthington, whose fortunate discovery of a Celtic cross we recorded a short time ago, has recently examined this site, known as No. 1,218 on the tithe-map of

the parish, forming part of a farm called "New Berry," of which the buildings are now entirely ruined, a part only of one wall remaining. He finds that the fosse between the two concentric mounds or rings has been almost completely filled up to the level of the field, the material of the inner ring having been thrown down with this object. The average height of the outer mound on the Delabole side is 5ft. 6in.; the inside height is scarcely so great. On the western side, nearest to Camelford, the average height is 6ft., with some places reaching 10ft. in height. The sides of the mounds have been faced in many parts with walling, in the style commonly in use throughout the county. The camp or area thus enclosed measures 495ft. in diameter; the breadth of the circumvallation, from the centre line of each mound, is 30ft. This capacious stronghold of our early Celtic forefathers lies close to the "Castlegoff Camp," in the neighbouring fields of Lanteglos parish, and is situated upon the slope of the hill, looking in a westerly direction towards Boscastle. The second monument is of a somewhat complex nature. It consists of three circular groups of standing and prostrate stones in the "Bury" or "Pool" Field, in Trecarne Farm, not far from the bridge which crosses the river Camel in the parish of St. Advent, or Adven, one mile to the south of Camelford. In this twelve-acre field the three groups are placed at spots forming the angles of an isosceles triangle, the two longer and equal sides, of 6½ chains, being about three times longer than the base, of 2 chains. Each circle is of the approximate diameter of 50ft., and each originally contained three rings of stones. These have been almost entirely levelled, but they may be still distinctly traced. The stones were of granite and spar, ranging in height from 3ft. to 7ft., and in width from 1ft. to 2ft. Several loads of them are still heaped up against the fence, but hundreds of loads have been removed within the memory of the present occupier. In digging a trench across one of the circles, that on the right-hand base corner of the triangle, several tons of loose granite and spar boulders, and other stones, which had evidently been obtained from the bed of the neighbouring river, were thrown out. Mr. Worthington reports that virgin soil was reached at a depth of 3ft., with small patches of charred substances. These, which may be of burnt wood or bone, have yet to undergo investigation. There is a similar mound, which marks the site of a stone circle that has been destroyed within the last twenty years, on the same farm, and not more than a quarter of a mile distant from this triad of monuments. It is situated in a long, narrow field, known as "Strap" field. In this case the materials were removed by the former occupier.

An interesting discovery was made recently at Augsburg in the course of carrying out some extensive repairs at the Protestant Church of St. James. In the process of taking down the old organ, some of the neighbouring surface plaster became detached from the wall; and it was then found that beneath several coats of whitewash, old and modern, there were hidden some very beautiful large frescoes. A stone inscription underneath records that they were executed between the years 1480 and 1496.

We are informed that Prince Ibrahim Hilmy,

brother of the Khedive, has in the press a bibliography of printed books, MSS., periodical literature, etc., relating to the antiquities, history, and political and social life of Egypt, from the earliest times to the present date. Messrs. Clowes are the printers.

Among recent acquisitions by the South Kensington Museum may be mentioned four enamelled glass lamps for suspension in mosques which Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, in his recent visit to Egypt, obtained on loan for the museum from the Khedive himself. The Arab Art Museum in the mosque of El-Hâkim at Cairo contains more than eighty of these mosque lamps, including more than a dozen duplicates. It was from these duplicates that Mr. Lane-Poole received permission to select the four which are now exhibited at South Kensington. They are fine specimens of their class: the colouring of one is especially beautiful; and they all belong to the best period of Arab work. Three of them bear the name and titles of Sultan Hasan (who reigned A.D. 1347-51, and again 1354-61), and came from his great mosque in front of the citadel; and the fourth has the title of El-Melik Ez-Zâhir Barkûk (1382-99), the founder of the dynasty of Circassian Mamelukes, which succeeded that of the Turkish Mamelukes to which Sultan Hasan belonged. The colours of the enamel are chiefly cobalt and a dark red, with touches of white and pale-green.

The Parish Church of Standlake is having another section of its restoration brought to a close—the south aisle, the baptistery, and the new south porch. The earliest work upon the sacred fane dates from the twelfth century; and work of different periods up to the fifteenth century also exists. The church itself consists of nave, aisles, transept-chancel, and a western tower and spire. The latter are unique features; the tower being octagonal in plan at the base, and tall for its diameter. It is surmounted by an open stone parapet, and crowned by a low spire. The church lies close to the winding and ever-rushing little river Windrush, a mile or so ere it falls into the Thames, and its elevation is so low, that although the plinths of the building are altogether sunk into the surrounding graveyard, the yard itself is only too often covered with water. The fine old Early English arcade upon the south side has just been carefully overhauled; a new lean-to roof in oak has been placed upon the aisle. It is of oak, having carved bosses done in the solid beams. The struts supporting it rest upon angel corbels. They take the same line as an existing ancient example, and have carved spandrels.

An improvement has lately been effected in the western façade of Lincoln Cathedral by the removal of the earth which had accumulated about its base, and the lowering of the area in front to the depth of 3 ft. or 4 ft. The gain in architectural effect is most striking. Previously, the shafts and mouldings and arches sprang at once from the ground without any apparent structural connection. Now the disclosure of the original Norman plinth, hidden for centuries, gives unity to the whole structure, and adds much to its dignity. A plan is under contemplation, and has met with general support, for continuing the work along the southern flank of the cathedral, now buried

many feet by the accumulated soil, and lowering the public road which runs around the sacred building.

Sir Walter Raleigh is to be rather extensively represented at the Cork Exhibition. They are to have the long oak table at which he wrote most of his Irish letters to Cecil; the old deeds conveying the vast estates that he muddled away into the hands of Boyle, first Earl of Cork, from whose family they passed to the Dukes of Devonshire; the warrant under Queen Elizabeth's hand and seal, securing to the unfortunate Elinor, Countess of Desmond, the pension which, when the "undertakers" had robbed her of every blade of grass on her jointure lands, and she and her children were only fed by the charity of Ormonds, the enemy of her house, she walked from Bristol to London to obtain. "Sir Walter's study," in what was once the Geraldine's College at Youghal, is the same room in which Raleigh studied Verazano's charts before sailing to Virginia, and in which he first smoked tobacco after coming back. His portrait is there, and a contemporary engraving of "Elizabeth, Queen of Virginia." These are to go to Cork.

The ancient Church of Edstaston was re-opened on Saturday, June 16th, by the Bishop of Lichfield, having been closed during the carrying out of repairs. The building dates from the twelfth century, no earlier remains having been discovered, and was probably built by one of the Pantolfs, who then held the Manor and township of Wem. The floors have been renewed with solid wooden block paving laid in herring bone pattern, and the ancient sacristy has been rebuilt on its old foundations. The remains of the old sedilia have not been "restored," but have been covered with a wooden seat, under which they exist untouched. The old roof was sound and good, and has been left. The ring post is now concealed by a cross over six feet high with quatrefoil ends and centre, in which are carved the Agnus Dei, and the four symbols of the Evangelists. The rough plaster of the walls has only been repaired where necessary, and the remains of the ancient fresco and dedication crosses have been preserved.

The Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society have issued a placard containing wood engravings of stone implements, arrows, javelin heads, daggers, and axe heads such as may possibly be still found in this district by diligent searchers. The circulation of this broadside ought to help in the preservation of such antiquities.

The latest acquisition at the British Museum is a colossal marble female head, discovered in a temple at Sarotis by Mr. Dennis. The head measures over four feet in height, and is supposed to be that of the Empress Faustina. The entire figure must have measured about twenty-four feet, and was probably seated. The head is interesting from its enormous size, and the place in which it was found, more than from any actual beauty in the work.

A strange transaction occupies the Courts at Constantinople. The Corporation of the Bezesten or depository in the Great Bazaar, having in hand some repairs, proposed to sell an antique seal of Mahmud Ghazi, the conqueror of Constantinople. For this

they asked five hundred pounds; but the authorities of the Imperial Museum have intervened and claim it as State property.

The Parish Church of Barrow, Chester, has been restored. The church, dedicated to St. Bartholomew, is a low building with a north aisle separated from the body by a range of obtuse arches. A chancel was added in 1671 by Henry Bridgeman, rector, while Bishop of Sodor and Man and Dean of Chester. In 1744 a new tower was strongly built with stone, but in a style incongruous with the rest of the building.

This year's meeting of the Wiltshire Archæological Society will be held in Hampshire, the first time it has crossed the borders of its own county since its formation. Andover has been the town selected as its head-quarters, and in that town it will meet on the 14th, 15th, and 16th of August next.

Several ancient gold articles, resembling in general character those found by Dr. Sehliemann at Mycenæ, have been discovered on the northern bank of the Amu Darya, the ancient Oxus, about two days' journey from Kodus. The intrinsic value of the things found is estimated at £750.

While some men were excavating in a field on the farm of Mr. Siddall, at Rope, near Nantwich, on Saturday, one of them struck, about two feet below the surface of the ground, an old oak chest containing the skeleton of a man. The condition of the bones suggested that they had been buried a number of years; but the box, the wood of which was nearly three inches thick, was in a state of good preservation. It was found almost in the centre of the field, which had not been ploughed for many years.

The well-known landmark, forming the outline of a horse, situate on the side of the hill near Kilburn in Yorkshire, has just been re-covered with lime, and may now be seen distinctly at a long distance.

The trustees of the British Museum have lately received from Pekin some typographical curiosities, in the shape of eight volumes containing portions of two Chinese works printed during the thirteenth century. These books are printed from wooden blocks, and display a marked inequality in the skill of the type-cutters. The paper, which is the ordinary Chinese paper, is, in the case of one work, much discoloured by age. The volumes have evidently been carefully preserved, and at one time belonged to the library of a Chinese prince, who, in consequence of a political intrigue, was in 1860 condemned to die by a "silken cord." Hence the dispersion of his library.

The next meeting of the British Association will be held at Southport, commencing on September 19th, and it is expected to be a very successful gathering. Southport is fairly central for the large population of Lancashire, and no doubt there will be a large accession of members and associates for the sake of attending the various sections and hearing the presidential addresses.

The *Times*' correspondent at Rome states that a small Egyptian obelisk has been discovered in an excavation which the municipality are making in the small open space immediately behind the apse of the

Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, in the vicinity of the site of the Temple of Isis and Serapis. It was at a depth of about 16ft. below the surface, and it is apparently in a good state of preservation. At the same spot a sphinx in basalt was discovered a few days ago, with a cartouche on the breast.

The preparations for re-pewing and otherwise improving St. Julian's Church, Shrewsbury, are progressing. The west ends of the two galleries, the pulpit, and all the old seats, have been removed, and the work of lowering the floor of the church, preparatory to paving it with concrete, is being rapidly proceeded with. Four arches, which are said to be of the style of architecture in vogue in the thirteenth century, have been brought to light. They were thickly encased in mortar, and are supposed to have been hidden from sight for considerably over a century. The arches, we understand, will be restored, and in the future exposed to view.

The skeleton of a man has been found in the moss, near Elswickbank House, Island of Shapinsay, Orkney, by workmen who were cutting turf. The body appears to have been placed there at a very remote age, and when found was in a standing position. On the top of this hole a stone had been placed, over which moss had grown to the depth of a couple of feet. On being exposed to the air and touched, the skeleton crumbled away.

The Queen has been pleased by warrant under her Majesty's Royal Sign Manual to issue a new commission on historical manuscripts, the following being appointed commissioners:—The Master of the Rolls, Lord Carlingford, the Marquis of Lothian, the Marquis of Salisbury, the Marquis of Bath, the Earl of Rosebery, the Earl of Carnarvon, Lord Edmond G. P. Fitzmaurice, the Bishop of Limerick, Lord Talbot de Malahide, Lord Houghton, Lord Acton, Sir George W. Dasent, and Mr. W. Hardy. The commissioners are to make enquiry as to the places in which historical papers and manuscripts are deposited, and have power to call in the aid and co-operation of all possessors of manuscripts and papers, giving them full assurance that no information is sought except such as relates to public affairs, and that no knowledge or information which may be obtained from their collection shall be promulgated without their full license and consent. Three or more commissioners are to form a quorum. Mr. John Romilly, barrister-at-law, is appointed secretary to the commission.

A short time ago, a good specimen of an ancient British celt was found by Mr. W. Chapman, in Elm-vale, Kingston, which derives considerable interest from the fact that it was found on the route which formed the passage between Cæsar's camp at Wimbledon and Kingston, where the Thames was probably forded by the Roman troops. This interesting specimen measures six inches by two. Several other objects of interest, including copper ore and bronze celts, have also been found in the same neighbourhood, tending to confirm the supposition that a Roman camp must have existed on Coombe Warren, which is no great distance from the spot where the flint celt was discovered.

By the kindness of Major Tomlin, the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society has become possessed of an interesting relic of the battle of Sedgemoor, consisting of the wooden framework of a drum, which was picked up on the field of battle. It was for many years in a farmhouse at Rumwell. It then passed into the possession of Major Tomlin, who considers that its proper place is the county museum. The drum bears the following arms:—Argent, three bird-bolts sable; crest, an elephant's head, erased. By reference to Papworth and Burke we find that these arms were borne by the family of Risdon, of Bableigh, in Parkham and Warscott, county Devon, originally from Risdon, county of Gloucester. The family settled in Devon in the reign of Edward I.

The Greek paper, *Parnassos*, states that recently, as some Æginetan fishermen were fishing for sponges, near Delos, they came upon an ancient bronze horse at the bottom of the sea, about two fathoms and a half deep. It is of colossal size, and is almost covered with shell-fish. After much effort the fishermen succeeded in breaking off one of the feet of the horse, and took it home to Ægina, where they offered it for sale. The matter came to the knowledge of one or two archaeologists, who purchased the equine bronze foot. This they found to be of excellent workmanship, and it appears clearly to indicate that the equestrian statue is a valuable relic of antiquity. It has accordingly been determined to endeavour to discover the whereabouts of the horse, and to fish it up, if possible, entire. It is suspected that the statue is probably an ancient votive offering, which was once set up in the island of Delos. The interest felt in the matter is all the greater as, if the work is recovered, it will be the first bronze horse of a large size which has been preserved since the classical age of ancient Greek art. There are very few equestrian statues preserved from ancient times, and hardly one which can be demonstrated to be of Greek origin.

The site of the Roman villa near Chiddingfold in Surrey (see *ante*, vii., p. 276) is in a field called High Riddings, on the property of Mr. Thomas Sadler. It had long been noticed that the soil over it was of a different character to that of other parts of the field, and on digging a trench extensive foundations of rough sandstone were discovered. Most of these have, unfortunately, been removed to mend roads, but the position of the walls is clearly shown, and is now being permanently marked out. No pavements or wrought work have yet been found, but only a small portion of what the crowbar shows to exist has been uncovered. A considerable amount of Samian and other broken pottery has been found, and some of the usual large Roman roof-tiles. A small silvered bronze head of late Roman date and one coin of doubtful period have also been found. There is an old disused green road running by the site, and although the field is at the top of a hill, water rises freely on digging. The site is extremely interesting as being on the clay in the north of the Weald of Sussex, and below the range of sandhills stretching from the Hindhead to Leith Hill—a position in which, it is supposed, no Roman habitation has hitherto been found.

In Sonoma County, California, a petrified forest

has recently been discovered. It is situated on the estate of a large farmer, Mr. W. T. Hudson. One day, as a nephew of that gentleman was out hunting, he sat down to rest himself on what appeared to be the stump of an old tree. His attention was accidentally turned to the tree stump, and on examination he found that the material was completely petrified, that it was stone and not timber. Further investigation showed that similar petrifications abounded throughout the neighbourhood. The grain of the original wood is still plainly visible, and there are plenty of indications showing that the trees from which the petrifications have originated belong to the coniferous species. The stump on which the discoverer rested and made his discovery was three feet six inches in diameter, and nearly four feet high.

The following report was presented and adopted by the council relative to the Roman bath at Bath:—
1. That the old Roman bath with the platform and surroundings be forthwith cleared of all modern stone *débris* and rubbish. 2. That the Surveyor of Works be instructed to make good the drains of the Poor Law Offices at an estimated expense of £25. 3. That the Sanitary Committee be requested to make arrangements for disposing of the sewage of all houses in the Abbey churchyard, which has been temporarily diverted into the Roman culvert. 4. That a temporary flight of steps be constructed from some convenient point to the level of the Roman bath. Also resolved that it be recommended to the Baths and Borough Property Committees to authorise the Surveyor of Works to ascertain by experiment whether the Roman bath can be utilised as a cooling tank, and to report to the joint sub-committee.

Under the direction of the Earl of Glasgow and Mr. Cochran-Patrick, M.P., Mr. Alexander Gairdner of Paisley is bringing out *Collections towards an Archaeological and Historical Survey of the County of Renfrew*, similar to the Ayr and Wigton collections already published. The work will be arranged according to parishes.

The Marseilles Correspondent of the *Daily News* writes:—"Marseilles will presently see pass through her city the members of a singular expedition. There has been organised at Paris, under the direction of the learned Abbé Moigno, the founder of *Cosmos*, a society having for its object the dragging of the bottom of the Red Sea and the Bitter Lakes, to find the chariots and treasures of the army of Pharaoh, supposed to be at the bottom of these waters covered by saline deposits. A sum of 750,000 francs has been subscribed for the expense. Divers will search the Red Sea and the Bitter Lakes to discover the arms, the armour, and the precious stones that were in possession of the Egyptians when they were engulfed."

On stripping the plaster from the walls of the chancel of Market Drayton Parish Church, now in course of restoration, the workmen discovered and opened out the ancient ambry, which is supposed to have been bricked up when certain alterations were made one hundred years ago. They also found the doorway which led into the original vestry at the east end of the chancel. A finely-moulded piscina, with

one half of the bowl broken off, has been opened out on the south side.

During the demolition of Muckleston Church, prior to reconstruction, some very fair examples of fourteenth century work, in the form of tracery, jambs, cells, capitals, and shafts, were brought to light. The restored edifice will consist of a nave and chancel, with a north aisle, and a chapel on the north side.

The Merchant Taylors gave an entertainment on July 14th to the Skinners' Company, one of a mutual series which has continued uninterruptedly for the last four centuries. The Master, in giving the toast of the evening, said that four hundred years ago, on the 10th of April, Lord Mayor Bilston settled a difference then existing between the Company of Skinners and the Company of Merchant Taylors, by giving this judgment:—"That in lieu of quarrelling and breaking heads as well as the peace, they should henceforth dwell together in unity as good citizens should do, that each in his turn should give way to the other, and each in honour prefer the other." In presenting that decree he had ordered that each Company should entertain the other once in every year. Through good report and bad report the Companies had strictly adhered to that decree. To that he desired the company to drink a bumper in the customary form, "The Master and Wardens of the Worshipful Company of Merchant Taylors drink health and prosperity to the Worshipful Company of Skinners; Skinners and Merchant Taylors, Merchant Taylors and Skinners, Root and Branch, may they flourish for ever." The quaint toast was drunk with all honours.

Mr. W. E. Milliken has printed a facsimile of the notice which Lieutenant-General Francis Humberston Mackenzie, Chief of Kintail, posted through the family estates in the counties of Ross and Cromarty and the Isle of Lewis, upon receiving letters of service dated 7th March, 1793, for the raising of a Highland regiment—the 78th Ross-shire Buffs, and known in their own county since the Mutiny as the "Saviours of India." The notice reads as follows:—"Seaforth's Highlanders to be forthwith raised for the Defence of His glorious Majesty King George the Third, and the preservation of our Happy Constitution in Church and State. All lads of true Highland Blood willing to shew their loyalty and spirit may repair to Seaforth, or the Major, Alexander Mackenzie, of Belmadulley; or the other commanding officers at Head Quarters at —, where they will receive High Bounties and Soldierlike Entertainment. The lads of this Regiment will live and die together, as they cannot be draughted into other regiments, and must be reduced in a body in their own County. Now for a stroke at the Monsieurs, my Boys! King George for ever! Huzza!"



Correspondence.

INSCRIPTION AT HAGENAU.

A friend sends to me the following inscription, which he copied from a large square sandstone, fixed

in the garden wall of the house at Hagenau, formerly inhabited by Melancthon. It may possibly interest some of your readers.

J. MANLEY HAWKER.

Berry Narbor Rectory,
Ilfracombe.

Quamvis custodem foribus consistere primis
Romani quondam M B* volvere patres.
Nunc tamen has cedes mea tantum ostendit imago,
Defendunt Christi numina magna Dei
Notus ab arte sua dominus, mea signa libelli,
Quos studiosa legit turba, vivenda gerunt.

CALLEVA-ATREBATUM.

(viii. 39.)

The term "Southgate" in English topography may be taken to mean the south gate, or opening to a wood or forest, now cleared; this is partly confirmed by the adjoining Coley, Calcot, from Coel, a term for wood.

"Calvepit," would be named, most probably, from the loss of a calf or calves, unwarily engulfed therein.

There can be no possible doubt that Silchester was Calleva; the enormous remains of Roman occupation found on that site, its situation on a known line of Roman road leading direct from London to Bath, present a combination of evidence completely overwhelming.

June 28th, 1883.

A. H.

[We mentioned in our last number that Mr. Roach Smith considered Calleva to be represented by the present Silchester, and we considered that the opinion of so high an authority was conclusive; but it will perhaps be as well to quote from Mr. Roach Smith's *Retrospections* (vol. i., p. 30) the following passage:—"Mr. Hatcher, in defiance of a host of hostile authorities, very clearly proves that Silchester represents Calleva, and yet he does not adduce the peculiar evidence which, to me very obvious and conclusive, has been, and yet is, strangely overlooked. It is this. Every station which leads, and every station which terminates, an *iter*, was walled. Of these walled stations, often towns or cities, there are yet remains in stone masonry. I know of no exception; and the reason is palpable why they should have been walled and important places. Not only do distances point to Silchester as *Calleva*, but there is no other fortification anywhere in the locality to which it can be referred. As for *Vindomis* or *Vindonum*, its being classed by Richard of Cirencester as a stipendiary town is one of the strong arguments against the authenticity of the work bearing his name, published by Stukeley, and translated by Hatcher. Hatcher locates *Vindonum* correctly. It was a subordinate station; and recent excavations, made by the Rev. E. Kell, Mr. C. Lockhart, and others, most satisfactorily show it was a large resting-place, a spacious inn or caravansary, like that of Thesée in France. It is doubtful if even a *mutatio* was needed in the short road from Winchester to Bittern.]

I have read with much interest Mr. Napper's letter in *THE ANTIQUARY* as to the site of Calleva Atrebatum.

* Probably *Mariam beatam*. If *vivenda* has been rightly transcribed it must be a false quantity.

I think, however, he must have been misinformed as to the name "Southgate." The spot to which he refers is doubtless *Southcote* (or Southcot), a tything in the parish of St. Mary, Reading. Southcote Manor House is adjacent to the Southcote junction of the Bucks and Hants extension of the G. W. R.

Many papers have been read before the local Archaeological and Architectural Societies as to the site of Calleva, and the most reliable arguments point to Silchester as the site of the Roman City. This question has so often been discussed that it is needless to enter into it here. Writers seem to be almost unanimous in pointing to Silchester.

A. H. L.

Reading, July 16th, 1883.

Referring to the Editorial note in the July number, p. 39, I would ask, If Silchester be Calleva, where are Spina, Venta-Belgarum, Vindomis, and Pontes, at the distances from it stated by Antoninus? viz.

Calleva Spina	M.P.
" Venta-Belgarum	15
" Vindomi	22
" Pontibus	15
" Pontibus	22

The places usually assigned would be as follows, and the distances, showing considerable differences:—

Silchester to Speen	13
" to Winchester	25
" to Staines	28

Silchester was not built till A.D. 353 by Constantius, being previously known as Caer-Segout.

It does not much matter what coins were found. Any coins (even Saxon) found scattered about the fields tend to show there had been an extensive settlement on the locality.

A Reading correspondent informs me that the old lady referred to as the collector of coins was probably Miss Bockett (a contributor to *Notes and Queries*). If so, and her book can be found, the coins can be ascertained. Unhappily I have not the British Museum handy to run to.

H. F. NAPPER.

Loxwood, Sussex.

ANCIENT OAK CARVING AT SHREWSBURY.

Mr. Alfred Rimmer, the author of *Stone Crosses of England*, who is about to write the *History of Shrewsbury School*, giving illustrations of various antiquities of the building, along with translations of the ordinances of King Edward VI., the founder of the school, while sketching the old Porter's Lodge, has discovered upon the front, beneath the plaster which is now being removed, some beautiful carving in oak. Mr. Rimmer believes this to be a part of the old School House, which was erected in the year 1630, and was used before the present structure was built.

THOS. POWELL.

Sutton Court, Bromfield, Shrewsbury.

CHAUCER'S TEN-SYLLABLE VERSE.

I have already shown that Chaucer borrowed his "heroic couplet" of ten-syllable lines from Guillaume de Machault. (See p. xix. of my edition of Chaucer's *Prioresses Tale*.) If Mr. Coote is unaware that the ten-syllable line was already in use in Provençal in the twelfth century, he has only to consult Bartsch's *Chrestomathie Provençale*.

WALTER W. SKEAT.

"LOW SUNDAY."

The derivation of the name Low Sunday has been a difficulty to me for years, and I have consulted all the sources open to me, both in books and in persons, and I have never been able to find a satisfactory explanation of the term. Lately it has seemed to me that perhaps the following may be its origin; if it be not, could you or any of your readers suggest a more likely one?

As far as I know, the English language is the only one in which the expression Low Sunday is used. "Low," in the Scotch dialect—or language, as it is sometimes called—means "a flame," and this dialect is mainly derived from the Anglo-Saxon. Our word Easter is Anglo-Saxon, and is probably derived from the old German "Ostarum," now "Ostern," being the name of a festival celebrated with peculiar ceremony in April—some say in the spring—among the pagan Teutons in honour of the goddess of light, called "Eastre"; and as the Christian feast of Easter falls at this time, it derives, it is said, its name from "Ostern," or, in Anglo-Saxon, Easter.

Of course, the Saxons were a German people, and obtained a footing in England about 450; and the expression Low Sunday, meaning "flame" or "light" Sunday, may have been introduced by them; hence its antiquity, and the difficulty of learning anything definite about the expression Low Sunday.

It may shorten the correspondence if I say I have heard of two different explanations. One is, that Easter Sunday is emphatically the High Sunday of the year; so its octave, as the ceremonial is somewhat lower, is called "Low" Sunday.

The other is the following: The erudite author of "Hierurgia" told me that the derivation of the term had always been a great difficulty to him until he found in an old missal a sequence beginning with the word "Laudate," and then he said he felt sure that "Low" came from that.

I am more inclined to the explanation I have given at first, as in that one gets the very word "Low."

S. MCDANIEL.

Catholic Church, Melior Street, Borough, S.E.

PEWTER MARKS.

Some pewter dishes of my Puritan forefathers, brought to Massachusetts across the water, have the London marks very distinct upon them. Is there any work which does for this metal what has been done in the way of a key to "hall marks" for gold and silver?

W. P. GARRISON.

New York, June 13, 1883.

COLLYNGTON. A QUESTION.

In some churchwardens' accounts of a village in Northamptonshire are these entries :—

1576	It. paid for the caryage of the money fro Collyngton haven to Northampton . . .	iiij ^d
1880	It. for a leter that was brot from Collingtone aven . . .	ij ^d
1583	Itm. received of ye collect ⁿ money of Col- lition haven . . .	ij ^s ij ^d

I cannot find any place now known as Collington or Colliton haven. Colyton in Devon is three miles from the sea on the river Colly, which runs into the Axe, which runs into the sea at Axmouth, which is sometimes called "The Port of Colyton." This seems most likely to be the place mentioned in the accounts. Is it so, and for what purpose were these collections made? From the difference of dates it appears that the work was of importance and of long duration.

Perhaps some of your readers may have found like entries in other churchwardens' accounts, and may be able to explain the purpose.

H. DRYDEN.

SIR PHILIP HOBY.

Will you kindly permit me to correct a very pardonable genealogical error in Mr. Ordish's second article on "William Cecil, Lord Burghley?" At p. 19 of *THE ANTIQUARY*, vol. viii., he says: "Sir Philip Hoby married a sister of Cecil's wife, Lady Mildred." He quotes Nares in support of his statement, but Nares also has fallen into the error of making Sir Edward Hoby the son of Sir Philip instead of Sir Thomas. I can set both matters at rest upon Sir Thomas Hoby's own authority, by quoting the following passages from his diary :—

"1557. In Lent I cam to Biffham there to continew. At Midfommer cam to Biffham Sir William Cecill, my Lady Bourn, my Lady Cecill, with her sister Elizabeth Cooke. Immediatlie after their departure thens tooke my brother his journey towards Euesham, and from thens to Bathe. I remained at home to see his new building go forward."

"1558. The xi of May I cam to London being fent for to set my hand to a recognisance, and retourned again the xiiiij, taking my way by Wimbeldon, where I communed with Mrs. Elizabeth Cooke in the way of marriage."

"Monday the xxviij of June the marriage was made and solemnized between me and Elizabeth Cooke, dawghter to Sr Anthonye Cooke, Knight. The same day was also her syster Margaret, the Quene's maide, married to Sr Ralph Rowlet, Knight, who fhortlie after departed out of this lief."

"1559. The xii of Nouember my wief went from Biffham to London, and there continued iii weeks in physick for her great belly which was supposed to haue bine a tympanie or dropie."

"1560. The xxth day of March was my wief at midnight delivered of a boy, being Wednesday. The iiijth of Aprill he was christened and named Edward. Godfathers and godmother were The Lord Windefor, The Lord Darcie, and the Lady Williams of Ricot."

In addition to this indisputable evidence there are several letters from Sir Thos. Hoby to Cecil in the Public Record Office, which place the relationship

between their wives beyond doubt. After Sir Thomas Hoby's death, which took place in Paris in the year 1566, his widow married John Lord Russell, second son of Francis, the second Earl of Bedford, who had issue of the marriage two daughters, Anne and Elizabeth. The former married Henry, Marquis of Worcester, but the latter died at an early age from the prick of a needle in the fore-finger of her left hand, and is buried in Westminster Abbey.

Lincoln's Inn.

JOHN H. CHAPMAN.

ROMAN REMAINS AT TOWCESTER.

Towcester is considered by Baker, the historian of Northamptonshire, to be the Roman station of *Lac-todorum*. The site of the fosse can still be seen with tolerable accuracy. The station is intersected by the Watling Street. A considerable quantity of coins and other Roman remains have been found at different times, though we have no record of remains found till within recent years. There is no record of any considerable building having been discovered in or close to the town. On the site of the present railway station, which is outside the Roman station to the north-west, was found what was apparently a Roman rubbish heap of pottery, glass, etc. The church, which is inside the Roman station, is now undergoing alteration, and in making a large cavity in the south aisle for the heating apparatus the workmen came on remains of walls. One wall, 1 ft. 7 in. thick, lay parallel to the south wall of the aisle. On the north side of this wall, at 3 ft. 10 in. below the present nave floor, was a pavement of rude tesserae, about 1½ in. cube, formed out of large tiles, and put into rows as regular as the material would allow. On the south of this Roman wall, at about 10 in. lower level, was a floor of small bricks, averaging 5½ in. × 3 in. × 1½ in., set edgewise, and in herring-bone disposition. The south wall of the church was built on this pavement, which was found as far outside as the excavation was made for steps to the heating-room. The brick pavement had a slight fall to the south, and was probably a paved space *outside* a house, the pavement of tesserae being *inside* the house. Roofing tiles, more or less broken, and re-used as building material, were found. Portions of other walls were found not belonging to the Roman wall above-mentioned, nor to the present church. The wall of the aisle above the ground was evidently later than the part below the surface. Close to the pavement of tesserae and on the south side of a pillar of the south arcade was a stone coffin, not Roman, of which the bottom was 2 in. × 2 in. below the nave floor. The central line of this coffin had its foot end (which was towards the east) 10° more to the south than the line of the church, and the coffin had been partly cut away to make room for the foundation of the pillar. The lid was absent. Was the coffin inside or outside the church which was existing at the time of its deposition, and why was its direction different from that of the church? No arcade or exterior wall then occupied the position of the present arcade.

A short time ago a coin of Alexander of Bactria was found in the south-eastern part of the town.

H. D.

The Antiquary Exchange.

Enclose 4d. for the First 12 Words, and 1d. for each Additional Three Words. All replies to a number should be enclosed in a blank envelope, with a loose Stamp, and sent to the Manager.

NOTE.—All Advertisements to reach the office by the 15th of the month, and to be addressed—The Manager, EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT, THE ANTIQUARY OFFICE, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

The Manager wishes to draw attention to the fact that he cannot undertake to forward POST CARDS, or letters, unless a stamp be sent to cover postage of same to advertiser.

FOR SALE.

Ruskin: Modern Painters, 1st edition, original, cloth, equal to new, £29.—Two Paths (with plates), 1859, 27s.—Elements of Drawing, 1st edition, 30s.—Giotto and His Works in Padua, 21s.—Sir Thomas Brown's Works, folio, 1692, 16s.—Milton's Paradise Lost, 3rd edition, fine copy, 15s. J. Lucas, Claremont House, Cawley Road, South Hackney.

Ingram's Memorials of Oxford, 3 vols., 4to, original cloth, 1837.—Book of Gems, original, blue cloth, 1836-8.—Chippendale's Cabinetmaker's Director, folio, 1755, very scarce.—Swift's Works, 19 vols., calf, 1814.—Dickens' Christmas Books, 5 vols., first editions, fine copy.—Ruskin's Modern Painters, 5 vols., cloth, 1873; Stones of Venice, 3 vols., first edition; Seven Lamps, 1855; Elements of Perspective, 1859; Two Paths, 1859.—Storer's British Cathedral, 4 vols., 8vo, 1814.—Owen's Two Centuries of Ceramic Art in Bristol, 1873, very scarce, out of print.—O'Brien's Round Towers of Ireland, 1834.—Grote's Greece, 12 vols., cloth, 1849-56; Library edition.—Grote's Greece, 12 vols., 1869, cloth, small 8vo.—Gay's Fables, Stockdale's magnificent edition, 1793, royal 8vo, full bound calf, 2 vols.—Gay's Fables by Bewick, first edition, 1779.—Keble's Christian Year, 2 vols., 1827.—Lockhart's Spanish Ballads, illustrated edition, 4to, 1841.—Tennyson's Poems, 1857, illustrated, full morocco, by Hayday.—Roger's Poems and Italy, 4to, 1838, full morocco, by Hayday.—Story of Little Dombey, 1858.—Hunted Down, Hotten's edition.—Great Expectations, first edition, 1861.—Westwood's Classification of Insects, 2 vols., cloth, scarce, 1840.—Carpenter's Foraminifera.—Blackwall's Spiders, Part I.—Lubbock's Collembola and Thysanura.—Master's Vegetable Teratology.—Douglas and Scott's British Hemiptera-Heteroptera.—Turner's Views in England and Wales, splendid copy, full tree-calf, 2 vols., 4to, 1838.—Meyer's British Birds and their Eggs, 4 vols., folio, magnificent copy, full morocco.—Macgillivray's British Birds, 5 vols., cloth.—Yarrell's British Birds.—Yarrell's Fishes.—Bewick's Birds, 2 vols., 1797-1804, royal 8vo. The above belong to a gentleman breaking up his Zoological Library. Offers requested.—Terms on application by letter only.—232, care of Manager.

Thirty-two Numbers of THE ANTIQUARY, from May, 1880, to Dec., 1882, clean and perfect, 7s. 6d. for the lot.—231, care of Manager.

Several Poesy, Intaglio, and curious Rings for sale, cheap.—Particulars, 220, care of Manager.

Lowndes' Bibliographer's Manual, 1882, 11 parts, clean and new.—Comic England, reprint, cloth, gilt edges.—Comic Rome, reprint, cloth, gilt edges.—Game and Play of Chesse, edited by Axon (from ANTIQUARY'S LIBRARY).—233, care of Manager.

Steel Bell-mouthed Blunderbuss, 8s. 6d.; brass ditto, 14s. 6d.—Old Swords and Pistols.—List Curious Furniture.—Mr. Hetherington, Writtle, Chelmsford.

Autograph Letters of Argyle (Duke of), Exeter (Bishop 1843), Hook (R.A.), Ansdell (R.A.), Ripon (Marquis of), Manchester (Duke of), Buccleuch (Duke of), Devonshire (Duke of), Heywood (Hardy), Bramwell [Baron], Wilberforce (Archdeacon), Percy (Earl), Hotham (Lord), Cardigan (Earl), Devon (Lord), Burke (Ulster King at Arms), Herries (Lord), Sefton (4th Earl), Rylands (Peter, M.P.), Cowen (Joseph, M.P.), Thornbury (Walter), McLaren (D. M.P.), Wilson (Sir M., M.P.), Laird (Jno., M.P.), Rutland (Duke of), Cobbett (J.P., M.P.), Crossley (J., M.P.), Peel (Sir Robert, cheque signed), Home (David); and a number of others, very cheap.—List on application to W. E. Morden, 5, Longley Terrace, Lower Tooting, S.W.

WANTED TO PURCHASE.

Armorial Book Plates purchased or exchanged.—Dr. Howard, Dartmouth Row, Blackheath.

Dorsetshire Seventeenth Century Tokens.—Also Topographical Works, Cuttings or Scraps connected with the county.—J. S. Udall, 4, Harcourt Buildings, Temple.

Swift's Works, 19 vols., 1824; Walpole's Letters, edited by Cunningham, 9 vols.; Books published by Pickering, ante 1855; Hervey's Memoirs of George II., 2 vols., 1848; Doran's Their Majesties's Servants, 2 vols., 1864. Good prices for good copies.—Biblos, 20, King Edward Street, Lambeth Road, London.

Antiquarian Repository, 4to, vol. iv., 1808.—209, Care of Manager.

Antiquarian Topographical Cabinet, 10 vols.—210, Care of Manager.

Antiquarian Itinerary.—211, Care of Manager.

Gough's Anecdotes of British Topography.—212, Care of Manager.

Wanted, Poll Books, for County Elections in Essex, Herts, and Cambridgeshire.—Thomas Bird, Romford.

Genuine Arms and Armour purchased for cash; must not be later date than seventeenth century.—230, care of Manager.

Norris's Etchings of Tenby.—Morgan's Guide to Aberystwith, the 3rd or any later edition.—Leighton's Guide to Shrewsbury, the 4th edition.—Rev. W. A. Leighton, Lucifelde, Shrewsbury.

Findlay's Masonic Vade Mecum, 1865.—Book Plates (*Ex Libris*).—Spencer's Golden Remains of the Early Masonic Writers, 1847.—Briggs & Morden, 5, Longley Terrace, Lower Tooting, S.W.

Sheldon Chadwick's Works, complete set.—G. F. Fowler, 76, Paul Street, Tabernacle Square, E.C.

Lays and Ballads.—Our Ancient Monuments and the Lands around them. By Kains Jackson.—Gentleman's Magazine Vols., 2 each 1866-7-8; 1 each 1847-1865.—190, Care of Manager.



The Antiquary.



SEPTEMBER, 1883.

Ivelchester (Ilchester).

BY HENRY HAYMAN, D.D.

THIS foremost town of Somersetshire, as it was in the early fourteenth century, when county towns were provincial capitals, has now long since sunk to a fourth-rate condition, being not even noticed in an average map of England and Wales. It lay on the Foss-way nearly midway between Bath and Exeter, where that line of road crossed a river big enough to enter into military calculations of attack and defence, and this position made it a post of importance. It was, in fact, the *tête-de-pont* to that crossing, and virtually commanded the great highway of the south-western counties. Thus its main street coincides with that Foss-way, running nearly north-east and south-west, and terminating upon gates in its town wall, named inconsistently "North-gate" and not "South" but "*West-gate*." This main street, known in old documents as the *Regius Vicus* or *Regia Via*, and latterly as West Street, divides the town area, as it lay in the middle ages within its wall-circuit, in most unequal proportions, about seven-eighths of it lying on the south-eastern side of its line, and about one-eighth only on the north-western. The river referred to is the Ivel, or Yeovil, which gives its name to the neighbouring market town on the edge of Dorsetshire, which has now for some centuries outstripped Ilchester in importance. The *enceinte* of the ancient wall, with its ditch fed from the river adjacent, flanking it on the north-west side, was of a shape approaching a flattened ellipse, with its major axis running from north-east to south-west, *i.e.*, directly transverse to the

main street before mentioned, which accordingly ran parallel to the minor axis a long way from the centre. Dr. Stukeley, whose plan, drawn early in the last century, this description follows, saw there, in the possession of a gardener of a Mr. Lockyer, then resident, many square paving bricks, and the same gardener had "taken up remainders of the wall, with many coins, bricks, tiles, and other antiquities." He refers particularly to a brass of Antoninus Pius, with a reverse of Britannia seated on a rock with a military ensign, which he engraves. The Roman pavement mentioned by the same antiquary as leading down to the river Ivel near the bridge has since wholly vanished. Another large brass was said to have been found under the line of the wall's foundation, but it does not seem to have been produced to Dr. Stukeley. It may still possibly lurk as a stray in some far-away collector's hoard. More recently, in the repairs of the sole surviving parish church of five, or possibly six, which once adorned the town, about a score of coins (*nummus*, half-*nummus*, and *denarius*) were found, mostly of the Valens and Valentinian period. The "*Chepe Street*," or street through the market-place of the town (now Church Street), runs obliquely across it nearly north and south, diverging from the same North-gate before mentioned, contiguous to the Ivel bridge, at an angle of about forty-five degrees, and outside the South-gate, where it cut the ancient line of wall, becomes the road to Yeovil. Immediately outside that South-gate, right and left of it, are some rather massive platforms of ancient earthworks, supposed to have been connected for defensive purposes by a transverse across the Yeovil road, and strengthening the approach on that side. The line of ditch on this side has become a public road, as also on some other portions of its circuit.

The number of churches anciently existing is variously given, but five is the total of which there is tangible evidence from the muniments of Wells Cathedral, and from the fact that procurations and Easter dues are still payable by the rector of the sole now extant Church of S. Mary the Elder (or Greater), for four other parishes as well as his own—*viz.*, those of S. Mary the Younger (or Lesser), S. Michael, S. John, and S.

Peter.* Leland, 1540, found only one church not in ruins. Camden, 1590, speaks of that one as a "very mean" one—not, perhaps, intending the word "mean" in its modern extreme sense—and records *six* as the ancient number; but his sixth seems to have been the chapel of the ancient nunnery of Whitehall, which survived for some time as a "free chapel," after the dissolution of the religious houses.† The number *sixteen*, conjecturally favoured by Collinson in his *History of Somersetshire*, and recorded by Dr. Stukeley as a local tradition, may safely be dismissed as fabulous. The tower of the remaining church, S. Mary's Major, is an early thirteenth century octagon with buttresses of solid proportions, and simple lancet lights. It suffered from the erection of a gallery within the church in 1611, the staircase thereto pertaining cutting into its southern wall; but recent careful restoration has applied a healing hand to this mutilation. It is remarkable that the oldest-known document relating to the town, and containing the honoured Saxon name of Hereward, although undated, is referred by competent judgment to precisely the same period as this tower—the reign, viz., of King John.

Besides its five churches and religious houses, of which latter more anon, the town had at least two ancient crosses—one, the market cross, standing in the market-place not far from the point just within the North-gate, where the two streets above referred to diverge. A deed dated 1427 speaks of a messuage as being "ex opposito cruci in mercato juxta les shamles (shambles)." This has since disappeared, and been replaced by a modern erection not quite on the same spot.

* But Domesday Book mentions a Church of "S. Andrew in Givelchester" as held by Bishop Maurice of the king. This would make a sixth. But whether it existed contemporaneously with the other five may be questioned. The Rev. Thomas Hugo, *Somersetshire Nunneries, Whitehall in Ilchester*, p. 48, states that in 1502 the churches of S. Mary the Less and S. John the Baptist were united to S. Mary's the Greater, owing to poverty and insufficient maintenance.

† The Rev. Thomas Hugo, *ib. sup.*, notes that the Priory subsisted until 1435 or later, and that in a list of chaplaincies, etc., from which a subsidy was levied, occurs one held by a John Boney (known by other evidence to have been chaplain of Whitehall, Ilchester), the date of which list is 1463. Thus the change from priory to free chapelry would fall between 1435 and 1463.

The other cross stood near the southern extremity of the second of these, the "Chepe Street," and probably not far within the South-gate of the town. A deed dated 1405 speaks of a spot as "juxta crucem Sti. Petri . . . infra muros," which indicates this position. The cross of S. Peter, however, has wholly vanished. It is some confirmation of these facts that parts of *two* crosses, of rude and early fashion, together with an early English pillar, were found during the recent repairs of S. Mary's, Ilchester, "in the thickness of the southern wall of the old church." The present rector of Ilchester, whose letter I here quote, and to whom I am indebted for some previous items of information, adds that this church has now lately received a new south aisle, new roofs for nave and aisle, besides chancel repairs, new choir-seats, prayer-desks, and seats for the congregation.

Remains, at any rate, of the Church of S. Michael are thus recorded by Leland—

The greatest token of ancient building that I saw yn at the toune ys a stone gate archid and voldt, and a chapelle or chirch of S. Michael over it.

I take this to have been one of the gates of the town from the custom, of which there are many instances, of placing gates and exposed positions under the tutelage of S. Michael, although dedication to him is by no means limited to such localities. Examples are S. Michael's at Oxford, near the north gate of that city, the "Michel-thor" at Bonn on the Rhine, S. Michael's, Bongate* (Bondgate), Appleby, and the well-known S. Michael's Mount, Cornwall. The Church of S. Peter in Ilchester stood, probably, near the cross of the same dedication, which has been already placed near the South-gate. That of S. Mary Minor is indicated in a deed, 1345, dealing with a tenement in Chepe Street—

Exposito ecclesie Mariæ Minoris, inter tenementum . . . ex parte una, et tenementum Priorissæ Albæ Alulæ ex parte altera.†

* "Gate," of course, in the northern counties is equivalent to "street;" still the position of this church, as compared with that of S. Lawrence, in the heart of the town of Appleby, confirms the view stated above.

† A deed somewhat later—1370—mentions a burghage and curtilage situated "in Regio Vico (the Foss-way) de Yvelcestre, ex opposito Ecclesie Beate Mariæ inter burgagium . . . et burgagium Mariæ Priorissæ di Nywehalle." This "Nywehalle"

It thus stood presumably near the nunnery of Whitehall, which latter is known to have been near the North-gate, in the angle between the Foss-way and the north wall of the town. If S. Michael's Church stood at one of the two remaining gates, either the East or the West-gate, that of S. John may have probably occupied a site near the other. Thus we have four churches near the four gates, and the fifth, which now alone remains, near the centre of the town. The Taxatio of Pope Nicholas IV., 1291, mentions a "Decanatus Ivelcestr, Ivelcestr, P'och' Sti. Joh'is," which may be taken as evidence of the existence of a church of that dedication.

Of the religious house of Whitehall I have already been led to speak incidentally. Two of the earliest deeds relating to the town contain the name of "Johannes Albe de Ivelcestre." The occasion of the deeds is a nuptial union, but transcending the simple domestic interest of an ordinary wedding. A young couple, the bridegroom of Saxon, the bride of Norman name and probably kin, were seeking one of those alliances which in the course of ages effaced the blood-feud of Senlac between the nationalities which he and she represented. The names are Ralph Hereward and Matilda Le Keu. John Albe is the witness of one deed, conferring on Matilda land in a simple settlement, with life-interest in default of children to the husband, and reversion to the heirs of her father, the settler of the dower; and is the principal of the other deed, for Matilda was his grandchild by William Le Keu, her father, having married his daughter. Possibly John Albe, or White, was a Saxon himself, for he confers on his grandchild not land, but the more plebeian dowry of a shop in Chepestrete, "unam seldam in Chepestrete," and nearly all the witnesses to the two deeds are the same. If John was Saxon, the bride was of mixed parentage, and the alliance is only thrown back a stage earlier. Now this John Albe, or White, is supposed by Mr. Buckler to have

given his name to *Whitehall*, and built and endowed the same as a religious house. But the mention of Whitehall to which he refers occurs about a century later—1304—and the name is one open to many other suppositions besides that of John "the White" as its founder. Indeed, Mr. Buckler himself, in his "supplemental notes," tacitly abandons his theory, reciting from Tanner's *Notitia Monastica* a statement that

William Dacus *the Bishop* (of Bath and Wells) gave the White Hall in Ivelchester and other houses and lands, for founding a hospital for poor travellers, to the honour of the Blessed Trinity, between A.D. 1217 and 1220. In the ninth year of King Edward II. this is called the Hospital of the Holy Trinity; but before the seventeenth year of that king it was probably changed into a House of Religious Women, under the government of a Prioress.

Thus the founder turns out to be the local bishop, and the filmy connection with John White vanishes.

We have seen a Prioress Mary in 1370; we find a Prioress Christina and a nun Joanna Whyttokes in 1423. These ladies in two deeds jointly convey lands to Robert Veel (the biggest man in the record of Ilchester) and others, and appoint their attorney to put him in possession of the same.*

There was a leper hospital outside the walls of the town. Bishop Hugh of Lincoln, the famous Grosetete, the most famous churchman between Becket and Wolsey, leaves it a legacy in 1212. In West Street (the time of the Foss-way) there stood near the West-gate, squeezed up between the street and the western wall, somewhat like Whitehall, as we have seen between the same street and the northern wall, a Friary of the Dominican, or Black, preaching friars—"unquestionably," says Mr. Buckler, "one of their early habitations." An *Inquisitio post-mortem* of the time of Edward I. mentions the "Fratres Predicatores de Ivelcestr," and seems to prove this. The friars seem to have extended their boundaries outside the wall of the town, and their buildings formed probably the most conspicuous pile which its area presented to the eye. Camden found

* The Rev. Thomas Hugo, *ub. sup.*, says, "On a review of the annals of Whitehall, I am constrained with sorrow to admit that it is by far the worst example of a mediæval nunnery that I have ever met with."

is believed to be identical with the "Alba Aula" mentioned above. The site was supposed by Mr. Buckler—*Ilchester Almshouse Deeds*, p. 182—to have been represented in 1866 by the lawn of Mr. Harris's garden, somewhere between his house and the river. "A very fine yew," he adds, "formerly grew near the spot," which he surmises to "have overshadowed the walls of Little S. Mary's Church."

remains of their church, which showed it to have been magnificent; but in his time its north transept was used for spinning silk. Not a vestige of the friary now meets the eye, although the spade would doubtless reveal ample traces.

More important than any of these in the history of Ilchester is its Almshouse, founded by Robert Veel, its most conspicuous townsman. It links together the old order of things and the new. Founded in 1426, and still further confirmed under Royal (Edward IV.) Letters Patent of Amortization (= mortmain), it subsists still, and "the Corporation of Ilchester may now be said to be kept alive solely by its relations with the noble bequest of Robert Veel."

The question at once arises, Who or what was Robert Veel? Mapoudre, now Mappowder, near Blandford, in Dorset, is the first place where he is said to have held lands. In 1367 a John Russell and wife make over those lands to him, for what consideration does not appear. This last item, indeed, is what the ancient deeds of transfer mostly withhold, probably with the object of evading some impost. One might suppose from reading a number of them that men of landed estate were in the common habit of making a free gift of their property to others, which of course is absurd. But the remarkable powers of acquisitiveness shown by Robert Veel indicate means at his command to an extent which is surprising in a man whose origin is obscure. He was not a cleric or a knight, as is clear from the absence of either designation in the numerous deeds. He *was* one of four "discreet and select men" of the Diocese of Bath and Wells, to whom the Bishop's Commissary-General in 1410 commits the administration of the estate of a deceased intestate. Before this—1386—he is named as one of two to whom the master and brethren of a hospital at Bath give powers of attorney; and in 1397 among the witnesses to a deed is "Robertus Veel, *qui hoc scripsit*." These facts taken together suggest that he was a "limb of the law" of some sort, who beginning with a little ready money, and having a keen appetite and a cool judgment for landed investments, became possessed, towards the end of a long life, of wherewith to endow his almshouse with nearly

two hundred acres of highly valuable land, including one entire manor besides outlying parcels in others; and as he had at least one daughter, Alianor, from whose marriage with a Coker the Cokers of Mappowder were descended, we must suppose that he left her well provided for besides. He is probably represented on one side by the modern scheming attorney with a keen eye for mortgages, save that his modern representative does not, as a rule, sink a large portion of his estate in a charity; but the "ages of faith" were not then extinct. The first thing that strikes one on glancing at the provisions of his deed of foundation is the enormous disproportion between the means devoted and the end appointed. From all the assets of these goodly acres no more is contemplated than a maintenance for from five to seven poor men *senio confractos et ad laborem impotentes!* Such a provision is absurd on the face of it. The half-dozen aged poor might have lived like fighting-cocks and had state funerals at death on half the money. But as he makes the bailiffs of the town of Ilchester the ultimate trustees and administrators, with an allowance to them of 13s. 4d. a year, there can be no doubt that an indefinitely large margin of benefit to the municipality of Ilchester was what he intended. The coroner, constable, and six of the more trustworthy burghers were to audit the accounts yearly. This was not really an independent check; for the coroner, though a county officer, would reside in the chief town, and share its interests; and the other auditors are as closely municipal as the bailiffs themselves. It was actually an endowment of the corporation. And the motive for this is apparent in the history of the town, which, being of old municipal rank, had obtained several charters from successive sovereigns; but through the absence of trade and of any staple of industry, and being the centre of a purely agricultural region, could not keep pace with its privileges, and had several times forfeited its rights through inability to pay its periodical fine. This vacuum Robert Veel's bequest seems to have filled, for we find that within a century of his death, when assets had had time to accumulate, the charter was renewed. It is not too much to assume that he foresaw and designed this

result of his bounty, although what advantages he saw in disguising the endowment of the municipality in the doles of an almshouse is a more difficult matter of conjecture. But times were troublous, royal needs were often pressing, the rapacity of Government was unscrupulous. These may have been Veel's sage reasons for seeking the protection of the "dead" hand. In modern times, besides maintaining from ten to eighteen almsmen, the charity pays a considerable balance, under a scheme drawn up by a late Master of the Rolls, towards educational purposes. The municipal trusteeship has also been largely modified; but for nearly four centuries the bailiffs, etc., of Ilchester alone "ruled the roast," and no doubt took handsome slices from the roast they ruled—I mean, of course, for the public use and benefit only. I believe there is no evidence to impugn their honesty in the discharge of their trust. Veel seems to me to have been one of the many Englishmen who, in a remote and narrow sphere of action, have shown a public spirit, sagacity, and foresight worthy of a high place in the councils of their country had fortune opened access to them thereto. But, free from

"The last infirmity of noble minds,"

he sought not to rise above or shine beyond the provincial horizon in which his lot was cast, although within it we find him associated with the foremost worthies of the county, as Sir William Bonville, of whom and his family copious details were given in *THE ANTIQUARY* for June last, Sir Hugh Luttrell, Sir Thomas Daubeney, Sir William Haukeford, the houses of Fauntleroy, Deverelle, and Clopton being also represented among the signatures joined with his own. As the Almshouse has done more than anything else to retard the decadence of the little town, so too the deeds connected with the lands which Veel amassed and bequeathed to it have preserved a great deal of interesting local record concerning it. These documents passed, of course, with the lands, as tracing the history of their titles, into Veel's hands and those of his trustees; and many obscure points of the archæology of conveyance receive illustration from them. I recommend Mr. Buckler's painstaking compilation of the Ilchester Almshouse Deeds to all students of

that subject at first hand. The cumbrous and circuitous methods of conveying land are a reproach not wholly wiped from our statute-book at this day. How heavily they pressed in the early fifteenth century may be judged from a single instance, as follows:

In 1404 Reginald Atte-Water by deed gives to his son Richard with other three all his lands and tenements in Northover, a village close to Ilchester. Three days later Richard, the son, by another deed, resigns to those other three all his right under his father's gift. Two days later Reginald, the father, by another deed, resigns to the same other three all his right in the same lands, etc., which they with his son Richard lately had taken by his gift. One year and eight months later the Keeper of the Fee in "the Honour of Gloucester" gives to the same three a receipt for 3*s.* 4*d.* paid by them for condoning transgression (trespass?) in acquiring the same lands. Let us hope that after that "the three" obtained quiet possession. Robert Veel was one. If I do not mistake, this triple-twisted skein of transfer was due to his legal acumen; but he had overlooked the rights of "the Honour" aforesaid, as being outside his run of practice. The "Keeper" was comparatively quick in hitting the blot, and in twenty months got smart-money out of him.

These deeds of transfer are of various kinds, either purely beneficiary, as when a father transfers a fee simple to a son, or to a daughter on her marriage; or they transfer a mere holding under a superior lord, with a reservation of all customary rents, dues, and services; or they perhaps denote exchanges of lands one against another, although we have only the deed on one side. The phrase "*redditus et servitia*," p. 76 *et al.*, shows how rent emerged from and eventually displaced the feudal service which followed the land. The old-fashioned forms of nominal rent, as "by rendering a red rose on the feast of S. John the Baptist," or "a pair of gloves at Easter," and the like, are of frequent recurrence. Although money considerations are seldom mentioned, yet they occur often enough to give us a notion of the gradual rise in the value of land, and fall in that of money. Thus, in a deed referred to the reign of Edward I., an acre of land pays a

rent of 3*d.* a year. In 1405 an acre specified as arable in the same village pays one of 4*d.* In another deed of Edward I.'s time, a messuage and 11 acres arable pay one of 5*s.* 4½*d.* Here we should probably deduct one-fourth of the rent for the house, which will leave a rent of between 4*d.* and 5*d.* per acre for the land. Again, we find 2 acres of meadow land let for 2*s.* in 1380. Again, in 1416, we have 16 acres of arable and 1¼ of meadow fetching together 16*s.*, or 5½*d.* an acre; again, 18 acres of arable and 2 of meadow yield in the same leasing 21*s.*, or nearly 1*s.* 1*d.* per acre all round; again, 5 acres arable and ¼ acre of meadow, together with "a close called Whyffynes," yield 5*s.* 8*d.* The "close" is an unknown quantity; but, if the whole lot made up 6 acres, we should have a rent of over 11½*d.* per acre. Taking the average of these three lots, we should arrive at 10*d.* per acre. But in 1413, at which period Robert Veel "flourished," we find one messuage, one cottage, and three curtilages, with 40½ acres of arable and 4½ of meadow, yielding together 46*s.* 8*d.*; or, allowing, as before, a fourth for the houses, the land-rent would be over 9½*d.* per acre.* In the year 1566 the terms of a lease are as follows:—Henry Lyte and his wife "grant, dymyse, and let," to A, B, and C, in consideration of 66*s.* 8*d.*, well and truly paid, 14 acres of land, A, B, and C covenanting to pay "a heryet of their best cattaille," on the death of any one of them, to Lyte's estate. This Elizabethan lease suggests what indeed is to be gathered from other hints in the course of these documents, that money-rent only formed a portion of the consideration on which land was held. Customable services, and fines either on taking seisin or at periods of lives, formed an important item of the whole value. In the time of James I., however, we seem to arrive at a purely commercial transaction in letting. The corporation of Ilchester then let 20 acres of

meadow and pasture, described as "lying and being in" Ilchester, for £14 13*s.* 4*d.*, or 14*s.* 8*d.* per acre. Here all feudal incidents seem rubbed off, and the land may be supposed to show its natural value. But this was meadow-pasture close to the town, and would naturally be in value far above the average. Other curious odds and ends of antique custom emerge as we peruse these deeds. Thus, in 1403, a widow seems to have resumed after her husband's death her maiden name; for "Joanna Fateman" there describes herself as "quondam uxor Willi. Cole," and as being "in pura viduitate." An agreement to let messuage and land in the time of Edward I., after fixing the rent, reserves "the suit in my court of the same village, and the assize of bread and beer." The coroner and the constable figure as officials of high rank in county and in town. "King Edward the son of King Edward" is the early style for Edward II. In 1476, Robert Grey, consignee of what had once been Robert Veel's lands, in making them over to Master Richard Swanne and others, inserts in the deed a defiant notice of perpetual warranty "against John Abbot of Glastonbury and his successors," which looks as if the Abbots of that house had a bad name for attempting to seize their neighbours' goods. An instance of the importance attached to a seal in ratifying a document is found in the following: "Because," says Walter de Milton, in 1346, "my seal is unknown to most persons, I have taken care that the seal of the Deanery of Llandaff should be affixed to this document." "And I," adds the Dean of Llandaff, "at the request of Walter himself, have affixed my seal to these presents." The same formula is repeated in 1402 by John Herewarde, who borrows the seal of William Whyttoke. On the whole, as in this deeply inland bit of Somersetshire, the land with its produce and the buildings raised upon it formed nearly the only marketable commodities, so in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the trade therein was much more brisk than one would have expected. This no doubt called forth the acquisitiveness of Robert Veel, but his munificence was independent of circumstances. Let those who "require his monument" go to the town of Ilchester and "look around."

* Professor Rogers, in his *History of Prices*, vol. iv., p. 128, says, "At this time, (1530) the rental of average arable land did not exceed, as it did not in the fourteenth century, 6*d.* an acre." The same writer mentions 108 acres arable as let for £14 in 1455, or at about 2*s.* 7*d.* per acre, which is not easily reconciled with the previous statement; nor either of them with the facts mentioned in the text above, which I commend to his study in any future edition of his valuable work.

Accounts of Henry V.

BY SIR J. H. RAMSAY, BART.

THE accounts of this reign do not disclose any facts of such political interest as those of the previous reign. They are, nevertheless, an essential part of the history of the time. Henry was an able and efficient ruler, who understood his own position thoroughly. With the man whom all the world, at bottom, regarded as the true heir to the throne sitting at his table, regard for parliament and the forms of the constitution was for Henry V. a primary law. In return parliament treated him with fitting liberality. During the nine and a half years that he filled the throne he received $10\frac{1}{2}$ subsidies from parliament, $10\frac{1}{2}$ from the convocation of Canterbury, and $8\frac{1}{2}$ from that of York, besides one supplemental grant of 6s. 8d. on the £1 from stipendiary priests. If the incomes of these poor clergymen were rated at their full value, this must have been a most cruel impost, amounting to an income tax of 33 per cent. With reference to the liberality of the clergy, we may remark that from the spring of 1414 the see of Canterbury was filled by an ex-diplomatist, the king's faithful servant, Henry Chicheley; while the northern province was ruled by another true Lancastrian, Henry Bowet. Bowet was the man who, as chaplain to Henry of Bolingbroke, came over to England in 1399 to demand livery of seisin in his master's name, and was imprisoned by Richard II. for his pains.

If we compare the grants received by Henry IV. with those received by his son, we find that the father received in thirteen years and a half only 8 subsidies from parliament, and $10\frac{1}{2}$ from Canterbury, and he, relatively to the length of his reign, received more than his predecessor had done.

The lay subsidy, a fifteenth from counties and a tenth from towns, appears to keep up its amount, or nearly so, although Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the diocese of Durham, were still exempted, on the score of the depressed state of those counties through the continuance of border warfare. Thus the first half of the subsidy, voted in May 1413, yielded in the course of

the ensuing year £17,992; the second half yielded about the same sum. The first of the two subsidies granted in the second year yielded, during the first term after it became due, not quite £34,000, leaving £2,000 still to be raised. Probably, one with another, the ten subsidies did not make up £36,000 a-piece.

The clerical tenths appear to have fallen off more materially. The proceeds of a subsidy granted in the second year only amounted to £10,500, including some arrears from the grants of the first year. Probably the total never reached £12,000.

The customs' duties throughout the reign were levied at the old rates—namely, tunnage at 3s. the tun of wine, poundage at 12d. on the £1 value of general goods, and wool at 50s. the sack from natives, and 60s. from aliens. In 1415 an attempt was made to extort an additional 10s. the sack from the latter class, but the tax could not be borne, and the government had to remit it.*

The yield of the customs appears to have run from £40,000 to £42,000 a year. £40,658 was the sum of the customs between April 1410 and April 1411, in the previous reign. Our analysis of the receipts of the second year of Henry V. gives the amount as £41,930, while a memorandum drawn up by the Privy Council, in May 1421, gives the amount for the past year as £40,676.

The Old Crown Revenues exhibit a downward tendency. The "ferms," or fee-farm rents, paid by the counties and burghs, had fallen, both in actual amount and in purchasing power. In many cases the crown had been forced to grant remissions to places or districts which had suffered decay. Of course places that had thriven and grown rich paid no more than the old rents. Again, the same nominal sum only was paid, though the currency had been depreciated 50 per cent. since the accession of Edward I.; and, lastly, the money prices of all articles had risen. In the receipts of the second year the Old Crown Revenues, with Wales and Cornwall, but without the duchy of Lancaster, only stand for £8,239. In the first year of Henry IV. they reached nearly £15,000, and the memorandum of May 1421, above-

* *Rot. Parliament*, iv. 6, 64. *Proceedings Privy Council*, ii. 262.

mentioned, gives them as over £15,000; but as no details are given, we cannot be sure that their items correspond exactly with those in our analysis. But these receipts were liable to great fluctuations. A forfeiture, a death, an unlicensed marriage or two, might make a substantial difference in the proceeds of a year. The Earl of March was fined 10,000 marks (£6,666 13s. 4d.) for leave to marry as he pleased.* He was a rich man, and he stood in the delicate, not to say invidious, position of a man who had, in the eyes of most people, a better claim to the crown than the king. Lady de Roos, widow of Baron John, who was killed at Bauge, paid £1,000 because she had not only married again without leave, but distinctly derogated, by marrying a simple esquire, Roger Wynteworth by name. This, however, occurred early in the next reign.

The proceeds of the Hanaper figure in the second year for £2,754. In the enrolled foreign accounts of the reign we get special accounts under this head, and from these it appears that the returns might vary from £4,000 to £1,000 in the year, the average being £2,300. These were the net proceeds after deduction of office charges, etc., which, one year with another, came to nearly £600 more.

The proceeds of the Mint, again, seem to have been above the average in the second year. From the same foreign accounts we learn that the gross returns of the first four years of the reign amounted to £5,646, or £3,091 nett. Of this sum only £935 was derived from the coinage of silver, the rest being derived from percentages on the coinage of gold. This influx was doubtless due to the reduction of the currency introduced in 1411, the debased coin driving out the old; the preference for gold was probably due to some unsuspected difference in the standards or the charges for coining the two metals. The demand for the new coin must have been exhausted during these four years, as three subsequent years only produced £647 nett in all; the average of the seven years

would thus seem to be little more than £600 a-year.

The receipts from the Alien Priorities sink into insignificance, the king having assigned them to new charitable foundations or favoured individuals.

The above figures imply a legitimate average revenue of only £102,000 a-year. Yet the totals of the Issue Rolls, which we append, exhibit an average expenditure exceeding £122,000. The reader will also notice that a large proportion of the Rolls do not furnish their own totals, and in these cases we cannot be sure that the Roll is complete. The average apparent expenditure, therefore, may have been larger.

Again, the Receipt Rolls, which we do not publish, are in a very incomplete state; only five of them give full totals. These with eight others that have been added up privately give an average income of £146,000 a-year, the two sides of the account utterly failing to balance. This is a new feature, but possibly if we had the full totals of all the Rolls, the amounts might be found to balance after all. The difference between the legitimate income, as we have termed it, and the stated expenditure must be ascribed as usual to the loans, sometimes repaid within two days, sometimes not at all. Thus, in February 1420, we find a sum of £562 advanced on a certain day and marked on the margin of the Receipt Roll as repaid two days later. On turning to the corresponding Issue Roll we find the repayment duly entered; but the sum actually repaid appears as £460 only, the difference apparently being a commission retained by the Treasury for the trouble of the transaction. Thus the Receipt Roll is swelled by £562, and the Issue Roll by £460. This is but a small instance. We have single sums of £2,200, £2,700, £2,800, thus borrowed and repaid within the term, the Issue and Receipt Rolls being swelled accordingly.

The Issue Rolls are also swelled by entries connected with loan transactions of a somewhat different nature. It often happened that when a crown creditor had obtained an order for payment of his debt out of some specified branch of the revenue, the officials would only allow him to take part of the money to which he was entitled; in these cases, instead of merely entering on the Issue

* The full amount had not been paid at Henry's death; only £2,700 was paid at the first (Michm. 3 Henry V.) The reader will note that the amount of the fine was considerably above that of all the Lancaster revenues, which must have exceeded his.

Roll the amount actually paid as so much paid on account, the practice was to enter the whole amount due as having been paid, the sum retained being treated as a loan from the creditor, for which credit was given him on the Receipt Roll. To take an actual instance. Sir John Neville had obtained an order for payment of £1,231 18s. 9d., due to him for the wages of the garrison of Carlisle. On the 22nd February, 1420 (7 Henry V.), fourteen sums, making up £1,231 18s. 9d., are entered on the Receipt Roll as having been paid in from the customs of Boston and Hull; on the margin the sums are marked as having been paid directly to John Neville for the wages of Carlisle. The payment to Neville is entered in the usual manner on the corresponding Issue Roll under the same date. But in fact Sir John only received £831 18s. 9d., £400 being kept back; and we ascertain this fact by observing that upon the Receipt Roll four of the above sums, which together make up £400, are cancelled, and a fresh entry is interpolated of a "mutuum" or loan of £400 from Sir John. Neville received "tallies" or orders for future payment of this debt, which became void through the death of Henry V. Early in 1423 he presented a petition to the regency council of Henry VI., asking that fresh tallies for the £400 might be issued to him, and an order to that effect was given (*Proceedings Privy Council*, iii. 73). On the 12th May, 1423 (Easter 1 Henry VI.) Neville appears on the Issue Roll as receiving his £400—£20 in cash, and £380 by "assignment" of certain customs. On the Receipt Roll of the same date we have an entry of the payment from the customs in question of £380, with a marginal note, "assigned to Sir John Neville." But four of these sums, making £180, are again struck out, and re-entered as "mutuum" from Neville. A marginal note tells us that this £180 was repaid 21st May, *anno tertio*, i.e., 1425. Under this date on the Issue Roll payment in full is again entered, but again a reference to the Receipt Roll shows that Neville was only allowed to keep £80, £100 being carried on as a fresh loan. A marginal note tells us that this last £100 was paid off 4th December, 1427, and there at last the transaction ends; but by this system of bookkeeping one sum of £1,231 18s. 9d., paid in all to Sir John

Neville, does duty from first to last for £1,911 18s. 9d. on the Issue Rolls of Henry V. and Henry VI.

In working out the mystery of these cancelled and interpolated items of the receipt roll, I must acknowledge the assistance of Mr. Hall of the Record Office.

If the gross totals of the Rolls give figures which are in some respects exaggerated, there are on the other hand certain sources of revenue which do not appear on the rolls at all. Among these were the private estates of the crown—the Lancaster and Hereford estates. The proceeds of these were not paid into the Exchequer, but to the king on his own receipt. These revenues appear to have averaged about £4,600 and £4,700 a-year. Then, again, the "winnings of war" (*gaignes de guerre*) were considerable. In 1419 the city of Rouen was put to a ransom of 300,000 écus. Taken as they were at the rate of two to the English noble, the amount would be £50,000. Two years later a subsidy, or *fouage*, of 400,000 livres tournoises was obtained from the estates of Normandy, at the same rate that would come to £66,666 13s. 4d., more than a full lay and clerical subsidy from all England. These sums were not brought into the home exchequer, but they helped it by relieving it of charges that otherwise would have come upon it.

Whatever Henry V.'s income may have been, it was all spent. The cash in hand at his death appears to have been represented by 1000 lbs. troy of silver bullion in the military chest (*Proceedings Privy Council*, iii. 103).

Turning to the analysis of the issues, we find that the household expenditure is still large, chamber and the various wardrobe accounts absorbing in round numbers £41,000 out of £106,000. The special features are the disappearance of the private wardrobe; an account for arms kept at the Tower; and the largeness of the drawings for the chamber, which exceed £19,500. The increase under this head must be regarded as due to an altered mode of keeping the accounts. In the summer of 1415 we have a sum of £6,000 advanced from the king's privy purse for the pay of soldiers; another advance of the same sort occurs in the autumn.

A fragmentary household account of the first year exists, which gives the total of the weekly bills from the 23rd March to the 31st October, 1413, a period of $31\frac{1}{2}$ weeks, as £8,600, or £275 a week; this includes the coronation feast, on which £971 was spent, being the average expenditure of a month. With alms and oblations, "Necessaria," fees and gowns, stocks in hand, and advances, the total rises to £12,846 for the period, or £21,400 a year.

Another account has been preserved which gives the totals of the household expenditure from the 1st October, 1421, to the day of the king's death (31st August, 1422) and on to the 8th November, being the day after his burial, when his household may be supposed to have been finally disbanded. The amount of the house bills is £17,225, or with alms, gifts, and sundries, £24,389. This includes, as these accounts always do, the value of all goods bought on credit, which appear to amount to nearly £8,000: of this, £4,685 was stated to be due to the men of Over Wallop, in Hampshire.

The king's daily offering at mass is said to be "magnus denarius valoris VII. den." This ought surely to be read "viii. den.," the coin being seemingly a double-groat. Four shillings is the recurring item for daily alms.

The accounts of the great wardrobe proper—i.e., as a store of clothing, arms, and furniture—are practically complete. From the 21st March, 1413, to the 7th August, 1417, the amount drawn from the exchequer was £41,276, or about £9,000 a year, irrespective of foreign receipts and goods obtained on credit. This covers practically the portion of the reign that Henry spent in England. During the next three years, when he was campaigning in France, and unmarried, the totals sink to about £1,500 a year, debts and all. During the last two years, when he was married, the amount drawn was £6,863, with £2,053 due.

Many curious details could be drawn from these accounts. 21,000 silken garters ("garters de seric") strikes one as rather a large order. 355 pairs of boots ought to have lasted some time, while 4,412 pairs of slippers ("par sotular") would seem an inexhaustible supply. In connection with the stores of the great wardrobe we may notice a dismal

statement which may illustrate the sympathy due for "prisoners and captives" in the good old times. Murdach Stewart, eldest son of Robert, Duke of Albany, had been taken prisoner at the battle of Homildon. A petition presented to Henry V. in 1414 represents that the red worsted bed, mattress, and blankets on which the "Master of Fife" had slept for ten years were utterly rotten, and that his sheets had not been changed for two years (*Proceedings Privy Council*, ii. 337). An order was immediately given to serve out a bed, a mattress, two blankets, and two pairs of sheets from the great wardrobe.

The enrolled foreign accounts supply special accounts of considerable interest. Calais cost, one year with another, £24,000; yet the garrison only numbered 773 men, and their wages amounted to £10,022 4s. 8d. (see *Excerpta Historica*, 26-28); but provisions had to be sent from England for these men, and there was an expensive staff, besides the fortifications, to keep up. Ninety soldiers at Fronsac, the chief fortress in Gascony, cost £1,200 a year. As a set-off to this it is satisfactory to find that a warden and thirty-two scholars at King's College, Cambridge, could be boarded, lodged, washed, and generally "found" for £100 a year.

The household account of the ninth year, above referred to, gives the amount spent on "wages of war" during the period. The total appears to be £25,808, of which seemingly only some £14,000 was drawn from the home exchequer, the balance being defrayed from the ransoms of Rouen and Meaux. At that rate the reader may think that the war did not cost England much. Perhaps not; but the low rate of expenditure was partly effected by leaving everything unpaid that could be left unpaid. Henry owed money all round at his death. The bill for the Agincourt campaign was not yet settled. Some of Henry's most devoted supporters did not get their Agincourt wages till after his death. The very strictness of the discipline kept up by Henry abroad made the position of his followers more difficult. Gentlemen quartered in Normandy wrote home in doleful strains—"No pay, and not allowed to forage!" (see Collins' *Peerage*, viii. 106-108). But the hardest case was that of the Earl of Huntingdon, taken prisoner at

Baugè. £8,157 14s. 9d. was due to him for actual wages, independently of the prize-money specially promised to him for some Genoese carracks captured by him in 1417. The money would have doubtless paid his ransom, but for lack of it he must languish in French bonds (*Rot. Parliament*, iv. 247).

In the table of issues the totals, which are found ready added on the rolls, are marked with an asterisk. In the other cases the shillings and pence are omitted.

TABLE I.

ISSUES HENRY V.

FROM PELL AND AUDITOR'S ROLLS.

Reigned 21 March, 1413—31 August, 1422.

Year.	Term.	Duration of Term.	Amount.
			£ s. d.
1	East.	4 May—18 Sept., 1413	36,133
—	Mich.	2 Oct., 1413—22 Feby., 1414	50,783
2	East.	16th April—19th July, 1414	57,207
—	Mich.	4th Oct., 1414—16th March, 1415	48,750
3	East.	11th April (?)—3rd Sept., 1415	47,100
—	Mich.	3rd Oct., 1415—13th April, 1416	32,889
4	East.	30th April—3rd Sept., 1416	108,830
—	Mich.	26th Oct., 1416—19th March, 1417	119,072
5	East.	21st April—21st Sept. (Rolls damaged), 1417	
—	Mich.	4th Oct., 1417—9th March, 1418	*49,143 10 6½
6	East.	4th April—29th Sept., 1418	*73,975 2 2
—	Mich.	6th Oct., 1418—15th March, 1419	74,382
7	East.	20th April—26th Aug., 1419	*33,759 8 9
—	Mich.	2nd Oct., 1419—12th March, 1420	53,168
8	East.	6th May—16th Sept., 1420	76,064
—	Mich.	2nd Oct., 1420—19th March, 1421	*40,907 10 8½
9	East.	1st April—4th Sept., 1421	*88,369 18 9½
—	Mich.	1st Oct., 1421—19th March, 1422	*53,688 7 5½
10	East.	20th April—26th Sept., 1422	*59,154 15 1

TABLE II.

RECEIPTS. EASTER. 2 HENRY V.

16 April—13 Sept., 1414.

(1)	Old Crown Revenues (with Duchy of Cornwall and Principality of Wales)	£ s. d.
(2)	Customs (with ulnage of cloths)	3,790 13 3
(3)	Priories Alien and vacant sees	7,142 19 6
(4)	Hanaper in Chancery	107 19 4
(5)	Lay fifteenth and tenth : second half of subsidy granted in 1st year	646 19 1
	Do., arrears of first half of same grant	17,664 7 3
(6)	Clerical tenth : arrears from grant of 1st year	731 16 2
(7)	Tower Mint and Exchange	1,658 13 2
(8)	Loans (of which £533 6s. 8d. repaid)	1,740 16 8
(9)	Sundries (arrears of old subsidies, etc.)	2,382 19 10
		36 15 8

Not added on roll.

35,303 19 11

TABLE III.

RECEIPTS. MICHAELMAS. 2 HENRY V.

4 Oct., 1414—18 March, 1415.

(1)	Old Crown Revenues (with Duchy of Cornwall and Principality of Wales)	£ s. d.
(2)	Customs (with ulnage of cloths)	4,448 17 1
(3)	Priories Alien and vacant sees	34,787 14 4
(4)	Hanaper in Chancery	18 16 11
(5)	Lay fifteenth and tenth : first subsidy granted in 2nd year	2,107 9 4
	Do., arrears from subsidy of 1st year	33,973 0 0
(6)	Clerical tenth : grant of 2nd year	588 14 2
	Do., arrears from 1st year	9,824 5 5
(7)	Tower Mint and Exchange	742 5 6
(8)	Loans (all repaid)	874 3 4
(9)	Sundries (arrears of old subsidies)	2,133 6 8
		53 18 9

Not added on roll.

89,562 11 6

TABLE IV.

ISSUES. EASTER. 2 HENRY V.

16 April—19 July, 1414.

(1)	Household—	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
	Wardrobe of household	3,199 11 6	
	Great wardrobe	14,337 4 11	
	Chamber	6,389 13 1	
			23,966 9 6
(2)	Naval and Military—		
	Calais	11,172 10 0	
	Ireland	1,333 6 8	
	Berwick	1,250 0 0	
	Carlisle	625 0 0	
	Roxburgh	333 6 8 etc.	
			18,109 4 10
(3)	Civil Service (with law and diplomacy)	3,798 9 10	
(4)	Public works	614 16 8	
(5)	Pensions and gifts (with arrears and advances)	2,020 15 8	
(6)	Sundries—		
	King's debts prior to accession, £4,180 13s. 3d.		
	Executors of Henry IV., £,4000 on account.		
	Translation of body of Richard II., £372.		
	Tower lions, £75.		
	Remission of wool duties, etc.	8,697 9 7	

Not added on roll.

57,207 6 1

TABLE V.

ISSUES. MICHAELMAS. 2 HENRY V.

4 (?) Oct., 1414—16 March, 1415.

(1)	Household—	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
	Wardrobe of household	1,936 7 5	
	Great wardrobe	1,892 9 9	
	Chamber	13,174 0 4	
			17,002 17 6
(2)	Naval and Military—		
	Calais	6,392 0 0	
	Carlisle	937 0 0	
	Roxburgh	533 0 0	
	Berwick	1,516 0 0	
	Aquintain	869 0 0	
	Wales	380 0 0 etc.	
			18,503 2 8

(3) Civil Service	4,729	6	5
(4) Public works	418	16	8
(5) Pensions and gifts	3,595	5	7
(6) Loans repaid	2,740	0	0
(7) Sundries—			
King's debts as before	£1,502		
Allowed to Dowager Queen			
Johanna	£134		
Allowed for damages suffered			
through Welsh wars	£66		
Tower lions and leopards	£35		
etc., etc.			
	1,762	9	6
Not added on roll.	48,751	18	4



Early Oriental Coins.

BY PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER.

THE art of coinage was, as Mr. Head has already pointed out in these pages, of Oriental invention. The first coins seem to have been issued at about the same time, the seventh century B.C., by the Lydians in the west of Asia, and by the Chinese in the extreme east; for M. de la Couperie, who has made a special study of Chinese coins, is of opinion that no Chinese coins can be given to a remoter age than this. When the Persians conquered Lydia they adopted the very useful art of coinage. If we exclude money issued by Greek cities under Persian rule and by Persian satraps on the occasion of some military expeditions, there were in the length and breadth of the Persian Empire but two classes of coins—the gold darics and the silver sigli, or shekels. The daric had on one side a figure of the king shooting with the bow; on the other side a mere punch-mark or incuse: it weighed rather more than a sovereign, and was of almost pure gold. The shekel was of nearly the same size, and bore the same types; but was only of two-thirds of the weight, almost exactly of the weight of a shilling. Twenty shekels were equivalent to a daric. It is interesting to find the equivalents of pounds and shillings circulating throughout Western Asia at a period so early.

Until the Persian Empire fell, darics and sigli were the only recognized currency be-

tween the Halys in Asia Minor and the borders of China. The Greek cities of the coast were not allowed to issue gold coin; but the Government did not interfere with their autonomous issues of silver and copper money, which bore types appropriate to the striking cities. And some of the satraps of the Persian king were allowed, more especially on the occasion of military expeditions, to issue silver coins, the types of which curiously combine Persian and Greek mythology.

During the life of Alexander the Great the coins bearing his name and his types circulated throughout Asia; and after his death the same range of currency was attained by the money of the early Seleucid kings of Syria—Seleucus I., Antiochus I., and Antiochus II., who virtually succeeded to the dominions of the Persian kings, and tried in many respects to carry on their policy.

In the reign of Antiochus II., however, the Syro-Greek kingdom began to fall to pieces; and with its decay Oriental coinage, as opposed to Greek, may properly be said to commence. About B.C. 250 the Greek satraps of the wealthy provinces of Bactria and India became independent; and the Parthian Arsaces raised the standard of a successful revolt on the southern shores of the Caspian. In the next century smaller kingdoms arose in Arabia, Armenia, and Mesopotamia; and the Jewish people wrested their independence from the hands of Antiochus Epiphanes. In the far East rude tribes of Sacæ and Huns from the borders of China swept down on the eastern provinces of the Persian Empire, and founded dynasties, which seem, however, to have soon passed away.

I shall not speak of Asia Minor on the west, for that district was dominated by Greek and Roman influences; nor of China on the east. The vast space between these two extremes may be divided into three regions—(1) Armenia, Syria, and the country to the west of the Tigris and the Caspian; (2) Central Asia; (3) India and Afghanistan. We will speak successively of the coins of each of these regions, during the whole period which elapsed between the break-up of the Syro-Greek kingdom and the conquering spread of Islam—that is to say, from the third century before until the eighth century after the Christian era.

Central Asia.

In the course of the second century the Parthians, under their great king Mithridates, occupied all this region, or rather gained a sort of supremacy or lordship over it; and defended it for centuries from the attacks of the Greeks and Romans on the one side and of the Huns on the other. The Parthian silver coins consist of two distinct classes—regal and civic. The regal coins are of silver of the weight of an Attic drachm, 60—65 grains, and bear during the whole of Parthian history uniform types—the head of the ruling king on one side, and on the other the first king Arsaces seated, holding a bow. The civic coins were issued by the semi-Greek cities of Persia and Mesopotamia. They are four times as heavy, and present a greater variety of type; subsidiary copper pieces accompany each series.

As the Parthians were constantly at war with the Syro-Greek kingdom so long as it lasted, it may at first surprise us to find that the legends of the Parthian coins, except of a few of the latest, are in Greek. The date is indicated by the increasing complexity of these legends as time goes on. All the successors of the first Arsaces keep his name as their dynastic title, just as all the kings of Egypt are styled Ptolemy, and the Roman emperors Augustus; but they add to this dynastic name a constantly increasing number of epithets. In fact, the number of these epithets which occur on a coin is usually the readiest means of assigning its date. The earliest pieces bear only the legend Ἀρσάκου or βασιλέως Ἀρσάκου; but already the second king Tiridates assumes the title βασιλεὺς μέγας; his successors add a variety of epithets, θεοπαῖωρ, ἐπιφάνης, εὐεργέτης, and the like, until, under Orodes the Great, we reach the formula βασιλέως μεγάλου Ἀρσάκου εὐεργέτους δικαίου ἐπιφάνους φιλέλληνος, which remains usual until the end of the dynasty. The last-mentioned title Philhellen is interesting, and refers to the fact that, at all events after the fall of the Syro-Greek kingdom, the Parthian kings were anxious to secure to themselves the goodwill of the semi-Greek population which dwelt in many of the large towns under their rule, such as Seleucia on the Tigris, Charax, and Artamita.

At these great cities was struck most of the heavier money above-mentioned. The type of these larger coins is more varied. Before the time of Orodes it is like that of the regal money; but after that time it is usually the Parthian king seated, receiving a wreath either from Victory or from Pallas, or more often from a city personified in a female deity who holds a cornucopia. The head of a personified city appears on the copper pieces which go with the civic coins. And both silver and copper bear a date, the year in which the coin was struck according to the Seleucid era, which begins in B.C. 312; sometimes even the month of that year. We thus gain a most valuable means of checking the dates of the events of Parthian history, at all events of the accession and deposition of the kings.

Once in the series we have a portrait of a woman, Musa, an Italian girl presented by



FIG. 1.—AN EARLY PARTHIAN KING.

Augustus to Phraates IV., who made so good use of her talents that she persuaded the king to declare her son Phraataces his heir, and reigned in conjunction with that son until he lost his life in a revolt.

The district of Persia proper seems to have enjoyed partial independence in Parthian times; and we may feel justified in assigning to this district a long series of coins which are usually called sub-Parthian; bearing on one side the head of a king, on the other usually a fire-altar and an illegible inscription in Pehlvi characters.

About A.D. 220, the princes of Persia revolted against their Parthian masters, and succeeded in wresting from them the supremacy of Asia. A great Persian dynasty then arose, beginning with Artaxerxes or Ardeshir the Sassanian, and ruled the East until the rise of Mohammedanism. The coins of the Sassanian kings present a great contrast to

those of the Parthians. Their execution is far neater and more masterly, and they show in all respects a reaction of the more manly tribes of Southern Asia alike against the debased Hellenism which had invaded the cities of Western Persia and against the barbarous Parthian hordes, who seem to have left scarcely a trace on the art, the religion, or the customs of Asia.

The great bulk of the Sassanian issues is in silver, flat well-wrought pieces of the weight of an Attic drachm, 67 grains. There are also gold coins weighing 110-115 grains, rather heavier than the contemporary solidi of Rome, and a few copper pieces. Gold and silver are of similar legends and devices, and throughout the whole of Persian rule preserve an almost unchanged character. On the obverse is universally the head of the king. The various monarchs have different styles of crown and coiffure, some-

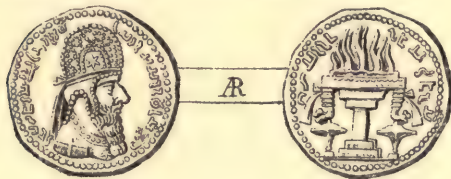


FIG. 2.—ARTAXERXES, PERSIAN KING.

times of a very extravagant character, the hair being rolled into huge balls and tufts. On his earliest coins Artaxerxes' head is closely copied from that of Mithridates I., the greatest of the Parthian monarchs, whom the Persian king seems thus to claim as prototype and model. Around the king's head on Persian coins is his name and titles in Pehlvi letters. Artaxerxes is termed the worshipper of Ormazd, the divine king of kings of Iran. Later monarchs vary the formula; on the money of some of the last, the mint where the coin was issued and the year of the reign are written in similar characters in the field of the reverse. The reverse type of all Sassanian coins is the same, the fire-altar, the symbol of worship of Ormazd, guarded by soldiers, or approached by the king in humble adoration.

The title king of kings, assumed alike by Parthian and Persian monarchs, is no vain boast, but an accurate description of their

position as supreme over the satraps or viceroys of provinces, who were almost independent rulers each in his own district.

Western Asia.

Between Armenia on the north and Arabia on the south, coins were issued during Parthian times by a number of small states which maintained a precarious autonomy against the Romans on the one hand and the Parthians on the other. Most of them disappear before the revived force of the empire of the Sassanians. Armenia was until the time of the Parthian Mithridates (B.C. 160) the seat of several small dynasties. We hear of Arsames, a king of Arsamosata, who received the Syrian prince Antiochus Hierax when he fled from his brother Seleucus; and of one Xerxes who ruled in the same district and resisted the arms of Antiochus IV. Both of these rulers have left us coins of Greek fashion, but bearing on the obverse a head of the king in peaked Armenian tiara. But Mithridates, if we may trust the history of Moses of Khoren, overran Armenia, and set on the throne his brother Vagharshag or Valarsaces, who was the first of a line of Arsacid kings of Armenia under whom the country reached a higher pitch of prosperity than ever before or since. We possess coins of several of these kings,—of Tigranes, who became king of Syria and son-in-law of Mithridates of Pontus, and whose numerous silver coins struck at Antioch bear as type the Genius or Fortune of that city seated on a rock; of Artaxias, who was crowned by Germanicus; and of Artavasdes, who was for a brief period maintained by the arms of Augustus. We also have a long series of coins in copper issued by the kings of Osroene or Edessa, whose dynastic names were Abgarus and Mannus, and who flourished during the first three centuries of the Christian era, living in independence by no means complete, for the one side of their coin is generally occupied by the effigy of a Roman emperor.

The Arab tribes to the east of Palestine at some periods enjoyed independence under kings of their own. We have a series of coins of the first century B.C. struck by the Nabathæan kings Malchus and Aretas, partly at Antioch, partly at Petra. The inscriptions

and types of these coins are in earlier times Greek, and one Aretas calls himself Philhellen; but later the legends are written in local alphabet and dialect, and the portraits assume more of a native aspect. The short-lived Palmyrene empire founded by Odenathus and Zenobia, and put down by Aurelian, has also left numismatic traces of its existence in money quite identical in fabric, weight, and types, with the contemporary coins issued by Roman emperors at Alexandria. Some of the effigies of Zenobia on these coins may, however, be considered fairly good portraits for the time.

Further south, in Arabia, we find at least two tribes who issued abundance of coin before the birth of Mohammed. The Himyarites circulated great quantities of imitations of the Athenian coins of various periods, and at a later age of the money of Augustus. Types of their own they seem not to have

series of small copper coins, mean-looking, and only interesting for their connexion with Jewish history, and for the fact that they scrupulously avoid in their types any object of decidedly pagan meaning. The caduceus is one of the most pagan of these types in appearance, and that is probably intended merely as the symbol of peace or of victory, and not connected as in Greece with the god Hermes. The issue of shekels, after an interruption of some centuries, was resumed in the time of the revolt headed by Simon bar Cochab. But Jewish coins have been so often treated of, and in books so accessible, that I need not longer dwell on them.

India and Bactria.

One of the most important and interesting of all numismatic series is that of the coins issued on the borders of the Oxus and the



FIG. 3.—SIMON BAR COCHAB.

used, but they impress on their imitations of civilized coins a legend which identifies them as Himyarite. The people of Characene, a small district on the Persian Gulf, begin in the second century B.C. a series of tetradrachms of Greek style, the general appearance and types of which are copied from the coins of contemporary Greek kings of Syria and Bactria. The names of a series of these monarchs, Tiræus, Attambelus, and so forth, together with their order of succession, are preserved to us by coins.

A series which commands more general interest is that of the Jewish coins. It is now generally allowed that the earliest Jewish shekels, which bear on one side a chalice and on the other a triple lily with Hebrew inscriptions, were issued by Simon Maccabæus when the right to issue coin was conceded to him by Antiochus VII. of Syria. From the time of the Maccabees to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus we have an almost continuous



FIG. 4.—ANTIMACHUS, INDIAN KING.

Indus in the ages succeeding the revolt of the eastern provinces of the Syro-Greek empire in the reign of Antiochus II., about B.C. 250. The earliest rulers of the revolted regions were Diodotus and Euthydemus, followed in the second century by a bewildering crowd of kings with Greek names, whose coins have reached us to testify, in the absence of all historical record, to their wealth and splendour, their Greek language and religion, their skill in art and the wide extension of their conquests. The number of these rulers is so great that we must give up the hypothesis that they succeeded one another in a single royal line; rather it would appear that they belong to a number of different, probably rival, dynasties, who reigned in different parts of Afghanistan, the Panjab, and the Indus valley. Of all these powerful monarchs there is scarcely a trace in history; their cities, their palaces, their civilization,

have entirely perished; their coins alone survive. Hence, while in the case of Greece and Rome coins are aids to history, in India they contain all the history we can hope to recover. And by degrees, as the number of our coins increases, so that we can form wide generalizations, and as the spots where the pieces of different sorts are found are more scrupulously recorded, we may hope to be able to form an idea of the history of Greek India. At present we are far from being in so fortunate a condition; all that I shall now attempt is to gather from the coins a few general indications.

The coins prove that Greek rule in India went on spreading east and south during the second century. Greek kings ruled even at the mouth of the Indus, and as far as the Ganges. And their civilization, or at least that of their courts and armies, was thoroughly Greek; the legends of their coins are

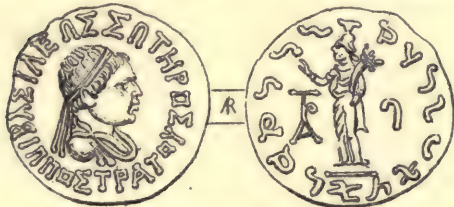


FIG. 5.—HIPPOSTRATUS, INDIAN KING.

at first purely Hellenic, and well-executed figures of Zeus, Pallas, Poseidon, Hercules, the Dioscuri, and other Greek deities prove that they brought with them the religion of their ancestors. Probably there was a constantly setting stream of Greek mercenaries towards these remote lands, who formed military colonies in them, and peopled dominant cities which occupied in India the same position which the Greek cities of Ptolemais and Alexandria held in Egypt, and the Greek cities of Seleucia, Ragæ, etc., in Parthia.

In the middle of the second century the Parthian empire was driven like a wedge between Greek-speaking countries and the Græcized cities of the Cabul valley, cutting off intercourse between the two; and the Indo-Greek cities began at once to languish, and their inhabitants to become more and more barbarized. We can trace the whole process on coins. Eucratides and his suc-

cessor Heliocles introduce the custom of adding on the reverse of the coin a translation in Indian of the Greek legend of the obverse. And under some of the kings we find traces of the barbarization of Greek divinities, as when on a coin of Telephus we find strange outlandish figures of Helios and Selene, or when on coins of Amyntas we find a divinity wearing a Phrygian cap from which flames or rays issue.

Hermæus, who may have reigned early in the first century B.C., was the last of the Greek kings of Cabul. Then came the deluge. Swarms of Sacæ, Yu-chi, and other nomad tribes from the borders of China swarmed down upon the devoted Greek kingdoms of the East and completely overwhelmed them. But these barbarians adopted, like the Parthians, something of the civilization of those they conquered. The coins of Maues Azes and others of their kings bear



FIG. 6.—HERAUS, KING OF THE SACÆ.

Greek inscriptions, and the figures of Greek divinities, and conform in all respects to Greek usage, so that but for the barbarous character of the names of these kings we might have supposed them to be of Greek descent.

The powerful and wealthy Scythian kings who ruled in North-western India in the second century of our era—Kadphises, Kanerkes, and Oerkes—have left us a wonderful abundance of remarkable coins, which are not seldom found in India together with the aurei of contemporary Roman emperors. These kings did not use issues of silver like their Greek and Scythian predecessors, but of gold. On one side of their coins is an effigy of the reigning monarch, and an inscription in barbarized Greek, giving his name and titles. On the other side is the figure of some deity accompanied by his name in Greek letters; and the number and variety of these types is enormous. We have

figures of Sarapis and Heracles, of the Persian Mithras and Nanaia, of the Indian Siva and Parvati, and even of Buddha. The Pantheon of these barbarians must have been of the most eclectic character.

Almost contemporary with the Græcizing dynasty of Kanerkes was the purely Indian line of the Gupta kings of Kanouj. These princes also issued large quantities of gold coins, which are of the greatest interest, as they are among the earliest dated monuments of Hindoo art. The inscriptions of these coins are in Sanskrit, and their types taken from the cycle of Indian mythology, especially from the cultus of Siva and his consort. These types are in character half-way between productions of Greek art and those of the more modern art of India, and show how great has been the influence of the former on the development of the latter. Besides the coins of the Guptas we have several interesting series of coins from India before the Mohammedan conquest, such as those of the Rajput kings of Cabul, which bear on one side a horseman and on the other a bull, and those of the Sah kings of Saurastran, which are more closely copied from the money of Greek rulers.



Ogle Tomb at Botal.

By G. W. TOMLINSON, F.S.A.



AM glad to be able to supply to the readers of THE ANTIQUARY a copy of the record of the Ogles which is described as lost in Mr.

Brailsford's interesting account of the tomb at Botal Church (*see* vol. vii., p. 261).

I must premise that I never saw the stone in question, and my copy was taken from a transcript of the original by Mr. Thomas Sample, the agent of the Duke of Portland, and resident at Botal Castle.

The inscription was on a stone 4 ft. 6 in. by 5 ft. 9 in. The first paragraph, relating to Humphrey Ogle, formed the centre, and the rest of the Lords on shields around.

VOL. VIII.

Humphrey Ogle, Esqre., lived at Ogle Castle at the Conquest, to whom William the Conqueror by his deed without date did confirm unto him all his liberteyes and ridteys of his mannor and estate of Ogle in as ample a manner as any of his ancestors enjoyed the same before the time of the Normans. From Humphrey Ogle, Esqre., did descend seven lords and thirty knights.

- (1) Robert *
the first Lord Ogle
married Isabella daughter and heayre of
Alyrsander Kirby
Knight.
- (2) Owen †
the second Lord
Ogle married the
daughter of Sir
William Hilton
Knight.
- (3) Ralph ‡
the third Lord
Ogle married the
daughter of Sir
William Jackson
Knight.
- (4) Robert §
the fourth Lord
Ogle married the daughter of Thomas Lumley the son and heayre to George.
- (5) Robert ||
son and heayre to
Robert the fourth
Lord Ogle married
the daughter of
Cuthbert Bartram
Knight.

* First summoned to Parliament in 1461, died in 1469.

† Living in 1485.

‡ It is stated in Dugdale's *Baronage* (p. 263, vol. iii.) that Owen Lord Ogle left a son Ralph, who married Margaret, daughter of Sir Wm. Gascoigne, and had issue another Ralph, who married Anne, daughter of Thomas Lumley. Ralph died in 1512.

§ Robert Ogle died in 1539.

|| This lord was never summoned to Parliament; he died in 1544. Dugdale says he married 1st, Dorothy, daughter of Hy. Widderington, and 2ndly, Jane, daughter of Sir Cuthbert Ratcliffe.

- (6) Robert *
the sixth Lord Ogle
married Jane daug
hter and heayre of Sir
Thomas Manners and
died without issue.
- (7) Cuthbert †
the seventh Lord Ogle
married Katharine one of
the co-heayres of Sir Rannal
Carnbye Knight, being brother
to Robert the sixth Lord
Ogle, who had issue two
daughters, Jane the elder
co-heayre and Katharine
the second daughter.

The inscription, as given above, agrees exactly with Sir Harris Nicholas' account of the family in his *Synopsis of the Peerage*, but differs widely from Dugdale's *Baronage*.



Ireland in 1600.

By J. THEODORE BENT.



THE following account of Ireland is chiefly derived from the manuscript of one Haynes, who wrote on the state of that country after the great rebellion of 1595 had been in a measure quelled. His remarks are very much to the point, and many of them read as if they had been written nearly three centuries later.

The evils that affected Ireland in those days, as now, he sums up under three heads: those which arose from diversity of laws, customs, and religion. We will take his remarks in order, and in the course of his notes we shall find much to interest us, both from an antiquarian and a political point of view.

Firstly with regard to the laws.

The Irish have a special predilection for laws of their own, called the Brehon Law, in no way conformable to the statutes of Eng-

* Died s.p. 1562. Dugdale says his wife was a daughter of Sir Thos. Mauleverer.

† Cuthbert, the last Lord Ogle, died in 1597. The elder daughter married a younger son of the Earl of Shrewsbury; and Katharine the younger married Sir Charles Cavendish of Welbeck, and eventually became the heiress of her sister, who died without issue. The property is still in the hands of her descendant, the Duke of Portland.

land. It forms a certain rule or code of unwritten law delivered by tradition from generation to generation; for example, when a man commits a murder, the Brehon, or judge, will, by his power and authority, compound between the murderer and the friends of the party murdered, for some recompense which they call *Triach*, and the murderer goes free; which is the cause of vile murders in that country.

Such laws as these are carried on privily, for though they may yield a kind of subjection to the English authority, nevertheless, where the Irish dwell together they conceal many crimes which never come to the knowledge of the English governors. The country folks did, after a fashion, submit themselves to Henry VIII., and did acknowledge him as their liege, but they received many of their ancient privileges from Sir Anthony St. Leger, then Lord Deputy, and because a good course and sound establishment of the laws that were made was not continued amongst them, they took their old liberty and broke out into new disobedience; and the children of them that yielded themselves to Henry VIII. do now utterly refuse to obey, because they say that the laws of the English imposed on the Irish did not work their effect.

Without doubt laws ought to be made according to the inclination of the people, for Lycurgus, knowing the Lacedemonians to be bent on war, made laws for training them to the same from the cradle; and Solon, knowing the Athenians were not inclined to war, made laws which brought them up to learning and science. So that to bring Ireland to civility there must be made laws to reduce them to a more civil course of life, and then the laws of England will be better received.

The presence of a prince amongst a stubborn people is the greatest means to bring them to conformity to his word; it prevaileth more than the sword, and the word of an inferior magistrate. For the nature of the Irish is never to yield as long as they can stand by their own strength, but when they are brought to misery by power, then they crouch and humble themselves, seeking for favour until they beget new power, and then break out again into their former mischief.

Now the way to bring them to obedience is to keep them in continual subjection; if the laws of England had been fully executed and followed in the time of Strongbow, in King Henry II.'s time, it would have wrought much good amongst them; but after the subjection the English used them as vassals, and made their own will the law which was to keep them in civility. They continued thus as vassals until the controversy of the two royal houses of Lancaster and York, when the nobles that had possessions in Ireland came to help the party whom they favoured in England, and to save their English possessions; and when they were gone the Irish broke out into rebellion, and gained a liberty by the sword. But when the nobles returned, by little and little they regained their possessions. King Edward IV. sent his brother, the Duke of Clarence, to redress their wrongs; but he only cooped them up in narrow corners, and subdued them not; and when he was recalled to England the northern part broke out into rebellion again, and set up O'Neill as their captain, a man before of slender power and account.

At the time when Bruce invaded the country, the old English Pale was chiefly in the north from the point of Dunluce unto Dublin, but now about Armagh, Carlingford, and Belfast we find the most abandoned places in the English Pale, so that now it extendeth but to Dundalk toward the north. The old Pale was a most fruitful country, the ornament of the land; and yielded to the King of England 3000 marks of old money by the year.

The country being in a dangerous way of throwing off all obedience of late years, was curbed and kept in check by the brave devices of the most noble Lord Grey, who established the laws of England; but one great reason why English law does not suit Ireland is that trials are to be made by a jury of twelve, who being Irish, as most of necessity must be, care not for an oath, and deceive the Queen, or an Englishman of his right. Therefore another course must be had for trials, as this is injurious to the well-being of the state. An Irishman will forswear himself, and hold and maintain it not only lawful but commendable, and a duty.

Another mischief is this, that where the

common law cannot execute an accessory in Ireland in felony, one that receiveth stolen goods, without the apprehension of the principal is acquitted. So a rebel stealeth goods and bringeth it to another gentleman of good worth, who, being indicted, cannot be condemned, because the principal is not taken.

Again, another thing which hindereth the course of justice is this: namely, that they can make over and convey their lands to feoffees in trust, and by that means fugitives and outlaws enjoy the profits of lands which ought, by reason of their treason, to belong to Her Majesty.

There are also certain places of privilege, and Counties Palatine, which at the conquest were granted to good uses, and upon good consideration, to men deserving the trust. But now these are converted into dangerous resorts in Ireland; for instance, the county of Tipperary is the receptacle of all evil-doers, and of such as spoil the rest of the country. The towns corporate likewise have such privileges, and however fit they may have been before, are now most intolerable, buying and selling with thieves and rebels, and they are bound to no governance but their own. What can be more dangerous to the state of Ireland than the toleration of these liberties?

Besides this, there are many pernicious customs, such as making a distress for debt a felony, if the distress prove unlawful. And also a custom called "*Kinconghish*," which is a statute that provideth that every head of a sept, or every chief of a clan, is to be charged with any treason, felony, or heinous crime committed by any of the sept, or kindred. Hence it is but small encouragement to the chief to expose the evil doings of those under him.

Secondly, of their manners and customs.

Ireland was first inhabited, as it is supposed, by the Scythians in the northern parts, by the Spaniards in the west, by the Gauls in the south, and by the Britons in the east towards England. Of these nations they have retained sundry customs to these days, as will be seen from the following account of their customs, as they are now.

After the manner of the Scythians, they are in the habit of pasturing their cattle on

the mountains in herds, where they take up their abode, and live on the milk of their kine and on white meats for the most part of the year; and this kind of usage they call *Bollinge*, and the herds and herdsmen *Bolleghe*.

Now this kind of *Bollinge*, or following their herds, breedeth enormities in the country. For if there be any malefactor, or outlaw, he can betake himself amongst these "*Bolleghe*," and so live and do mischief without suspicion or punishment. Besides, many stolen cattle are received by these herdsmen, and many mischiefs and murders are wrought by their connivance.

Their habit of wearing mantles, and long hair, which they call *glibbs*, they have also from the Scythians. Now this mantle is a garment which carrieth with it many inconveniences, for it is a cloak for a thief. Since they wear it over their heads and ears down to their feet, a wicked villain may go through a town unknown, and carry under it any offensive weapon to murder, and do mischief.

The *glibb*, or long bush of hair, serveth likewise a wicked doer, to cover his countenance when he does not wish to be known; and if he wants to make him more unlike himself than before, why he has only to cut it off and then he is not the man.

Another custom they have from the Scythians is to yell and give a terrible outcry at their coming and winning of a battle, standing upon the deceased body of some captain or soldier deceased, to breed the more terror unto their foes. This cry is called *Ferragh! Ferragh!* whereby they remember a former king or great man amongst them who fought and was victorious against the Picts, who was called Fergus or Feragus. Many other rites and customs they retain this day which they have from the Scythians, such as their short bows, and arrows with short and bearded heads, their broadswords, and their habit of going to battle without armour.

And furthermore, as the Scythians swore commonly by their swords, and by fire, as by two principal matters of vengeance and bloodshed, so do the Irish conjure, and charm their swords by making on the ground a cross with them, and thrusting the points into the ground before they go to battle, holding it a means of better success; likewise they swear

by their swords. Many such superstitious rites they yet observe, which argueth that they originally proceed from the Scythians.

They likewise have the fire and sun in great reverence. So have all northern people, who are much troubled with cold and darkness; and contrariwise the Moors and Egyptians, because the heat of the sun annoyeth them, they, when the sun riseth, curse and damn it as their notable scourge and plague.

Again, the Spaniards were in the habit of only wearing their beards on their upper lips, cutting off that which grows on the chin; and so did the Irish till a statute was made against it.

Among the Spaniards, the women have the trust of household affairs, and men of matters in the field. Many Spanish tricks are yet used among the Irish, such, for example, as the women ride on the wrong side of the horse.

Their bards come from the Gauls, and from the Ancient Briton, as Cæsar tells us, and are by no means given up amongst them to this day.

Their long darts come from the Gauls, also their wicker targets and long swords. The Gauls were wont to drink their enemy's blood, and paint themselves with it, and so the old Irish were wont to do.

The English that were in the beginning planted in those parts, are in their posterity much degenerated, and especially the two names of Geraldine and Butler, which have provided the state, notwithstanding, with many brave men, deputies there. Many of those who are come of the English are become so Irish that they have from private grudges against the English cast off their English names and become mere Irish, amongst whom it is said that the McMahons in the north were English descended of the Urslanes.

Also the McSwines in Ulster were of the Veres in England, who disguised their names in hatred of the English. Also the Lord Bretingham, who was one of the most ancient barons in England, is become the most savage Irishman. The great Mortimer, too, forgetting how great he was at one time in England, is now become the most barbarous of them all, and is called McNemara. Not much better than they is the old Lord de Courcy, who, having lewdly sold all the lands and seignuries he had in England, is now become Irish.

It hath been observed that the Irish lan-

guage being permitted to be used by the English, hath been no small question to draw them further into their manners, and the nursing of English children by Irish nurses doth breed a smack of the language, and even of the nature and disposition, as can hardly be acquired by any other means.

Also the marriages which the English have made with the Irish hath much influenced the English with their barbarous and filthy conditions. The using of the Irish apparel also is a means by which to continue the Irish customs, for according to the attire their mind is conformed; there are statutes to inhibit it, but not executed.

The Irish in their charge on horseback, charge with their staff held above, and not as the English on the thigh. They ride but on little pillions without stirrups, jumping suddenly on the horse and going fast away.

There is used among the Irish a sack of leather, and not only horsemen but infantry wear it. The men on foot are called *galloweglasses*. The sacks were wont to be worn only on the battlefield under shirts of mail, but now the use of them is abused, being worn in civil places, and in towns, which abuse is to be removed.

To speak something of the *galloweglasses* and *kernes*; they are of the most barbarous life and condition, for they oppress all men; they spoil as well the good subjects as the enemy; they steal, they are cruel and bloody, full of revenge and deadly executions, swearers and blasphemers, ravishers of women, and murderers of children.

They are valiant and hardy, great endurers of cold, labour, and hunger, and all hardness, very active and strong of hand, very swift of foot, very vigilant and circumspect in their enterprises, very present in perils, and altogether scorn death,—and surely an Irishman maketh as brave a soldier as any nation whatsoever.

There are among the Irish a people called bards, who are somewhat akin to poets or rhymers, who in their music set forth the praises of the worst and the opprobrium of the best; they encourage the younger ones to haunt after wickedness, giving them that praise which should only be accorded to virtue.

The Irish *horseboys* should be done away with, though they now serve the English

soldiers somewhat in looking after their horses, since there are no inns or ostlers to attend to them. These boys, when they have been a little trained up in the usages of peace, become *kernes*, and are most apt and ready to cut the throats of the English.

There are also another kind of people called *carrowes*, who live only by resorting to gentlemen's houses, and accustom themselves to play at cards and dice, and draw others to their lewd and evil life. These also should be reformed; and like unto them are testers, who go from one gentleman's house to another, carrying news from place to place,—a very dangerous race of people in very truth, who should be cut off by a marshal.

The Irish have a custom of meeting and assembling together upon a Rath, or hell, to parley, as they say, of matters of controversy between township and township, and between one private person and another; under which colour sundry bad people resort to the place to confer of evil practices, and come armed, and if they come across any English in their way they murder them, and there is none to tell.

Then there are certain round hills and square places called *Bannes*, strongly trenched for the purpose; in times past they were called Talkemotes, or places to confer. The Talkemotes were made by the Saxons where they would defend themselves if attacked unawares, and some, too, were cast up as memorials or trophies of men slain in battle.

The landlords let their lands but from year to year, or at will; neither the tenant nor his lord will take it for more, because the lord always looketh for change, and thinketh to see a new world, and the tenant will not because he can leave it at any moment he likes and fall into any wicked enterprise. The lord when he has the tenant thus disposable at will, if he hath a mind can bind him to what evil course he may enjoin him, and the tenant, too, may run into any wicked action without fear of losing any great matter, having no further stake in his land; whereas, if the contrary were the case, and if they had longer terms, they would manure the same, and be loth to adventure their living.

Thirdly, on the subject of religion.

They are generally Papists, yet most ignorant, knowing no ground for what they profess,

but may be rather termed atheists and infidels; they think it quite sufficient if they can say their Ave Maria and Paternoster. The first that came into Ireland to convert the people from atheism or paganism, was Palladius, sent by Pope Celestus, and he died there; then came Patrick, a Briton, and taught them, by whom they were carried to their blind belief.

And the Protestant clergy are not in a manner what they should be, though the laxity of the present rules of the Church, owing to the troubles, does to a certain extent excuse them, and besides, this ignorance and negligence have created amongst them much havoc. There are in our clergy there all evils lurking, gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshly inconstancy, sloth, and generally disordered lives. The clergy in Ireland that do enjoy livings are in manner laymen, for they neither read the scripture, preach, nor minister the sacrament; nay, even, they christen after the popish manner, and they take all tithes and other fruits, and pay a share to the bishops.

The bishops of the Irish Church when a benefice falleth in, put one of their own servants or horseboys to take up the tithes, and become themselves rich, and purchase lands, and build fair castles, and cover the abuse saying they have not sufficient ministers to bestow them on. And of a truth there are next to no English ministers of any worth that will come over here, unless such as for bad behaviour have forsaken their country, and furthermore, the benefices are of such small profit that a man cannot live by them; besides the people are so dangerous, uncivil, and so untractable, that not even a stout and strong captain durst live amongst them.

And lastly, we must say a word about the governors who are sent over to rule the island in the name of the Queen.

The governors are not what they should be, too apt to wink at many things which they might reform; because since their time of office is so short, they will make no effort to quiet the state, least the next succeeding governor finding it in peace should obtain the praise. And so they think it sufficient if they can keep down the flame till they themselves be gone, that it may break out into open mischief when the other cometh.

In short, the governors always reverse the

order of their predecessors, studying to bring in innovations for their own glory, whereby the country is in a doubt which way to turn, and as a colt that knoweth not the hand of the rider, is aptest to turn head contrary. The course then that hath been taken heretofore, touching the reformation of this realm by these former governors, hath been to no purpose, but to make that worse which was bad before, and therefore not to be continued. The Irish should never be dealt with peaceably and gently, which will never reclaim them, but with a strong power to subdue them, for submit themselves to the English they will not, because they hate the English government.

To make new laws and statutes to tie them to a reformation is also bootless, for before they can be reformed they must learn how to embrace the good and eschew the evil. It will be to no purpose to seek to curb them with laws which they fear not to break, and therefore the sword must be the law to reform this people, for without cutting the evil out by a strong hand there will be no hope for their corrupt manners, which must be reformed by the severity of the prince's authority.

The remainder of this dissertation on Ireland is confined to the number of soldiers necessary for subduing the country to order, and the most favourable garrison towns. If Mr. Haynes lived now in our sister isle, it would be interesting to see what advice he would send Queen Victoria, for she is almost as hard pressed for means to govern Ireland as was ever Queen Bess.



Caxton's "Game of Chess."



IF any doubt as to the desirability of another reprint of Caxton's *Game and Playe of the Chesse** should arise in the censorious mind, it will be set at rest by the excellent introduction which Mr. Axon has prefixed to this edition. It is this which gives value to the book, for a mere reprint of the work

* Caxton's *Game and Playe of Chesse*, 1474, with an Introduction by William E. A. Axon. London: Elliot Stock. 1883.

might have been regarded as superfluous, seeing that the beautiful facsimile of the second impression, edited by Vincent Figgins, can still be obtained by the alert bookhunter, and that those peculiar people the phonotype fanciers have an edition printed by Mr. Pitman for their special benefit. Mr. Axon has followed the text of the first edition, a copy of which is preserved in the British Museum; but the variations and additions made in the second issue are recorded in footnotes. Reduced facsimiles of the woodcuts of the second issue have also been added, so that the reader has before him the whole of the work as left us by Caxton. The point which for a long time has made the "Game" interesting to bibliographers is the

dispute as to whether it can claim to be the first book printed in England by the father of English typography. This point was definitely settled by Mr. Blades in his exhaustive *Life of Caxton*, where he has brought conclusive proof to show that the book came from the press of Colard Mansion, of Bruges. The second issue is undoubtedly the

work of Caxton, though by no means an early one, Blades dating it as late as 1481. But if it has to give place in this respect to other books, it will always possess an interest for the lover of quaint literature. The way in which the old moralist has adapted the movements and combinations of a favourite amusement to "point a moral" is more than respectably clever, and many curious bits of worldly wisdom or startling deductions from innocent-looking premises will be found by those who diligently seek. In the thirteenth century moralities of all kinds were "in the air," and the tales popular

amongst the lower orders were seized upon and turned to account by the purveyors of religion. Hence that curious collection of stories the *Gesta Romanorum*. As men's every-day lives and duties were so utilised by the priest to enforce his precepts, it was hardly possible that their amusements should escape. Nor did they, for Jacques de Cessoles found texts for sundry sermons on the game of chess, which at that time formed a favourite diversion alike of clergy and laity. These sermons were afterwards written down and attained universal popularity. How that Cessoles was greatly indebted for his materials to Guido Colonna, how that the book held its own in the esteem of the public throughout the

middle ages, how it came to be translated into English and printed by Caxton, how it went through endless editions in many languages, is all most fully related by Mr. Axon in his introduction. That a work which contains so much that is alien to the best interests of any community should have been so unquestioningly accepted would be not a little sur-

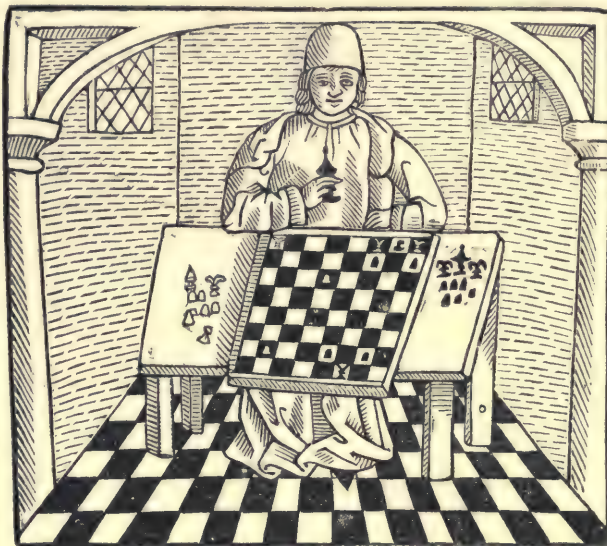


FIG. 1.—THE CHESS BOARD.

prising were the history of the middle ages less well known. In it the demarcations between class and class are sharply and crudely stated, and the "divine right" of kings is taken as a matter of course. There is no doubt in the author's mind as to the rightful position of king and baron, bishop and merchant. He has four references to Plato, but whether they are from the *Republic* or not we cannot ascertain from Mr. Axon's text. If they are, the old moralist, who quotes Cicero as well, must have felt pretty sure that few of his hearers would be likely to read the rest of the work. We think

Mr. Axon has made a mistake in not giving exact references to Cessoles' numerous quotations. He considers that the verification of them would not repay the labour it would involve; but he has evidently been at great pains to ascertain the names of authors where any doubt as to their identity existed, and has succeeded in clearing up some obscure allusions, such as that to Helmond. Why could he not have given us the result of his labours by adding the exact reference when found? and as this is a verbatim (not a facsimile) reprint, there could have been no objection to such references appearing as footnotes.

The chess-player pure and simple will find little of interest in the *Game and Playe*. The dogmatic assertions as to its origin will amuse him, and to endeavour to ascertain how it came to be attributed to the reign of the obscure Evilmerodach may perhaps form an interesting question. Should he care to inquire into the point, Van der Lindes' *Geschichte des Scheschspills* will give him a mass of information about the game. Beyond this there is nothing whatever to interest him except the few directions for playing on p. 159 *et seq.*, which show that the game was much more restricted and unscientific than is our modern development of it. A useful feature of the introduction is the giving of variants of some of the stories and the pointing out where several others may be found. Amongst them is the story of St. Bernard playing at dice for a soul. It is not a little curious that there is no trace in the *Game* of the legends about the devil playing chess with a man for his soul. A

good tale turning on this point is Walker's *Vincenzio the Venetian* (*Chess and Chess-players*, p. 291).



Public Rights in the Thames.

BY HUBERT HALL.

PART II.

TN order to show that the views expressed with regard to the origin of the king's control over the greater rivers—that is to say, the defence by which the latter were converted first into

royal fisheries, and afterwards preserved only for the benefit of the community—are not wholly imaginary, I will proceed to offer in support of them the following remarkable passages from the *Confirmation of the Laws of Edward the Confessor*, under the heading "De Pace Regis"*:—



FIG. 2.—THE LABOURER.

Pax Regis multiplex est . . . alia per breve suum data, alia quam habent quatuor

chimini . . . alia quam habent aque nominatorum et fluviorum quorum navigio de diversis locis victualia deferuntur civitatibus vel Burgis. . . .

Similiter quatuor chiminorum et majorum aquarum, de assistu et de opere, vero si fiat opus, destruantur et medietas emendacionis dabitur. . . .

Pax autem quatuor chiminorum est predictarum aquarum sub majore judicio continetur. . . . Si vero molendina, piscaria vel alia quelibet opera ejus impedimentum faciencia preparantur, opera ipsa protinus destruantur et chimini et aque ut fuerunt penitus reparentur et forisfactura Regis non obliviscatur. . . .

Chimini vero minores de Civitate ad Civitates quousque ducentes, de Burgis ad Burgos per quos

* *Leges regis Edwardi &c.*, Cott. MSS. Claud. D. II. (c. 16).

mercata vehuntur etc". negocia fuerint sub lege comitatus sunt si quisquam operis ad eorum perturbacionem erigitur solitenu deponetur . . . et secundum legem comitatus ejusdem . . . emendetur. . .

Similiter de aquis fiat minoribus . . . cum lege minorum chiminorum sunt.

It is interesting to compare with the above excerpts the dictum of Britton on this point.

Et si ad une autre manere de disseisine, sicut de pescherie. Car nul ne pora aver garenne en autri demeynes si noun par especiauté de fet; einz est la pescherie a li qui terre se joynt a la rivere de une part et del autre; et si for qe de une part, adounc est la pescherie sue jekes au fil del mi leu del ewe, si la pescherie ne soit commune. Et dounc si acun estraunge vodera destourber kiel a peschier en droit de soen soil en clamaunt fraunc tenement en la pescherie, il fet aperte disseisine au seigneur del soil sil est esté seisi de la pescherie.

Car sicut la rivere est a cely au meyns jekes al fil del mi leu del ewe, qui soil se joynt al ewe, hors pris commune rivere, que devise countez ou hundredz aussi est de devises de terre, hors pris commun chemin qe nul ne pora trestourner ne estrester, et autres devises semblables.*

It will be seen that the above-cited authorities not only confirm the previous argument, but even go beyond it in their emphatic assertion of popular rights depending on the prerogative of the Crown. We will now, therefore, proceed to examine the status of the city itself (on behalf of the community), as a grantee of the Crown in several ages.

The Conqueror's confirmatory charter to the citizens of London, assuring them of all their ancient customs, may be taken, in connection with certain passages in the coronation and civic charters of his son Henry, as showing a willingness on the part of the Crown to recognize the pre-existing claims of the city to special graces and immunities. These at first were only general, yet that room was left for the insertion of fresh privileges when the need for them should arise can scarcely admit of doubt.

The connection between the documents just mentioned and those of a later date and more specific character would almost alone prove this.

The ancient customs of the city confirmed in William I.'s charter are mentioned as being the laws of Edward the Confessor. The coronation charter of Henry I. restores to all his subjects those very laws. The privilege mentioned in the charter of the same king to

the citizens of London as having been "better and more fully" enjoyed by their ancestors, evidently relates to the same period,—this privilege being, it is worthy of note, the right of free course* in the counties of Middlesex, Surrey, and Wilts. Then, when we remember that it was this coronation charter of Henry I. that was taken by the barons of John as the model of their articles for redress of the grievances of the Church, the vassals, and the cities; and that the laws of Edward were for long regarded merely as the synonym for good government generally, it will be seen how close is the understood relation between the earlier franchise and the later, and how vain it is to seek to set a period to rights which have antiquity even as much as justice on their side!

But even had it been otherwise, the remaining and visible grants of later sovereigns would be sufficient to lay the whole question at rest.

The citizens had at least profited by the indefinite privileges confirmed to them by the Conqueror and his son. In the reign of Stephen, when they had most to suffer and most to fear, they had become, "as it were, nobles, by reason of the greatness of their city,"†—and took their old part in deciding between two contending claimants to the Crown. Under Henry II. no ground, at least, was lost, though but little progress can be reported. It is in the reign of John that we take up the link dropped in that of his grandfather. That the citizens had suffered deeply from such encroachments and interferences upon their river as have been sketched above is made very certain by the manner in which these grievances are alluded to.

In the "Articles of the Barons" the state of affairs is very clearly revealed, no less than three clauses being devoted to their redress. All weirs are evermore to be removed from out of Thames and Medway; and throughout the rest of England; the evil customs touching the rivers are to be amended by local juries; and the rivers which have been put "in defence" by John are to be made free.‡

* "Fugationes suas ad fugandum," corresponding to the "volare" of falconry, and sometimes comprised with it under the title "ripare."—Falconer's *Accounts*, E. Q. R., H. 3 and E. 1.

† *Hist. Nov.*, iii., 45.

‡ *Artic. Baron.*, 23, 39, 47.

* Britton, Liv. II., ch. xi., c. 15 and 22.

These three points, with another, reappear in Magna Charta in almost the same phrases, the words "and of their keepers" being added to the clause dealing with the evil customs of the rivers, by way of significant comment.* The further point is contained in the thirteenth clause, which gives to the city of London "all its ancient liberties and free customs, as well by land as by water." The city had now thrown in its lot with the reforming party, the price of its adhesion being the confirmation of those liberties which it could no longer brook should be tampered with by the caprice of the Crown. It had at length, perhaps, been forced into that position of communal independence—at times turbulence—which it assumed and abandoned earlier than the French capital; and we must, on the whole, allow the shrewd saying of Fitz-Osbert, that "whatever goes and comes, may the Londoners never have another king than the Mayor of London."

Nor is Magna Charta the first place where such wrongs are implied and redress granted. The city of London received a confirmation of its *communio* from Richard I., and this king had "granted and steadfastly commanded that all weirs be amoved wherever they shall be found within the Thames."† The same privileges which were solemnly ratified by Magna Charta had been already granted by letters patent early in the reign of John.

By one of these, in the first year of the reign, all former rights of the Londoners were confirmed to them "within the city and without, by land or water."‡ This confirmation was made in consideration of a yearly sum of £300—say £5,000 of our money. Another charter in the same year is still more explicit. The Crown,

for the common weal of our City of London and of all our realm, have granted and steadfastly commanded that all weirs which are within Thames or Medway be amoved, wheresoever they shall be within the Thames and Medway; and that no weirs from henceforth be put anywhere in the Thames or Medway. For it is sufficiently given us to understand (by Hubert of Canterbury and others), that very great detriment and discommodity hath grown to our said City of London, and also to our realm, by reason of these weirs.§

Could language be plainer than this? Yet as though to make his promise even more binding, the king disclaims any official connection with the evil practices complained of by renouncing the fees of the keeper of the Tower received from this source, and by imposing a fine of £10—say £160 of our money—for each future conviction. Another charter at the close of the same reign completes and confirms the jurisdiction of the city, it being even thought necessary to specially exempt the privileges of the king's chamberlainship from its operation.* All these preceding liberties and customs were frequently confirmed during succeeding reigns, often with significant details or comments, as where Henry III. confirms the free customs and liberties in force under Henry I., "whereas they had the same better and more fully;"† or where Edward III. concedes to the citizens the punishment "to us belonging" for erecting weirs.‡

There can be little doubt as to the extent or meaning of the privileges thus yielded to the city, so that the question only arises as to their subsequent validity, or, what is still more important, their expediency. But, though this latter count is here taken into consideration, we should not ignore the fact that proof of the bare legal status would amply suffice for the modern requirements of the case, since the production of a musty record will at any time justify the encroachments of a private landowner—at least in the eyes of his brother magistrates—against the clearest show of public convenience!

It is true that the highly favourable opinion of the rights of the citizens of London adopted in the great Charter of John was not fully maintained in subsequent reigns. Several important sentences and one whole clause were omitted in the confirmation by his son, and were never regained. Yet without these, abundant evidence remains of the nature of these grants in the charter as it was more than thirty times confirmed within the century, and as it stands at present in our Statute Book.§ What the intention of the Crown was with regard to this portion of it, is

* M. C., 33, 47, 48.

† Second Charter of Richard I. to City of London.

‡ Second Charter of John.

§ Third Charter.

* Charter 4.

† Hen. III., Charter 3.

‡ 1 Ed. III.

§ 9 Hen. III.

proved by the issue, four days later, of the writ of inquiry into the evil customs of the rivers promised therein, and by the fact that even in the subsequent period of reaction only rivers which had been placed "in defence" previous to the reign of Richard I. were in future included in the action of such writs, and of these we know that the Thames was certainly not one.*

Other charters, in still later times, solemnly annul all abrogations of previous liberties made under weak or despotic sovereigns. In this way Henry VI., for instance, had made a sweeping revocation of all grants of special liberties from the beginning of the reign, to help towards paying off a debt equivalent to about three and a half millions.

It was not until much later that the evil was unconsciously wrought the effects of which are now for the first time being felt. Through the very amplitude of the grants made by the Tudor and Stuart kings for the benefit of the commerce of the city, the earlier question of riparian encroachments, which had once been paramount, was lost sight of. The truth of this remark cannot be better proved than by referring to the nature of the claims raised by the triumphant riparian owner of to-day,—claims which in one or two respects fairly baffle his undaunted opponents. He ignores the earlier position, that in which not only was the "defence" of the river removed for the public good, but the separate enjoyment of riparian proprietors forbidden under the heaviest penalties. But unfortunately this constitutional position was lost sight of in the more important interests which supervened, and the riparian has profited accordingly. In his view of the question, the Thames is only a navigable river for the benefit of shipping. Moreover, it is only a navigable river so far as the tide flows or reflows; but, above all, it is only a common river up to the "City stone" of Staines.

Now, in reality, it matters not in the eyes of the law, as interpreted by the constitution, what may be the circumstances which tend to limit the enjoyment of a river once declared to be *publici juris*.

It may be bounded throughout its course

* Issued 19th June. The writ was known as "*De defensione riparie*." See 9 Hen. III. c. 16.

by the land of private owners. The tide may flow or reflow partially or not at all. It is not even a logical sequence that it shall be navigable. Upon such a river and throughout its whole extent the public only has unlimited enjoyment, and any encroachment upon or permanent interference with such constitutes a purpresture—as it was once generally called—punishable at law, and prosecuted "for the dignity of the Crown," except in such unfortunate cases as the cognizance thereof is entrusted to municipal bodies or their delegates.*

But, apart from this, the public has "yet another hold" on its persecutors. The venerable privileges confirmed by the Plantagenet kings were never really lost, though they dropped out of sight in the presence of more important competitors.

Take, for instance, a charter of James I. Herein we find recited the fact, which none dispute, that the king's beloved mayor, corporation, and citizens of London have, or ought to have, exercised the office of conservators of Thames from time immemorial; all of which jurisdiction is to be exercised from the bridge of Staynes, eastward, to "Yen-land."† Then follows a confirmation of all the old customs and liberties ever granted by former kings, "as they, or any of their predecessors, in any time of our progenitors, used or enjoyed, or ought to use or enjoy, the same." But why the bridge of Staines? Probably because this was the highest point up to which the strings of barges and lighters would care to ascend (which was the reason of the mention of this spot as the limit to the lucrative conservancy of the city).‡ Because beyond it lay the sacred precincts of Windsor; and because this same place had, ages ago, been a rallying-point for the royal prerogative, and the private encroachments that depended on it, by virtue of a tract of royal forest and warren which had been solemnly disafforested for the benefit of the city as far back as the reign of Henry III. §

Now what is to be thought of the candour or of the learning of those who have sought thus to steal a march upon a public very ignorant of

* *Mirror*; Hale-Britton, ii., 11.

† 6 Jac. I.

‡ 12 Jac. I.

§ 2 Hen. III.

its own laws, and still more of its constitution, and of this public, upon the poorest and most retiring portion?

Such a quibble is rather worthy of the Stuart king, who, as Duke of Cornwall, leased to one subject the fishery which another held as a grant from the Crown; and then, later on, when the rivals had ruined one another, proceeded against the pair—the one for breaking the king's peace, the other for being in arrears with the duke's rent!*

The interest of the public in the Thames is not yet wholly dependent on the commercial advantages which it affords, though, if private rights are countenanced in one portion of the river, even these may be menaced, for the example of interested "right" is very contagious—especially when supported by such proof as that adduced by Fielding's clerical Jacobite. The real question, then, to be asked is—Whether the public shall be deprived of the natural enjoyments that were yielded to them by common consent, and confirmed and assured to them in the most sacred manner by the Crown? Or, rather, whether for purposes of health-giving recreation, as well as of money-making conservancy, or for each, or for both, the river Thames is not "necessary, commodious, and profitable to the said city of London; and without the said river, the said city would not long subsist, flourish, and continue"?

P.S.—Since writing the above, I have been fortunate in making a discovery of more immediate interest. In all the works which serve as authorities on the law of fishery, it is distinctly laid down that the doubtful position of the Thames as a public river is mainly owing to the fact that no case affecting the respective rights of riparians and the public has ever come on for trial. I am now, however, able, from personal knowledge, to give a positive contradiction to this statement. A case of this nature, in which the most important issues were raised, was actually heard and tried, both in chancery and before a jury. It would be premature to pursue the subject further; but, at least, those who have hitherto relied upon the absence of such a precedent should cease to congratulate themselves upon that circumstance in the future.

* E. K. R., Decree Book, 22 Jac. I.—Car. i., 6, fo. 128.

The Book of Howth.

By J. H. ROUND.

PART III.



NOW come to that portion of the narrative which, though conspicuously absent from the *Expugnatio*, and from Bray's English version, is interpolated in *The Book of Howth*, and also, it would seem, in the Trinity College MS. F. 4.4. The writer of the latter implies (p. 117) that the things which Giraldus had omitted "for displeasure" he has supplied from O'Neil's book; and as he tells us elsewhere (p. 91) that the things omitted for displeasure were the great deeds of John de Courcy, it was of *these* that O'Neil's book must have treated.*

We are told in Hardy's *Catalogue of Materials*, on the information of Mr. W. M. Hennessy, that, in F. 4.4, "some supplementary matter is added, at the end of which (p. 100) a memorandum" is inserted. I here append this memorandum by the side of that in *The Book of Howth*.

BOOK OF HOWTH.

This much Cameransse left out in his book aforesaid with other things, more for displeasure than any truth to tell, the cause afore doth testifie. God forgive them all. This much that in this book more than Camerans did write of was translated by the Primate Dowdall in the year of our Lord 1551 out of a Latin book into English, which was found with O'Neil in Armaghe.

TRINITY COLLEGE

MS. F. 4.4.

This much Camerans left out of his book . . . with other things more for displeasure than any truth to tell, the cause before do testifie, God forgive them all. This much that is in this book more than Camerans did writ of was translated by the Primate Dowdall in the yere of o' Lord God 1551 out of a Latin book into English, which was found with O'Neil in Armaghe.

This interpolated portion is quite distinct, though sandwiched, as it were, between slices of Giraldus.† It begins on p. 81 with "the order of Sir John's battle," and its sections

* It would seem that this Trinity College MS. should be carefully collated with *The Book of Howth*, that it may be ascertained whether one of them is copied from the other, or whether they have a common original in some other MS.

† I may at this point observe that we need not attach much weight to the changes of handwriting in the book. The hands are admittedly of the same date, and were presumably employed by the Lord of Howth.

will be found on pp. 81-89, 91-94, 105-108, 111-115, 116-117. These portions are clearly assigned by the writer not to any "chronicle of the gestes of John de Courcy," but to the Latin chronicle translated by Dowdall. They are devoted to the legendary deeds of De Courcy and his "brother-in-law Sir Amore Tristram," and contain a great deal of atrocious nonsense, which still figures in the "Peerages" as sober history. That legends of De Courcy should have lingered in Tyr-owen is but what we might expect; for in his last struggle for the retention of Ulster—a struggle slurred over by the historians of Ireland—he appears to have allied himself with the then O'Neil, and to have been eventually "driven into Tyrone to seek the protection of the Kinel-Owen."* But our suspicions are aroused when we find, on inspection, that the exploits of De Courcy serve as a peg on which to hang the glories of "Sir Amore Tristram," the legendary patriarch of the house of Howth. The total omission of this warrior's name from the pages of the *Expugnatio* would amply account for the writer's ire against the unfortunate Giraldus. O'Donovan, who had made a special study of this period, dismissed the whole narrative as

A mere story, invented in the fifteenth or sixteenth century to flatter the vanity of the Howth family, whose ancestor Sir Armorie Tristram or St. Lawrence married De Courcy's sister, and followed his fortunes into Ireland (*Annals of the Four Masters*, i. 180).

But though in most cases an excellent authority, he is here mistaken both in assuming that their ancestor ever did so,† and in making this all a late invention. The Courcy legend itself can be traced much earlier, and was, I believe, of old monastic origin. Such legends were often appended to religious benefactors, and not in every case to flatter family pride. This panegyrist, for instance, makes no allusion to the Courcies of Kingsale, whose fictitious descent from the conqueror of Ulster had not yet entered into the mind of man. Such a passage as that on p. 112,—

Sir John, being in the Tower, cried often to God why He suffered him to be thus miserably used, that

* *Annals of the Four Masters*, 1204 (Ed. O'Donovan).

† There are three records in which the name of this Amaury is brought in contact with that of John. Of this, the meagre and only proof of their connection, I hope to treat elsewhere,

so many good abbeys did build and good deeds did to God,*

betrays the author's hand, while the inevitable vision (p. 115) is unmistakably original.

"How so?" said Sir John. "I shall tell thee," said the vision, "The Trinity Blessed in Doune before thy coming into Ireland, and thou hast dedicated that church now to St. Patricke; therefore God is offended with thee, and His pleasure is that thou shalt never into that country that thou hast so much pleasure in, that hath pulled down the master and put up the servant."†

But though the writer has here a slight grievance against the conqueror of Ulster, he reserves his denunciations for his triumphant persecutors, the chiefs of the house of Lacy.

So far the legend was of respectable antiquity, though perhaps hardly traceable to the monk Jocelin.‡ But on to it was grafted, how or when I do not profess to tell, the Howth family legend. On a traditional connection between John and Amaury this wild connection was built up by some ingenious romancer who possessed local knowledge and some acquaintance with Giraldus. Among De Courcy's battles enumerated in the *Expugnatio* is one (the fifth) "apud pontem Iuori in reditu ab Angliâ." This admittedly refers to Newry Bridge, and is identified by O'Donovan with the fight of Glen Righe in the *Annals* (1178), the Righe being the same as the Newry. But on the north side of the hill of Howth, and opposite St. Nessan's Isle, is the mouth of a stream known as the Evora. By a bold flight of fancy, our romancer made John land first at Howth (he is known to have landed at Wexford), accom-

* Compare this with the description in the *Annals of the Four Masters*—"John de Courcy the plunderer of churches." But then this was the opinion of the evicted Irish, while the English monks who replaced them could only admire his beneficence.

† This alludes to John having changed the invocation of Down (now Downpatrick) Abbey, in 1183, from the Holy Trinity to St. Patrick (of whom he was a great admirer). But of course his real offence lay in turning out the canons regular and replacing them by Benedictine monks from St. Werburgh, Chester. We may safely assume that the writer was at any rate not a Benedictine.

‡ Hanmer (though probably on no independent authority) states that "the certainty of his exploits hath been preserved, and in Latine committed to paper by a Fryer in the North, the which book O'Neil brought to Armagh, and was translated into English by Dowdall, Primate there, 1551."

panied by his supposed "brother-in-law," who (John being apparently detained on board by the effects of *mal-de-mer*) fought "a cruel battle beside a bridge as they landed" (even if he had landed there, there would have been no one to fight, that district having been subdued years before), and received as his reward the hill of Howth. All this has been duly handed down through Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*, D'Alton's *History of the County of Dublin* (1838), etc., and is annually reproduced under "Howth" in the pages of Sir Bernard Burke.* Sir "Amore" is recorded to have lost on this occasion "seven sons, uncles, and nephews,"—which reminds one, by the way, of a later hero of romance, with his "sisters, and his cousins, and his aunts."† And, wondrous to relate, there is "ocular proof" for this mythical encounter. D'Alton, in his *History*, records the discovery, some fifty years ago, of "striking reminiscences of that day's fight," in the form of armour and human bones, and adds that "the sword with which Sir Amore fought is still triumphantly exhibited among the relics at the castle of his descendants"!‡

It should be added that, to support the story of this fight, it was necessary to "doctor" the translation of Giraldus, that its evidence might corroborate the story. So the words "Quintum apud pontem Iuori," which in Bray's version are faithfully rendered "The 5th fight at Yuors bryge," became, in *The Book of Howth*, "The fyrst at the bridge of Howth." The editors have changed "fyrst" into "fifth," evidently supposing it to be a mere slip, but "Howth" they have passed unnoticed.

* It is strange that no one has ever detected the ingenious substitution of "Evora" for "Iuori," and the building of this legend thereon.

† Sir Amore also anticipated the modern Anthopagi, for when dangerously wounded, shortly afterwards, "he plucked some honey-suckles and wild roses to refresh and support him under his loss of blood."—Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*.

‡ *History of the County of Dublin* (1838), p. 132. Murray's *Handbook to Ireland* refers to this same "two-handed sword" as having been used by "Sir Armoricus" (who is said to have first landed in 1177) at the battle of Clontarf (in 1014)! Between D'Alton and Murray one is reminded of the exhibition of "the sword with which Balaam slew the ass," its *cicerone*, when reminded that Balaam had merely wished for a sword, retorting, "This, then, is the sword that Balaam wished for."

I cannot, as I have said, explain how or when this family legend became grafted on to the story of De Courcy. That it was of later origin is probable not only from negative evidence, but also from its being suggested by a passage in Giraldus, and from a compiler personally acquainted with Howth. I cannot but think it possible that it was concocted in that abbey where the warrior and the statesman to whom we owe this "Book" was himself at length laid to his rest.

That the romance was certainly not of his own invention is clear from internal evidence. It speaks in the language of the Trouveurs, and has at times a ring as of Chaucer. "Assuredly," it exclaims of one fight, "there was not Tristeram, Launsselot, nor Ectore that could do more." And this brings me to my last point, namely, whether "Sir Amore Tristram," the (Peerage) patriarch of the house of Howth, ever existed. Research reveals "Amauricus de Houethe" and "Amauricus de Sancto Laurentio," but of "Amore Tristram" there is no trace. *The Book of Howth* speaks of him in one place as "Sir Amore Tristerame, now called Saint Larans" (p. 91). Later writers, improving upon this, have assigned the change of name to a victory won by him on St. Laurence's day (!), but when or where is not clear.* There can of course be no doubt that the name is a local one, derived from St. Laurens, in the Caux, near Yvetot. The name of Tristram I believe to have been given by the romancer in order to impart a flavour of mediæval chivalry.† The Tristram of romance had slain the Irish champion.

E chacat ma nef en Irlant
Al pais me estoit arriver
Ke je deveie plus douter
Kar je avei occis le Morholt.

And Sir Amaury, by being made his namesake, might have the reflected glory of his

* Lodge (*Peerage of Ireland*) assigns it to the battle of Clontarf (fought 1014, i.e., 160 years before his time!). D'Alton identifies it with the above (fictitious) fight at the bridge of Howth, and adds that a feast was "held on the hill, until very recently, on St. Laurence's day, to commemorate this victory"!

† The story of "Sir Tristram" attained its great popularity in the thirteenth century, after being incorporated, like that of Lancelot, with the Arthurian romance.

exploits.* Lodge, indeed, does not hesitate to assert that

Sir Tristram was one of the knights of King Arthur's round table, and predecessor to Sir Amorey Tristram, who came into Ireland in the reign of Henry II.

And I am confirmed in this opinion by the traditional importance attached to this warrior's sword. For the mystical *cusis Tristrami* was famous in mediæval story. We read in *De la Flamma how*, in 1339, on opening the sepulchre of a king of the Lombards, a sword was found by his side; and on its deeply-gashed blade were inscribed the words, "Cel est l'espee de meser Tristant dunt il ocist l'Amoroyt de Irlant."

The ancient and historic house of Howth needs not the glamour of these foolish phantasies. They do but obscure the true evidences which prove that of all the conquering race none can claim a more unbroken descent from the days of that very conquest than the lords of that ancient and strange domain, Ben-na-dair or the hill of Howth.



Reviews.

Professor S. Bugge's Studies on Northern Mythology shortly examined. By Professor Dr. George Stephens (London: Williams & Norgate, 1883.) 8vo.



WE are not quite sure that Professor Stephens need have turned from his old-lore studies to have confuted Professor Bugge, but we welcome this, as we should do all other contributions from the study of this original thinker and writer. Professor Bugge has tried to prove that all the saga writings of Scandinavia are late variants of Christian doctrines grafted on to pagan scraps of legend. Professor Stephens has proved him wrong in ever so many ways, and with a graphic power and humour which we can recommend to our readers as well worthy of their attention. But beyond mere feats of criticism, we get some very valuable notes of fresh contributions to mythological lore from Professor Stephens's ever-rich storehouse, and for these we cannot but be too thankful; they are nuggets coming from a mine that is not frequently enough tapped, though, when we consider the Professor's great labours on old Northern Runic lore, we know that there is not much time and strength left for other subjects. The book contains some very quaint and

valuable illustrations from monumental remains in Denmark and England, as well as an exhaustive examination of the Gosforth cross in Cumberland. The illustrations include the inscribed part of a Runic cross at Brough in Westmoreland, cross fragment at Kirkby Stephen, Westmoreland, five illustrations of the Cædmonic devil, from a tenth century codex, the socket of a cross at Brigham, fragment of a cross over Brigham Vicarage, squared stone inscribed with reclining figure found in Jutland, five drawings of Gosforth Cross, Cumberland, seventh or eighth century stone cross at Dearham churchyard, Cumberland, St. Pierre tombstone, Monmouthshire, carving of a capital at Bocheville, Normandy, figure-block of granite in Leinè church in Jutland. It will be seen that here, as in all his works, Professor Stephens has spared no pains or labour, but some of us will tarn willingly enough to that instalment of old tales collected in the index to his edition of *Old Swedish Legendarium*, and of which he gives us a useful note.

Bramshill: its History and Architecture. By Sir William H. Cope, Bart. (London: H. J. Infield.) 4to, pp. viii., 132.

The stately houses of England are of interest on account of their own beauty, and also for the personal associations which cluster around them. Bramshill, in the parish of Eversley, in the extreme north of Hampshire, is one of the most interesting of these grand old houses. John Thorpe is reputed to have been the architect of the mansion, and there seems to be every reason to believe that the supposition is correct. At least, if Thorpe did not build it, there must have been another artist during the Jacobean period who was able to put into his work the same sentiment which pervades all the designs of the great architect. The general effect of the building is not unlike that of Hatfield, and there is the same breadth of treatment which is so distinguishing a feature of the more famous mansion. The different fronts are well shown in the photographs which illustrate this book. One of the terraces goes by the name of the *Troco Terrace*, which takes its designation from the game of *Troco*, which was formerly played upon it. This was not materially different from "Lawn Billiards," and the iron ring through which the balls were driven still remains. A few of the cues and balls with which it was played are still in existence. The park is equally charming as the house, and specially famed for its trees. Charles Kingsley wrote of "James I.'s gnarled oaks up in Bramshill Park, the only place in England where a painter can see what Scotch firs are." Many of these firs are round-headed as oaks or beeches, and at a distance present the same outline. Sir John Cope has given full particulars of the size of these trees. One of the curiosities of Bramshill is the chest to which the story of the *Mistletoe Bough* has been attributed, but without any foundation whatsoever, and another chest has now taken the place of the original one. Sir John Cope has added to his valuable account of the house an interesting Catalogue of the pictures, with anecdotes of his ancestors.

* *Peerage of Ireland*, "Howth."

Annals of Chepstow Castle, or Six Centuries of the Lords of Strigul from the Conquest to the Revolution. By JOHN FITCHETT MARSH, deceased. Edited by SIR JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A. (Privately printed by William Pollard, Exeter, 1883.) 4to, pp. xxxi., 287.

This is a thorough book on a very important subject. The late Mr. Marsh was a ripe scholar who contemplated the compilation of a history of the Castles of Monmouthshire, but he had scarcely completed the first, the *Annals of Chepstow Castle*, when he died in the summer of 1880. The work which he left has been well edited by Sir John Maclean, and the result is a handsome volume, which is a real accession to our historical library. Chepstow Castle is mentioned in Domesday as Estrighoiel, and in later documents as Strigul, but besides these two forms the varieties of spelling are almost endless; seventy-one forms are quoted in the introduction to this book. The Lords of the Castle, during the centuries of its existence, have been among the foremost men of their times, and the record of their deeds forms a brilliant chapter in the history of this country. William Fitzosbern, who was doubly related to the Conqueror in the degree of second cousin, one remove, and led the van at the battle of Hastings, built the Castle, but after various vicissitudes of the Fitzosbern family, it came into the possession of the Clare family. This again had to give way to the family of Marshal, who were succeeded by the famous Bigods. By a questionable transaction which we cannot further describe here, Edward I. acquired the inheritance of the Bigods, which he gave to his younger son Thomas Plantagenet, called from the place of his birth Thomas de Brotherton. We must pass the families of Manny, Hastings, Mowbray, Herbert, and Tudor, and pass on to the Somerset family, to which Chepstow Castle came through the marriage of the heiress of the Herberts with Charles Somerset, illegitimate but acknowledged son of Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, who was beheaded by the victorious Yorkists after the battle of Hexham in 1463, and in the possession of the Duke of Beaufort it still remains, the Commonwealth period forming the one gap in the continuity of the Somerset family as Lords of Chepstow. The grand old castle was used in the last century as a glass manufactory, but now it is an honoured ruin, and the ivy covers the remains of that which tells of the ignoble use it was once put to. Pedigrees of the various families are appended to this interesting history of a grand building. The form in which the book is issued is worthy of the importance of the subject.

The York Buildings Company: A Chapter in Scotch History read before the Institutes of Bankers and Chartered Accountants, Glasgow, 19th February, 1883. By DAVID MURRAY, M.A., F.S.A. Scot. (Glasgow: James Madehose & Sons, 1883.) 8vo., pp. 131.

In old pictures and engravings of the Thames near Charing Cross a curious wooden tower usually forms an important object in the view. This belonged to the York Buildings Water Company, and it stood on the site of Old York House, the palace for a time of

the Archbishops of York, the residence of lord chancellors, and of the profligate Duke of Buckingham. A portion of London was for many years supplied with water by means of this company, and it therefore occupies a place in the history of London, but it will be news to most of our readers that the doings of this trading company exercised an important influence upon Scottish history. Mr. Murray is the first to bring this out distinctly, and his little work is of great value accordingly.

The Company obtained a grant, in 1675, empowering them to erect a waterwork and water-house near the river of Thames upon part of the grounds of York House or York House garden, and to dig and lay ponds, pipes, and cisterns for the purpose of supplying the inhabitants of St. James's Fields and Piccadilly with water at reasonable rents. In 1690 the works were burnt down and re-erected, and in 1691 an Act was obtained by which the proprietors of the Waterworks were incorporated under the name of "The Governor and Company of Undertakers for raising the Thames water in York Buildings," with power to purchase and alien lands and hereditaments, and to use a Common Seal. All went pretty smoothly till 1719, when the Waterworks were advertised for sale. Between these two dates the first Jacobite rising had taken place, and there were forfeited estates to be purchased. Mr. Case Billingsley saw his opportunity and the value of the York Buildings Company's charter with power to purchase land, and, joining with some partners, he bought the whole property for £7,000, or a little over four years' purchase of the annual profits. The Duke of Chandos was chosen Governor of the new Company, and arrangements were at once made to open a subscription at Mercers' Hall for raising a joint stock and fund of £1,200,000 for purchasing forfeited and other estates in Great Britain, by a fund for granting annuities and for assuring lives. In the course of a few months the £10 shares were at £305! Purchases were made largely. We cannot follow in detail the ins and outs of these, but we recommend our readers to look for them in Mr. Murray's pages. After an existence of 150 years, the Company came to an end: in 1829 an Act was obtained for dissolving the Corporation, providing for the sale of its property, and the division of the proceeds among the stockholders of the Company. Mr. Murray writes:—"No name is more familiar to the Scotch lawyer than that of the York Buildings Company; and many a one, puzzled by its perpetual recurrence in the pages of text-books and reports, has asked, and often asked in vain, what this litigious company was, or what possible connection it could have with Scotland. To such a question I hope I have been in some degree able to supply an answer." We can only say that the answer is most satisfactory, and that in producing it the author has supplied a large amount of fresh and important information.

The Mythology of the Eddas: how far of True Teutonic Origin. By CHARLES FRANCIS KEARY, M.A., F.S.A. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1882.) 8vo, pp. 74.

Professor Bugge has found another opponent in

Mr. Keary, but then Mr. Keary is by no means so thorough-going an opponent as Professor Stephens. He recognises Professor Bugge's position as one of the foremost Eddaic scholars of Europe, and agrees with him in certain points. The conclusion which Mr. Keary arrives at is that antique Teuton beliefs lie at the bottom of these Eddaic myths, but that the details of the stories have in many instances been taken from Christian or classical myths. In treating his subject the author of this valuable paper deals first with the Myths of Death and of the other world, and then with the Eddaic World.

The Genealogist. Edited by GEORGE W. MARSHALL, LL.D., F.S.A. July, 1883. Vol. vii., No. 47. 8vo. London.

Dr. Marshall's important publication goes on and prospers, and the table of contents of the present number proves that the standard of the articles continues as high as ever. We may particularly mention Funeral Certificates, Extracts from Parish Registers, Monumental Inscriptions, Marriage Licences, and Calendar of Lambeth Administrations. Besides these there are notes on such burning questions as the Earldom of Mar and notices of books.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

METROPOLITAN.

Archæological Institute.—July 5.—Mr. T. H. Baylis in the chair.—Prof. B. Lewis read a paper "On the Gallo-Roman Antiquities of Reims." These are much less known than the mediæval monuments, but well deserve the attention of archæologists. The *Porta Martis* stands on the north side of the city, and holds the same position among the antiquities of Reims as the gates of Arroux and St. André do at Autun. It consists of three large arches separated by coupled columns, and the soffits contain elaborate designs, viz., the labours of the twelve months in the centre, Jupiter and Leda on the left, and the twins suckled by the she-wolf on the right. The last group seems to allude to the name of the city. The mosaic of the public promenades is particularly interesting, because it illustrates those passages in ancient authors which describe gladiatorial combats. It consists of thirty-five compartments, each containing a single figure. This tessellated pavement may be compared with the mosaics of Augsburg, Nennig, near Treves, and the Lateran Museum. The tomb of Jovinus, so called, is a sarcophagus deposited in the crypt at the *Archevêché*. The figures on the front represent, in high relief, a lion hunt. From the style of the execution one would be disposed to assign them to the age of the Antonines. The inscriptions relating to Reims present many points of contact with the history of our own country. For example, we find in them mention of Mars Camulus, who reminds us of Camulodunum, and Cantius, which looks like Cantium, Kent. One

of the coins of Durocortorum (Reims) is remarkable because it exhibits three conjugated heads on the obverse. M. Lorient says they symbolize three provinces: Belgica, Germania Inferior, and Germania Superior; but there can be little doubt that we have here the effigies of the Roman Triumvirate—Octavian, Mark Antony, and Lepidus.—Mr. P. Harrison adduced further evidence of the antiquity of the inscriptions found by him at Stonehenge.—Mr. W. M. F. Petrie read some notes on a collection of graffiti of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, from the Great Pyramid.—Mr. E. Wilmott exhibited a further collection of rubbings from the brasses in Cobham Church, which were commented on by Mr. Waller.—Mr. J. Nightingale exhibited a fine pre-Reformation chalice from Wylde Church, and a parcel-gilt tankard, used as a flagon, from Fugglestone Church, Wilts.—Mr. P. B. Brown sent a watch, by Daniel Quare, with a silver "cock," and other watches.

Index.—June 29.—*Annual Meeting.*—Mr. H. B. Wheatley, Director, in the chair in the unavoidable absence of the President.—The report of the Council gave an account of the system which had been followed by the Society in its operations,—indexes of single books leading up to indexes of subjects, and these forming portions of a general index of knowledge. The report was accompanied by a tabulation of the principal subjects dealt with by the Society, showing what work had been accomplished, what was being done, and for what work further assistance was required.—The Chairman, in moving the adoption of the report, drew special attention to the progress that had been made in indexing the *Gentleman's Magazine*.—A resolution was carried requesting the Council to communicate with the various literary and scientific societies, with a view to establishing a uniform method of indexing.—Mr. W. C. Borlase, M.P., was elected President for the ensuing year.

PROVINCIAL.

Surrey Archæological Society.—July 11th.—The places selected for the annual excursion were Tandridge, Barrow Green House, Oxted, and Godstone. The meeting was under the presidency of Mr. Granville Leveson-Gower, F.S.A.—The architectural features of Tandridge Church were explained by Mr. J. Oldred Scott, who said the earliest remains were Norman work of the north wall, a portion of the east wall, and the lower part of the west wall, which bore the date 1616. Several additions had been made, the effect of which had been to sweep away all the old features of the church. From the inventory made in the third year of Edward VI., he thought that, for a humble church, it was in a very good position.—Mr. J. Leveson-Gower, in thanking Mr. Scott, intimated that a tomb-stone to Lady Gilbert-Scott, in the churchyard, was worthy of inspection, as was also a large yew tree.—Major Heales read a paper "Notes on Tandridge Priory." He explained that there were only two or three of the priories in the kingdom where records of what occurred in their establishments were kept, although most of them kept a diary of great events that happened in the country. They had, therefore, to get such information as they possessed from the Bishop's registers, which

contained a deal of information about priors themselves, rights obtained, and inquisitions held whenever any land was given to the establishments. It being found that when the monastic institutions acquired land they seldom parted with it, an Act of Parliament was passed in the fourteenth century by which no land could be obtained by the monasteries except by the King's license, which was generally granted on payment of a handsome fee, and upon a previous inquisition being held that no harm or injury would be done to the King. In 1308 the monastery suffered very great poverty, the income being scarcely sufficient to maintain the establishment, while in the sixteenth century, about 1536, it was dissolved by the King's command and the authority of Parliament, and apparently the whole building was destroyed, and no records could be found to enable them to form any idea of the nature of the structure. The author was ready to admit that amongst the monks there were black sheep, but contended that the idea of the habitual jovial, free life was utterly wrong. There were no records to support that idea; the complaints which were brought against them, according to the Bishop's book, were of a trivial nature as regards the public, and chiefly affected their revenues and position. By the kind permission of Mr. C. H. Master, Barrow Green House, a fine Elizabethan structure, was next visited, the last time the Society inspected the same being in 1865. The chief feature of interest in the interior was a very handsome specimen of carving of the time of James I., when Sir Thomas Hoskins was the owner of the place. It was an oak mantelpiece, and contained, according to Mr. Percival, the figures of Charity and Faith, but according to another authority Charity and Temperance. Above were the royal arms of James I., and below the figures of a male and female Atlas. The panelling of the whole room was also in oak. After paying a short visit to the adjoining farmhouse, the company ascended a large mound or barrow, which it was thought might have been thrown up for the burial of some of the Anglo-Saxon lords. An excavation of soil to the depth of about three yards had been made.—Mr. G. Leveson-Gower said that from the result of the experiment and the nature of the soil, they might now rest satisfied that the hill was a natural and not an artificial one. Arriving at Oxted Church, Mr. G. Leveson-Gower read a paper on the subject of the structure in which they, by the kind permission of the rector, assembled. In his opening remarks he observed that they were assembled at what some persons looked upon with great aversion, a "restored church." After describing the original appearance of the church, and the result of the prior restoration in 1838, when several commemorative windows were added, the author remarked that it was recorded that Oxted Church and chancel was burnt by a great tempest of lightning in 1719. The five bells were melted, the present bells being hung and first rang a peal on the 5th November, 1729. The fifth bell had the inscription:—

"Good folks with one accord,
We call to hear God's Word,
We honour do the King,
(And) Joy to Brides do sing;
We triumphs loudly tell,
And ring your last farewell."

The spire also perished. The Domesday Survey says of Oxted, "There is a church." No trace of Norman work was found about the present building, and so probably the Saxon church stood (it might have been of wood) until the ubiquitous Early English builder. Referring to the numerous monuments (which were mostly in the chancel, and none of which had been removed during the restoration), the author remarked that they were principally to members of the Hoskins family, or to those allied with them by marriage. On one of the flat slabs was the curious inscription to Anne, twenty-five years wife of Charles Hoskins, in the favourite alliteration of the day—

"Lett this
Pattern of Piety,
Mapp of misery,
Mirroure of Patience,
Here rest."

There was a portrait of the same lady in the dining-room at Barrow Green. The registers dated from 1606 for burials, and 1613 for baptisms. Amongst the entries were 1611, 10th April, buried "Anthony, the blackamore." The communion plate included a large silver alms dish of foreign work, decidedly non-ecclesiastical. Outside the church were two very early crosses incised on sandstone. They were found at the depth of about seven feet. In his will John Hoskins gave the direction "to be buried without pomp in the churchyard of Oxted, in a grave something deeper than ordinary; and no stone nor inscription nor ornament to be put over it." Referring to the manor of Oxted, Mr. G. Leveson-Gower said that at the time of the Domesday Survey it was in possession of Eustace Count of Boulogne, one of the followers of William the Conqueror, and who was enriched by him with large estates. There were three manors within the manor, and from the rolls the customary tenants were bound to do suit, not to marry their daughters without consent, not to sell an ox, male calf, or colt without the lord's leave; they were bound to gather the lord's apples, mow his meadows, and pay a certain rent in chickens and eggs.—A dusty curiosity in one corner of the church—a chest with thirteen chambers, all acted upon by one key—was found and inspected by a few visitors. It was spanned by iron girths and padlocked, a miniature iron till being inside, the whole being formidable enough to laugh a burglar and his tactics to scorn.—Godstone was the next alighting place, and here a company of visitors inspected the St. Mary's Almshouses, erected in 1872 by Mrs. Hunt, in memory of her daughter, the chapel particularly eliciting much admiration. A paper in the church, which is dedicated to St. Nicholas, was read by the hon. secretary, Mr. Thos. Milbourn (who acted with his usual ability as cicerone, and was well assisted by Mr. Ivatts). He described the ancient style of the church, which in 1872-73 was enlarged and restored, after plans by Sir G. Scott, and there was now very little of the old work remaining.—His remarks were supplemented by the rector, Rev. S. Hoare, who said that the only part of the church which was really original was the tower. At the north of the chancel was a memorial chapel, erected by Sir George Barclay to his wife (Barbara St. Clair), whose mortal remains were brought from Australia in 1859.

The Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society.—July 16th.—The members met for the purpose of paying a visit to that ancient residence known as "Kersal Cell," near Higher Broughton. The building, it is believed, was founded in 1153 or 1156. During the evening a paper was read by Mr. J. E. Bailey, F.S.A., on the ecclesiastical history of the Cell.

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.—July 25th.—Dr. Bruce in the chair.—It was reported that alterations had been made in the plans for the conversion of the old Black Gate into a museum, and that the deed between the Corporation and the Society as to the tenancy of the building was lying on the table for signature. The Society, it was further stated, could have occupation of the building by the 1st of August.—It was unanimously agreed to accept the tenders for the work and to sign the deed for the occupation of the building.—Mr. W. A. Hoyle read a short paper on an ancient canoe which was found in the Tyne after a heavy flood on the 18th of March, 1881. The canoe, which had been brought to the Castle, was now in a hard and dry condition. It was agreed to leave it in the building for inspection and for future discussion.

Yorkshire Geological and Polytechnic Society.—July 21st.—An excursion was made to Patrington, Easington, Kilnsea, and Spurn Point, and to Hornsea, Skipsea, and Ulrome, all in the district of Holderness. Kilnsea is a small village at the commencement of the narrow ridge of sand constituting Spurn Point. Two examples of the old Danish refuse heaps or kitchen middens were visited, the first on the coast washed by the German Ocean, the second about 200 yards up the Humber, beyond the point where the road reaches the village. The early inhabitants appear to have selected or constructed a hollow in the glacial clays, about nine or ten feet broad, perhaps 60ft. in length, and four or five feet deep in the centre, with sloping sides. In this hollow they deposited the refuse from cooking and other matters. The situation of the midden is usually indicated by a layer of oyster shells. The loamy soil above these is soft and comparatively loose, frequently a dark brownish black colour. It contains broken bones of the cow and sheep, and to a less extent of some other animals: of birds, etc., which served for food. Broken pottery of a coarse material and only partially burnt, thin Roman-like bricks and pieces of glass, and more rarely flint, bone, iron, and bronze implements, are discovered. The whole is covered by a greater or less thickness of soil.—The party then proceeded to Hornsea, a summer resort of the people of Hull. It is situated on the coast, and the country in its neighbourhood is constituted of the stiff glacial clays and gravels characteristic of the whole of Holderness from the chalk of Bridlington to the Humber. The country is slightly undulating, little rounded hills of gravel rising from an unbroken level of small valleys. The lower parts of the country were, until comparatively recent times, covered by inland lakes, connected with one another, and ramifying in every direction. An example of the old fresh-water lake still remains in Hornsea Mere, about half a mile from the shore, and from the point of view indicated it is peculiarly interesting. It is about a mile in length,

and its deeper parts are below the level of the sea.

—Having inspected the lake, the members were driven to Skipsea, where they were met by Mr. Thomas Boynton. Proceeding to the shore at Skipsea, Mr. Boynton pointed out the site of one of the ancient lakes already mentioned. It originally extended far out to sea, and was of such extent and importance that Harold, the lord of the manor, granted a tithe of the fish to Robert de Chester in 1288. At present it is reposed in the cliff section, occupying a hollow in the surrounding glacial till or clay. Its principal characteristic consists in the thick beds of peat, which occupy and fill up the hollow. Proceeding from the coast past the church—which possesses a beautiful little porch erected in the reign of Queen Anne—the earthworks of Skipsea Whittow were visited. These are very extensive and perfect, and, without doubt, afforded means of defence and protection to its inhabitants and those of the surrounding district. An interesting description of the site and its historical associations was given by the director. Mr. Boynton next conducted the members along the side of the Skipsea and Barmston Drain to Ulrome. It is at Ulrome that the pile dwelling discovered and excavated by Mr. Boynton is situated. Whilst deepening the drain three years ago, a number of bone tools and rotten timbers were discovered, which had evidently been worked and used by some former inhabitants of the country. They were, in some instances, sharpened at one end in a rough and rude manner, and appeared to have been used as piles. Mr. Boynton's curiosity was excited, and he commenced an excavation on the east bank of the drain in the first instance, and afterwards on the opposite side. A rectangular surface is now exposed about twenty yards by thirty, and the whole of this is covered by trunks of trees laid horizontally, and fastened and held in position by pointed piles driven into the ground on each side or at the ends. The general construction, as explained by Mr. Boynton, is as follows:—The structure was erected on the edge of a lake, with rising ground eastwards and westwards. The bed of the lake was composed of sandy gravel, above which about two feet of peat had been deposited. On this the builders placed their tree trunks, crossing each other horizontally, and for the most part without any definite arrangement. They were fastened in position by the pointed stakes, as already mentioned. The interstices were filled in with broken wood and twigs until a level surface was obtained. On the solid surface thus obtained there was placed an additional thickness of about eighteen inches of broken twigs and bark, and on this foundation, probably reaching a short height above the surface of the water, were erected the dwellings of the builders. Since the demolition of the buildings or dwellings there has accumulated about three feet of peat and peaty marl, and above this, forming the surface, there is more than a foot of warp and soil; so that the whole is about ten feet in depth from the surface of the ground to the bed of gravel at the base. During the excavation many interesting relics of the occupiers of the dwellings have been found, mostly consisting of stone and bone implements. Amongst the former are several rounded stones, used for pounding grain or other matters; pointed or sharpened stones pierced in the middle for the introduction of a handle, and used as

hammers. The bone implements are mostly of large size and rude form. The large leg bones of the cow, probably the humerus, broken off about eight inches from the joint, and a hole bored immediately below the joint for the insertion of a stick, formed an implement that would serve very well the purpose of a hoe for breaking up the land. The antlers of the red deer appear to have been used by these people as in other similar places, for digging purposes, and are frequently met with. Numerous nuts are found; pieces of pottery, probably of a Roman type, occur; a single bronze spear head has been found, and some examples of worked flints. Judging from the remains which have hitherto been discovered, it appears probable that the people who erected the dwellings on the borders of the lake did so for protection against the wild animals which existed in the country at that time and for long afterwards, rather than for defence against human foes. That they pursued agricultural pursuits is proved by the bone implements, which are admirably adapted for working in the light warpy soil on the higher ground bordering the lake. Mr. Boynton suggests that the lake dwellers, if alarmed, could easily retire to Skipsea Whitton, which was probably an entrenched and fortified place at the time the dwellings were erected, and that, under ordinary circumstances, the inhabitants were peaceable and industrious agriculturists.

Manchester Scientific Students.—July 28th. —The members visited Alderley Edge under the leadership of Mr. Theodore Sington. The isolated and abrupt hill forming the Edge is a great mass of the upper portion of the new red sandstone, technically known as the Keuper. Through the kindness of Mrs. Barber, they subsequently visited Kersal Cell, the ancient seat of the Byrom family. This building contains some fine and curiously-carved ancient mouldings and oak furniture, which were pointed out by Mr. Frederick Waite, who read a paper on the history of the place. The founder of Kersal Cell is believed to have been German, Earl of Chester, who died about 1153. It was connected with the Priory of Lenton, and its first occupants were monks of the Cluniac order, who were brought to England by William Earl of Warren, the son of William the Conqueror. The Cluniac branch of the Benedictines owned many of the richest abbeys in England, and all the cathedral priories with the exception of Carlisle. At the dissolution of the religious houses the lordship or cell of Kershawe passed to John Wood and Bawdewyn Willoughby, thence to the Siddalls and Cheethams, and finally to the Byroms, though not without some litigation.

Severn Valley Naturalists' Field Club.—July 23rd. —The second field meeting of this Society was held at High Ercall. The first mention of this place is in the poems of Lwarch Hên, or Lomarchus, a Welsh poet who was contemporary with the destruction of Uriconium. He says in relation to that event,

"With grief have I looked from the high-plac'd
City of Ercall upon the verdant vale of Fruer
For the desolation of my social friends."

The epithet "high-placed" sufficiently explains the meaning of the word "Ercall." The archæologist has then to take a long stride to the era of Domesday Book. The Rev. R. W. Eyton devotes no fewer than

fifty-one pages of his great work to the Norman and Early English records of this parish, with which, as he observes, some of the greatest names in our county history are associated. The Saxon and Domesday status of Ercall was similar to that of Wellington. In the words of the great Ordnance Survey it is described as follows:—"The Earl (Roger de Montgomery) himself holds Archalon. Earl Edwin (the Saxon) held it with five Berewicks. Here are VII. hides. In Domesne there are VI. ox teams, and XII. neat-herds. Here XXIX. villians and XIII. Boors have XV. teams. Here (or belonging here) two mills render—or pay—XII. measures of corn annually, and there is a fishery of—annually productive of—1,502 great eels and one league of wood. In King Edward's time the manor was worth £20 a year, and now—in 1086—it is worth the same. According to custom, when the Countess visits the manor, eighteen sums of 20d. each (octo decim oræ denarium) are brought to her." One of these mills was the mill of Bradford, afterwards held by the monks of Haughmond, and interesting as afterwards giving a name to a Hundred and a title to an Earldom, and the other that still standing below this place on the Roden. The eighteen sums presented to the Countess on her visits seem to correspond with the present townships of the parish, with the addition of Rodington, and the two members designated as lost by Mr. Eyton—Schirlow and Wilsitheland. The first of these lost members I take to be identical with the locality of the farm known to-day as Sherlowe. The Schirlow of the Norman survey was held in 1251 by the Abbot of Wombridge. It is described in the chartulary of that priory as "lying on the green way which leads towards Arcall." It adjoined Wilsitheland, which lay upon the river, near or opposite Rodenhurst, where the Priors of Wombridge had free fisheries of lucas (pike), bream, and other fishes at pleasure. Part of it was uncultivated in 1304, when William Lord of Ercalwe allowed the canons of Wombridge to improve their waste (vasta) at Schirlow. The identity of the modern Sherlowe with the Schirlow of Domesday is fairly established by the fact that it adjoined the other lost member, Wilsitheland. This last place, from its proximity to Rodenhurst, must have been south-west of Ercall, and its exact position is pointed out in several fields adjoining Sherlowe, and the river, in Mr. Steedman's occupation, and still known as the Weeselds, or, as they are called in the parish books, the Withlands. Twelve years after Domesday (1098) we find Hamo Peverill, a baron of the court of the great Norman earl of Shrewsbury, enfeoffed in Ercall, and his descendants so remained until 1271, when the homage of their knightly tenants, the De Erkalweles, was granted by the last recorded Peverill to Sir Richard Burnell, Archbishop of York, in exchange for his homage and service, and the annual rent of one chaplet of roses. After 1294 nothing more is heard of the Peverills. Their rights then became lost, or obsolete, and the tenants of the manor thenceforth held under the Burnells, who had become owners in capite. At the end of the thirteenth century William de Ercall, the vassal of Bishop Burnell, married Petronilla, the Bishop's niece, and in 1300 he and his wife gave a ninth of the sheaves of a carucate of land in Ercall to Brewood Nunnery. These ninths, the grant recites, the grantors were not

bound to pay to the Canons of Wombridge, to whom the great tithes of Erccall were given in the twenty-ninth year of Henry III.; also they gave to the same religious house a ninth of their hay near Tyne, except that of Wennemore meadow, and for security they assigned the Abbess a power of distress on Erccall Mill. The Erccallewes remain as tenants of the manor down to 1346, when, on the demise of William de Erccall, William de Caverswall took possession under a fine levied at York in 1334. He appears by a recital of Henry III.'s charter (by which the De Erccalls had a right to hold a market here on Mondays, and a fair on the eve of the feast of the Nativity of the B. V. M., and the day after) to have been cousin and heir of the last of that race. In 1391 Peter de Careswell enfeoffed Thomas Newport, parson of the Church of Eyton, in the manor of Erccall, retaining the life interest for his own and his wife's life, with remainder to Thomas Gech and his heirs. But in 1398 these Careswells surrendered their life interests to Thomas Gech, Isabel his wife, and Thomas their son, reserving a rent of £50 per annum, and receiving £200 in cash. This Thomas Gech was nephew of Thomas Newport, the parson of Eyton, and Thomas Newport, Esq., of High Erccall, who served as sheriff in 1403, was his son. Thus the Newports became Lords of Erccall. Their history in connection with Erccall was destined to be an eventful one. When the family attained knightly rank is uncertain. In the early part of Elizabeth's reign, the tithes of Erccall, which belonged up to her father's spoliation of the monasteries to Wombridge priory, were given to Sir Richard Newport, Knight. In 1643 Sir Richard Newport, Knight, was created Baron Newport of High Erccall by Charles I. This was the Newport who advanced a great loan of money and plate, amounting to £6,000 sterling, for the King's use to put the Artillery in order for the campaign which ended with the battle of Edgehill; but his name does not appear to "the Solemn Engagement and Resolution" of the Corbets, the Eytons, the Actons, the Cressetts, the Pigotts, the Sandfords, and others of the Shropshire gentry who "raised and maintained at their own charges forces for the defence of His Majestie, their country, and themselves." In Commonwealth days this gentleman compounded for his estates on their forfeiture by payment of £3,287 down and £170 per annum. In 1682 his son and successor, Francis, who was one of the prisoners taken by the Parliamentary forces at the siege of Oswestry, and had subsequently married a daughter of the now ducal house of Bedford, was raised a step in the peerage by the title of Viscount Newport of Bradford, and was appointed Comptroller and Treasurer of the Household to Charles II.; and in 1695 he was raised to the dignity of an earl, by the title of Earl of Bradford, by William of Orange, who conferred also upon him the same courtly offices which he had held under Charles II. This peerage became extinct in 1762 on the death of Earl Thomas, but in 1794 it was revived in the person of his nephew, Sir Henry Bridgman. The erection of the fine old house was begun in 1608 by Sir Francis Newport, Knight, on the foundations of or in addition to the ancient residence of the De Erccalls, of which the arches now standing in an isolated position in rear of the present building may be a portion. It was near here that in levelling a mound

Mr. Steedman's labourers came upon a quantity of coins, about 1,000 in number, and weighing no less than 12½ pounds. The greater part were of the reign of Charles I., some of Elizabeth, and a few of Philip and Mary. Cannon balls and musket bullets have been also found here. There is no mention of a church here in the Domesday Survey. The mother church of the parish, Mr. Eyton thinks, stood at Rodington. But within eight years the supremacy was given to Erccall, as in 1094 "the church of Archalou with all things pertaining thereto" was given by Earl Roger to Shrewsbury Abbey. That the first church here was not of Saxon origin is proven by the fact that it was dedicated to S. Edward the Confessor. Probably it was erected by the Norman earl. The church consists of a nave, with north and south aisles, chancel, and chancel aisle. The arcades are of great beauty, and typically illustrate the style of the period. The bases of the pillars are, however, evidently of greater age than the pillars themselves, and may have been portions of the original Norman structure. They resemble very closely the bases of the pillars at Buildwas. The curious and almost grotesque carvings on some of the capitals are very interesting objects, and of unusual occurrence in a thirteenth century church. In excavating the nave and aisles, the slab now near the memorial cross was uncovered. It bears an inscription somewhat similar to that on the tomb of Shakespeare, in Stratford Church, and records the interment of "John Hotchkiss, vicar, 1689," with the addition, "Let no man disturb these bones." In the earth beneath the workmen found a human skull of gigantic size, and perfectly white, as though it had been bleached by exposure to the air and weather, but no other bones. The monumental effigy of a Crusader was removed to its present position in the church in 1864. Several chapels in the parish owned Erccall as the mother church. These were Rodington and Waters Upton (both of which were separated in 1341), and Isombridge, Roden, Poynton, and Rowton. The four last named have long since been destroyed. A vestige, however, remains of Poynton Church. Its west end, with a fine thirteenth century window, is still visible as part of a farm building near to the former residence of the De Penintons, who held Peventon in the time of Henry III., by payment of an annual rent of a pair of gilt spurs. In this house is a finely wainscoted room, with a smaller room, similarly wainscoted with oak, opening out of it. Rowton Church as it now stands is a modern erection, and of the chapel of Sleaf (Sclepa) there is no record beyond the vaguest tradition. The remnant of the fine old half-timbered house of the Windsors at Walton was taken down a few years ago. The chimneys of the old structure were not unlike those at Plash.—Rev. A. T. Pelham read a paper on "Moreton Corbet." The history of Morton Corbet is full of interest to Shropshire people. It belonged to a great Saxon landowner at the time of the Conquest, and by the marriage of Sir Richard Corbet, of Wattlesborough, with Joanna Turet, the heiress of Bartholomew Turet, the great Saxon squire in question, it passed into the family of the Shropshire Corbets, and has remained in their possession ever since. The present Sir Vincent Corbet, Bart., of Acton Reynald, is the twenty-fourth in direct succession from Robert, the son of Hugh

Corbet, who came over from Normandy with William the Conqueror. It is thought that possibly an ancestor may have been standard-bearer to Rollo, and have derived his name from the raven, Rollo's emblem, which he carried. Whether this were so or no, Corbet gave his name to the Pays de Caux, a tract of country between Rouen and Havre, which had Candebec for its capital. If one happens to go up the Seine from Havre to Rouen, one is struck with the picturesque appearance of Candebec. This was the home of the Shropshire Corbets, and they were great people in those days. "The Corbet" (his Christian name seems to have been Hugh) had four sons, Hugh, Roger, Renand, and Robert. Hugh and Renand remained in France, while Roger and Robert went with their father to the battle of Hastings. Hugh was a knight and a benefactor to the Abbey of Bec. Renand was kindled with the enthusiasm of the age, and went off to Palestine in 1096, with his two sons, Robert and Guy. Robert held fifteen manors in Shropshire, under Earl Roger de Montgomery, chiefly lying about the Stiperstones and the Longmynd. His line expired with his son, Robert Corbet, Lord of Alcester, who left no issue. Robert Corbet, at Domesday, held under the Earl twenty manors in this county, including chiefly the parishes of Alberbury, Pontesbury, Westbury, Cardeston, and Worthen, including Bausley and Loton, still held by the Leightons, his descendants. His son William is stated to have made Wattlesborough his residence, and no doubt dwelt in that ancient castle. William had three sons—Thomas Corbet of Wattlesborough (the pilgrim), Robert of Caus, and Philip. As a rule, the Shropshire Corbets at this time had their hands quite full in keeping the border in these troublous times against the Welsh. Thomas, however, bitten with the enthusiasm of the age, and possibly with the love of travel also, left his lands in charge of his brother, Robert of Caus, and went off beyond the sea on pilgrimage to the Holy Land. No doubt he met his cousins there from St. Pol, and for some reason or other stayed away some four or five years. It is said that his brother, despairing of his return and of his having an heir, was celebrating his own wedding, when Thomas appeared with his palm, and revealed himself as the long-lost brother. Thomas, however, had not been to the Holy Land for nothing, and when the bridegroom would have surrendered the estates, he declined the offer, and desired only a small portion of the land, which he accordingly received. The descendants of Robert were barons of the realm, Lords Corbet of Caus. Thomas, the elder, contented himself with Wattlesborough. Thomas the pilgrim's son, Roger, was father of Sir Richard Corbet, who married Joanna Turet, the heiress of Moreton Corbet. The Wattlesborough Corbets seem shortly to have deserted that less genial spot, and to have made Moreton their chief residence. Robert Corbet, of Moreton Corbet, grandson of Sir Richard, was Sheriff in 1288, in the reign of Edward I. In 1419, in the reign of Henry V., Robert Corbet, of Moreton Corbet, fourth in descent from the said Robert, was Sheriff. He married Margaret, the daughter of Sir William Mallory. He was tenth in descent from Roger, son of Corbet, who came over with the Conqueror, and the present Sir Vincent is fourteenth in descent from him. In 1304,

Robert Corbet II., born December 25th, 1304, whose life was nearly co-extensive with the long reign of Edward III., purchased Shawbury from Giles de Erdington about 1359. Shawbury was the mother church of Moreton Corbet, and the chapel of Moreton was consecrated by Bishop Clinton, the founder of Buildwas Abbey, about 1140. Bishop Clinton, too, went off to the Crusades, and died fighting in the Holy Land. The Abbot and Convent of Haughmond appointed both to Shawbury and Moreton, which is uniformly styled a vicarage. In the Corbet aisle in Moreton Corbet Church there are two altar tombs, with recumbent figures, in good preservation. They commemorate (1) Sir Robert Corbet and Elizabeth his wife, and their eighteen children; some appear to have died in infancy, and some were blind. The other tomb commemorates Sir Richard Corbet, and Margaret his wife, formerly wife of Sir Thomas Wortley, of Wortley, in the county of York, and daughter of Sir John Saville, of Thornhill, in the county of York. The said Sir Richard died July 16th, 1566. Robert Corbet, son of Sir Andrew, must have been a remarkable man. He had been a great traveller in his early days, and he is said to have brought from Italy the designs for the splendid mansion the dilapidated remains of which are to be seen at Moreton Corbet. He did not live to finish the house, dying in 1783.

Bucks Architectural and Archæological Society.—The Annual Excursion.—July 19th.—The district selected was the neighbourhood of Beaconsfield, Bulstrode, and Gerrard's Cross, which is interesting from its association with Edmund Burke, the poet Waller, and William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, three of the many celebrities of whom the county of Bucks is so justly proud. Beaconsfield Church, which is built of flints, faced with stone, and of quaint architecture, was first entered, and attention naturally centred in the first instance on the burial-place of the great orator and statesman Burke, which is under the nave. A brass was placed in the pavement in 1862 by Edmund Haviland Burke, great-grand-nephew and representative of Edmund Burke, and other members of the family, "to mark the grave of the greatest of their name." The company next assembling near the chancel screen, the rector favoured them with a brief account of the church and town. He explained that the letters A and S are both modern importations in the name of Beaconsfield. The name had nothing to do with "Beacon," and the first two syllables were never so pronounced by the inhabitants. "An open space in the beech woods" was the true meaning of the designation. The rector further stated that when Burnham Abbey was founded in 1265 a nunnery was formed at this place, and on its site the old rectory (now unoccupied) was built. The church was probably erected for the accommodation of the inhabitants of houses which sprang up in the district after the nunnery was instituted; but there were no traces of this. The present church is modern, except for one pillar of the old church, which remains. Every brass is gone. The rector directed attention to a monument of the Bulstrode family (which is much time-worn), and also to an escritoire in the vestry which is constructed of the oak that formed Burke's family pew. The several mural tablets in

the church (including some in memory of members of the Du Pré family) were also investigated. In the churchyard the company visited Waller's tomb, on which is a large sarcophagus of white marble, having four urns, with a pyramid in the centre, and on it a Latin inscription which descants on Waller's poetic genius and private virtues. A visit was next paid to the old rectory, an Elizabethan building, which is now in a much dilapidated state, and, like many other uninhabited houses, said to be "haunted." In one of the rooms is a large closet, with a small aperture for ventilation, and in this gloomy space inmates who transgressed the rules of the ancient convent are said to have been imprisoned as a punishment. They next drove to the Gregories, the site of Burke's residence, which was burnt to the ground while the property of the late Mr. Du Pré, the fire leaving only the stables, which now form part of the premises of an adjoining farm. A dip in the soil marks the basement of the statesman's residence. Another drive brought the excursionists to the substantial old residence of Mr. C. G. Du Pré, in Wilton Park, and they then proceeded among the glorious old trees of the park on to Bulstrode, a seat of the Duke of Somerset. The pictures include works by Raphael, Carlo Dolci, Savory, and Vandyck, with a quaint pair representing St. Anthony at his devotions (by Stenwick), and among them are a number of fine portraits, including one of Charles X. of France, presented by his Majesty to the Duchess of Somerset. The next visit was paid to "The Encampment," on the outskirts of the park, which, after a journey over a number of wooded fields, was found to be an oval ridge of earth enclosing a large plateau of meadow land. Concerning this interesting relic, the Rev. B. Burgess read a paper:—"This oval entrenchment contains as much as twenty or twenty-one acres, and whenever it was made, it must have been a work of great labour, energetically done, for a fixed purpose. It reminds us of the earthworks at Cholesbury and Maidenbower, near Dunstable, and also of those of Whelpley Hill, Hawridge, and Desborough. It is on record that in January, 1010, the Danes left London and passed through Chiltern to Oxford, and if, as has been supposed, the fortification of Desborough was made by the Saxons in its present form to resist an attack by the invaders as they passed along the road below, the position of this camp at Bulstrode more than suggests that it had a like origin, situated in the high tableland, so near the way from London. Whether or not there may have been a stockaded British village on the same site it is impossible to say; but it must strike one as agreeing with the well-known description of Cæsar's suggested by the camp of Cassivelaunus, with its large number of men and cattle within the enclosure (in *De Bello Gallico*). The vallum appears to have crumbled away very much on the western side. The oaks, standing high in the air upon their arched roots, show that the ground was higher in their young days. There appear to have been six entrances. A portion of flint wall, apparently part of a gateway, remains at the northern entrance. The original name of the Bulstrode family was Shobbington, and this their chief seat was in the family for several ages before the arrival of the Normans. The Norman Conqueror, however, granted

the estate to one of his nobles; but the head of the Shobbingtons resolved rather to die upon the spot than part with his possessions. In this resolution he armed his servants and tenants, whose number was very considerable, upon which the Norman lord obtained of the King 1,000 of his regular troops to enable him to take possession of the estate by force. Whereupon Shobbington applied to his relations and friends to assist him, and the two ancient families of the Hampdens and Penns, illustrious in the annals not only of Bucks, but of England and America, took arms, together with their servants and tenants, and came to his relief. All the Shobbington party having assembled, they cast up entrenchments, and the Norman, with his forces, encamped before them. Now, whether it was that the Saxons wanted horses or not is uncertain, but the story goes that having managed a number of bulls, they mounted them, and, sallying out in the night, surprised the Normans in their camp, killed many of them, and put the rest to flight. The King, having intelligence of this, and not thinking it safe for him, while his power was yet new and unsettled, to drive a daring and obstinate people to despair, sent a herald to them to know what they would have, and promised Shobbington a safe conduct if he would come to Court, which Shobbington accordingly did, riding thither on a bull, accompanied by his seven sons. Being introduced into the royal presence, the King asked him why he dared to resist when the rest of the kingdom had submitted to his government. Shobbington answered that he and his ancestors had long enjoyed that estate, and that if he would permit him to keep it, he would become his subject and be faithful to him. The King therefore granted him the free enjoyment of his estate, upon which the family was from thence called Shobbington, *alias* Bulstrode. But in process of time the first name was discontinued, and that of Bulstrode only has remained to them. The manor of Bulstrode was in possession of the Abbey of Burnham, founded in 1265 by Richard Earl of Cornwall, King of the Romans. The Abbey had license to alienate it to William de Montacute, Earl of Sarum, who in 1338 gave it to the Abbey of Bisham, but after the Reformation the Bulstrodes were in full possession again. Their names, with those of their relatives the Whitelocks of Fawley Court, appear in the history of the times of Charles I., the Commonwealth, and Charles II. Sir James Whitelock, who married Elizabeth Bulstrode, was an eminent judge, and father of Lord Keeper Whitelock. Sir Richard Bulstrode, a learned lawyer and author, a brave soldier and good man, followed the fortunes of the Stuarts through good and evil report. When nearly eighty years of age he accompanied James II. to France, and died at the Court of St. Germain shortly after he had completed his 101st year. The manor was bought by the infamous Judge Jefferys of Sir Roger Hill, M.P. for Wendover. He was Chief Justice—a sad misnomer—of Chester. In the patent of his baronetcy, dated 1681, he is called Sir George Jefferys of Bulstrode. He built a mansion here in 1686 of reddish brick, 'blood-stained, as the people declared it to be in Jefferys' time.' This was burnt, it appears, and he then removed to the Grange at Chalfont St. Peter's. The property was sold by the son-in-law

of Lord Jefferys to the Earl of Portland, who had had the chief superintendence of the expedition which placed William III. on the throne. The King visited him at Bulstrode. Brasses of the Bulstrode family still exist in Upton Church, and in Hedgerley Church is a very curious palimpsest brass of Mrs. Margaret Bulstrode, who died in 1540. The marriage register contains the following entry:—"William, the son of Sir Thomas Stringer and the daughter of George Lord Jeffery, Baron of Wem, and Lord High Chancellor of England, married by my Lord Bishop of Rochester, Oct. 15th, 1587. Henry Paisley, rector." A drive through a narrow lane brought the company to the village of Hedgerley. Another drive carried the party to the church of Gerrard's Cross, which is of an architecture rarely to be met with in ecclesiastical edifices, being built on the model of the cathedral at Florence. A visit was at once paid to the parish church, a modern Gothic building, standing on a slight elevation. Mr. Liggins proceeded to give a short account of the fabric. Time did not permit the visit to the grave of Penn at Jordans, which had been intended; and a paper, which Mr. Robert Gibbs, of Aylesbury, had prepared, had to be taken as read. The altar-rails, brasses, and other features of the old church were, however, introduced in the new fabric. One of the brasses was in memory of Margaret, wife of Edward Bulstrode, who died in 1540, and in the removal it was found that the reverse side of this had been previously used for a memorial to an abbot of St. Edmundsbury, who died two centuries before. The brass exhibits the figure of a lady attired in a dress of the period of Henry VIII., together with her ten sons and three daughters. The pulpit rail and other woodwork were stated to have been taken from a church at Antigua, in the West Indies, where Mr. Liggins has an estate. The font is ancient, but nothing is known of its origin. Leaving Hedgerley, the party had another country drive of a few miles, which brought them to Hall Barn. Mr. and Mrs. Lawson received their visitors. Various relics of Edmund Burke and of the poet Waller—who built the older portion of the house—were laid on the table, and Mr. Lawson proceeded to address the company upon them. He promised to escort the company to "The Grotto," where Waller was supposed to have written many of his poems, and in which Milton occasionally sat. The larger rooms of the house, he said, were built by Sir Gore Ouseley for the reception of Queen Adelaide and the King. Several articles which formerly adorned it had passed into the possession of Mr. Du Pré, and his predecessors sold a portion of the estate to Edmund Burke. Mr. Lawson then directed attention to the relics on the table, including a letter to Burke from William Pitt; a few notes in Burke's own handwriting—rough notes for Parliamentary speeches, among them one relating to a speech about Warren Hastings as follows:—"Hastings worth nothing; he has left nobody else worth anything;" and a dagger which formed the subject of a memorable incident.



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

John o' Groat's House.—In the reign of James IV. of Scotland, Malcolm, Gavin, and John de Groat—supposed to have been brothers, and originally from Holland—arrived in Caithness from the south of Scotland, bringing with them a letter written in Latin by that Prince, recommending them to the countenance and protection of his loving subjects in the county of Caithness. They purchased or got possession of the lands of Warsc and Dungisbay, lying in the parish of Canisbay on the side of the Pentland Frith, and each of them obtained an equal share of the property they acquired. In process of time their families increased, and there came to be eight different proprietors of the name of Groat, who possessed these lands amongst them; but whether the three original settlers split their property among their children, or whether they purchased for them small possessions from one another, does not appear.

Those eight families having lived peaceably and comfortably in their small possessions for a number of years, established an annual meeting to celebrate the anniversary of the arrival of their ancestors on that coast. In the course of their festivity on one of these occasions, a question arose respecting the right of taking the door, and sitting at the head of the table, and suchlike points of precedence (each contending for the seniority and chieftainship of the clan), which increased to such a height, and would probably have proved fatal in its consequences to some, if not to all of them, had not John de Groat, who was proprietor of the ferry, interposed. He having acquired more knowledge of mankind by his constant intercourse with strangers passing the Pentland Firth, saw the danger of such disputes, and having had address enough to procure silence, he began with expatiating on the comfort and happiness they had hitherto enjoyed since their arrival in that remote corner, owing to the harmony which had subsisted among them. He assured them that as soon as they appeared to split and quarrel among themselves, their neighbours, who till then had treated them with respect, would fall upon them, take their property from them, and expel them from the county. He therefore conjured them, by the ties of blood and their mutual safety, to return quietly that night, and he pledged himself that he would satisfy them all with respect to precedence, and prevent the possibility of such disputes among them at their future meetings. They all acquiesced and departed in peace. In due time, John de Groat, to fulfil his engagement, built a room distinct by itself of an octagon shape, with eight doors and windows in it, and having placed in the middle a table of oak of the same shape, when the next anniversary meeting took place, he desired each of them to enter at his own door, and sit at the head of the table, he taking himself the seat that was left unoccupied. By this ingenious contrivance any dispute in regard to rank was prevented, as they all found themselves on a footing of equality, and their former harmony and good-humour were restored. The building was then named John o' Groat's House, and

though the house is totally gone, the place where it stood still retains the name, and deserves to be remembered as long as good intentions and good sense are estimable in a country.

The particulars above mentioned were communicated to John Sutherland, Esq., of Webster, above fifty years ago by his father, who was then advanced in life, and who had seen the letter written by James IV. in the possession of George Groat, of Warse. The remains of the oak table have been seen by many now living, who have inscribed their names on it.—*Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. viii., 167—169.

Sir Walter Rawleigh's Case.—Termino Michaelis, anno decimo sexto Jacobi regis in Banco Regis. Memorandum, This Term, Sir Walter Rawleigh Knight, who was attainted of treason, Term. Mich. primo Jac. at Winchester before Commissioners, and had been a prisoner in the Tower always afterward, until about three years last past, that he was permitted to go at large, and had a Commission for a voyage to Guiana, and after his return was remanded to the Tower, The Record of the Attainder being brought and certified into the Kings Bench; was by Hab. Corp. directed to the Lieutenant of the Tower, brought unto the Bar, where Yelverton the Kings Attorney shewed how by the Kings favour he had lived thus long, and had since done acts, for which injustice he ought not to be further spared, and the King had given command to pray Execution; wherefore he now prayed Execution of this Judgment for the King: And hereupon Sir W. R. being demanded what he could say, why the Court should not proceed and grant execution against him, answered, that he could not deny but that he was attainted of Treason as aforesaid, yet he supposed, having committed no other Acts since, the King would not cause Execution upon the former Judgment; And he conceived, that in regard the King had granted him so large a Commission for his Majesties and the Realms service, and thereby had given him authority to execute judicial Law and power over the lives of others, that it was a dispensation unto him for his former offences, and he ought not now to be called in question for them: But the Court replied unto him, that he being attainted of Treason, there could not be discharge thereof, but by the Kings express pardon; And no Treason could be pardoned but by express words mentioning it; And the King might use the Service of any of his Subjects in what employment he pleased, and it should not be any dispensation for former offences: And Yelverton Attorney told him, that he had since committed offences which were just causes of proceeding against him, but he being a prisoner attainted and dead in Law, there could not be any proceedings for these new offences, but to take execution upon the former Judgment, which he prayed might be done: Whereupon Montague Chief Justice used some words of Exhortation to the Prisoner, and then commanded that Execution should be done according to the first Judgment, not mentioning any of the offences, or former Judgment; And the Lieutenant of the Tower had the prisoner delivered into his custody, and the Sheriffs of Midd. had a writ given them in the Hall to receive him, and to do execution; which was done the day after Simon and Jude, in the great Court betwixt the Hall and Saint Peters Church.

—Second Part of *Croke's Reports*, edition 1683, pp. 495, 496.

British Canoe from the Tyne.—Mr. W. Aubone Hoyle, of Denton Hall, Newcastle, exhibited at the last meeting of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries a British canoe, which had been found in the Tyne a year or two ago, and read the following notes upon it:—"The heavy snowstorms of the winter of 1880-1 did not thaw until the middle of March, causing a very big flood in the Tyne. On the 18th March, 1881, the flood subsided, leaving about 12 inches of one end of the canoe sticking out above the sand, between high and low water-mark, about 50 yards above Scotswood Railway Bridge, on the south side of the Tyne, where a footpath passes by the river side. The tide was flowing at the time, and it was then too late that day to recover the canoe. Next day it was dug out of the sand; it was then jet black and as soft as a ripe cheese. The day following, by Dr. Bruce's advice, it was buried in an out-house in ashes. At the end of twelve months it was still damp, and was re-buried in sand; at the end of a second twelve months it was gradually uncovered, and a month ago was finally exposed to the air in its present condition. At the same time that it was found, a quantity of large trunks and roots of trees was also washed up on to the sand above and below the same place, which presented a similar appearance to the canoe—being black and soft. As that part of the river is used for landing salmon nets, the salmon fishermen removed most of the logs of wood, as they interfered with their fishing operations, but many of them are still lying by the edge of the river." The canoe is about nine feet in length and two feet in width, and has been cut out of one log, the marks of the tools being clearly visible on the inner sides. It is supposed to be of oak, but the wood is brown and stringy, so that it is impossible to say what kind of wood it is made of.

Original Deed Relating to Madeley Court, Shropshire.—Being concerned lately in making extracts from the Original Deeds and Records of Madeley Court Estate, Shropshire, which, with the fine old Manor House, formerly belonged to Wenlock Abbey, I came across the enclosed extract from the *MS. Book of the Prior of "Wenloc,"* of the early date of 1343, which may be sufficiently interesting to record in THE ANTIQUARY. It is being printed in an interesting account of Madeley Court, very shortly to be published, by Mr. John Randall, Madeley, Salop, with whose consent I forward it.

ORDINATIO VICARIÆ DE MADELEY COM: SALOP:
E LIBRO M.S. DE WENLOCK; P. 15.

Universis Sanctæ Matris Filiis ad quos presentes Literæ pervenerint Frater Guychardus Prior Monasterii Sanctæ Milburgæ de Wenloc Hereford: Dioc: Ordinis Cluniacensis, et ejusdem loci Conventus Salutem, in eo qui est vera Salus. Nouerit Universitas vestra quod cum parochialis Ecclesia de Madeley Prioris Diocesis: antedictæ, cum juriis et pertinentiis suis Universis Ecclesiæ Nostræ Conventuali et Monasterio nostro predicto Canonice sit unita et appropriata, concurrentibus hiis quæ de jure requiruntur in hac parte salvâ tamen portione congruâ proventuum et Redituum dictæ Ecclesiæ perpetuis Vicariis inibi Deo

servientibus. Nos hujusmodi portionem de incerto vagari nolentes, sed eam potius certis finibus et rebus dotare et linitare, prout de jure tenemur, Dilecto nobis in Christo Johanni de Brugge, perpetuo Vicario ejusdem Ecclesiæ et futuris Vicariis successoribus suis in eadem, pro congruâ portione assignamus integram Mansionem Rectoriæ cum totâ domo ab antiquo Rectoribus ejusdem assignatâ una cum omnibus minutis decimis totius parochiæ, obitis et Mortuariis Mortuis quorumcunque parochianorum ipsius Ecclesiæ, Vivis tamen Mortuariis nobis Priori et Conventui reservatis, una cum omnibus decimis Croftorum aratro cultorum et salvâ etiam quâdam annuâ pensione duorum Solidorum et sex denariorum precentori Ecclesiæ nostræ de Wenloc per dictum Vicarium solvend : annuatim, in quindena paschæ, pro minutis decimis de la Newtown, eidem precentori ab antiquo assignata : ad hæc etiam Ordinamus quod dictus Vicarius omnia onera ordinaria et extraordinaria dicte Ecclesiæ incumbentia et Successores sui Vicarii Ecclesiæ antedictæ supportabit et supportabunt in perpetuum ; quibuscunque decimis per Dominum Papam* seu clerum qualitercunque impositis et imponendis duntaxat exceptis. In quorum omnium Testimonium sigillum Nostrum commune parti hujus Indenturæ penes dictum Vicarium remanenti duximus apponendum : Idem Johannes Sigillum suum apposuit. Datum apud Wenloc in Capitulo nostro Decimo die Mensis Martii anno 1343.

"This is a true Copy formerly taken from the MS. Book of ye Abby (sic) of Wenloc by me, Geo : Plaxton, Rr. of Berwick, in *Elinel* (?) Come : Ebor."



Obituary.

James Crossley, F.S.A.—Mr. Crossley, president for thirty-five years of the Chetham Society, died 1st August, 1883, at his residence, Stocks House, Cheetham, at the age of eighty-three. In May last, whilst on a visit to London, he slipped on the platform of the Euston Station, and injured his arm. The accident necessitated confinement to his house, and about a fortnight ago symptoms of a serious illness appeared. He has been gradually sinking since, and he passed away quietly. The death of Mr. Crossley removes from our midst a man who has done much in the antiquarian world. He has been resident in Manchester sixty-seven years. He was a contributor when little more than a youth to the *Gentleman's Magazine* and *Blackwood's Magazine*, and later he was one of the chief supports of the *Retrospective Review*. In 1843, the Chetham Society was founded, at a meeting held in Mr. Crossley's house in Booth Street, Piccadilly, Dr. Edward Holme being elected the first president. On Dr. Holme's death in 1868, Mr. Crossley was appointed to the office, and he has held it since. Besides the works which he edited for

* "Dominum Papam." This was Clement VI. (Peter Roger, Archbishop of Rouen and a cardinal); elected 7th May, 1342, and crowned the 19th of the same month; died 6th December, 1352.—H. P.

the Society, he exercised a general directing control over its publications, and there is scarcely a volume out of the one hundred and ten already issued that is not enriched with notes from his pen, or to which he did not contribute valuable aid in the way of counsel. He was president also of the Spenser Society and the Record Society, and an active member of the Roxburgh Club, the Philobiblion Society, and the English Dialect Society. Besides being a great collector himself, he was always ready to give his services to any object of a bibliographical kind. He thus rendered valuable aid to the committee established for the formation of the Manchester Free Libraries, and since the death of Mr. Thomas Jones he has acted as honorary librarian at the Chetham Library.



Antiquarian News.

A writer in the *North Wales Chronicle* says:—"The following has been found on Rhiwfa Farm, Aber, near the other milestone. It was erected to commemorate the two emperors Lucius Septimius Severus and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. Date 211. A.D. IMPP. CAES. L SEP. SEVERUS P.P ET. M. AVRELIVS ANTONINVS A. CCXVI."

Several interesting discoveries have been made during the reparation of the parish church of Hodnet, Salop, which once belonged to the Abbot of Shrewsbury. The earliest rector of this parish of whom any record remains was "Master G. de Weston," parson of Hodeneth, "who was one of the witnesses to an agreement drawn up between Odo of Hodnet, son of Baldwyn, and the Abbot of Shrewsbury, with respect to the right of 'assart' (a clearing in a place covered with timber) in the wood of 'Wlfreton'" (Wollerton). A perfect Norman doorway supposed to be the "priest's doorway" has been found in the wall between the east end of the nave and the chancel. On removing the floor a fine piece of carved oak was brought to light, and a large number of skeletons were unearthed. The owner of one of these skulls seems to have met with the fate of Sisera, for a nail was found firmly embedded in it, which had apparently been driven through the top of the head into the brain. The workmen came upon several graves hewn out of the rock, containing skeletons of persons who had been buried without coffins. A large slab was also discovered bearing an inscription in memory of two members of the Arneway family, who died in 1661 and 1656 respectively. Dr. Arneway, one of the rectors of Hodnet, was ejected from his living during the Commonwealth, and went to Virginia, where he died. Bishop Heber was for more than fifteen years rector of this parish.

The work in connection with the restoration of Macclesfield Church has so far caused one or two interesting archaeological discoveries. The removal of the pews in the south aisle brought to light on the north side of the Savage Chapel shields, crests, and

quarters of the Savage family, which have been concealed since 1740; also a portion of a beautiful oak choir stall-end (which has had a revolving seat), and which had been doing duty, reversed, as a support to one of the pews. An old creed-table, face downwards, was also found doing duty as a pew flooring.

The parish church of St. Oswald, Sowerby, which has been closed for some months, while the work of restoration was being carried on, has been reopened. The earliest church at Sowerby of which any part remains appears to have been built about the year 1140, and is consequently in the Norman style. Of this church the nave alone remains, and this is so altered that but for the fine old doorway, few would, on a casual view, imagine there was any old work in it. A more close inspection, however, would show the Norman mouldings along each side of the nave, and much of the walling is also of the same date. The lower part of the tower appears to have been added in the seventeenth century, while all the rest of the church is very poor work of some forty years ago, built in what was then considered a fair imitation of the Norman style, but completely wanting in its massiveness and other characteristic features. The church as then altered and enlarged is cruciform in plan, with an octagonal form.

A member of the Ephorate of the celebrated Armenian monastery at Ersindjian, in Asiatic Turkey, recently sold to a French archæologist who was travelling in those parts several interesting relics of ancient Armenian art belonging to the church of the place in question. The relics consist of four pictures of saints artistically worked upon velvet, and are many centuries old. The traveller at first bought two of these objects, and sent them to Europe. He was afterwards requested to purchase any other he could find, and succeeded in securing the remaining pair. It had been the custom to display these four pictures at certain festivals of the Church, and it was not long before their absence was remarked. On being called to account, the Armenian who had disposed of them confessed that he had sold the precious relics for 11 fr. It was believed that they had only been sent to Smyrna, and the Armenian Archbishop, Melchisedek, of that city, was requested, if possible, to recover them. The purchaser, however, who was in Smyrna, declared that he had sent them to Europe, and that it would be necessary to apply to the present possessor. The Armenian papers, in reporting the case, state that the relics are worth a thousand times as much as the Frenchman gave for them. The property of Karabet Kurdian, the native who unlawfully disposed of the pictures, is to be confiscated; but little hope is entertained that they will ever again reach the hands of their rightful owners at Ersindjian.

The *Builder* says that in the Capitol at Rome two Gothic rooms, containing fine frescoes of the Umbrian school towards the end of the fifteenth century, have been discovered. An inscription indicates the painter to have been "Pietro Spagnolo di Micceliello," probably the father of Giovanni Spagna, whom Vasari mentions as a pupil of Perugino, and as envied even by Raphael.

Professor Max Müller, writing to the *Times* with respect to the announcement of the death of Iwakura Tomoni, one of the Ministers of the Emperor of Japan, says:—"The late Minister took an active interest in the search after Sanskrit MSS. in Japan. I had a letter from him, dated Tokio, March 28th, in which he informed me that he had at last succeeded in getting an accurate photograph executed of the ancient palm-leaf, which has been kept as a sacred relic in the temple of Horiuzi since 500 A.D., and is, therefore, the most ancient Sanskrit MS. now in existence. This photograph has actually arrived, and I hope soon to publish an autotype copy of it. The Minister promised to do all in his power to get information as to similar treasures that might be hidden in the temples and monasteries of Japan, little imagining that but a few weeks after his useful career would be cut short by death. Iwakura Tomoni visited England some ten years ago as chief Ambassador of the Mikado, and one of his sons was educated at Oxford."

Much correspondence has been going on in the newspapers respecting the so-called "Shapira Manuscripts." They consist of pieces of skin containing portions of the Book of Deuteronomy and the Commandments, in Phœnician characters, which have been recovered from a Bedouin tribe located on the eastern side of the Jordan. The period to which the writing is to be referred is identical with that of the Moabite Stone—that is about 800 B.C. The documents are in slips, the skin being dark and discoloured, and the writing requiring to be brought out with spirits of wine. They have been examined by Mr. Bond, the principal librarian of the British Museum; Dr. Ginsberg; Mr. Aldis Wright, of Cambridge; Dr. Horning, of the Manuscript Department of the British Museum; Dr. Van Starland and Mr. Ernest Bridge, severally of the Hebrew and Assyrian Departments of that institution. Serious doubts are thrown upon the authenticity of these manuscripts, which will probably take high rank in the future in the somewhat long list of famous forgeries.

A farmer named Jonathan Evans, of the Foel, Llangadfan, made a very interesting discovery recently. As he was ploughing in a field near the river Banwy, his plough came in contact with a stone, which was found to be of very large size, and when cleared it was discovered to be the upper stone of an ancient tomb. It was covered by a mound of earth, or barrow, chiefly formed of clay, and the place had been always noticed to be elevated above the rest of the field. When the ground was cleared, the stone lid was found to be very large, weighing, it is supposed, not less than a ton and a half. There were four stones under it, and it was formed into a regular chest, and the bottom of it was neatly paved with small stones. The sides of the chest consisted of very thick stones, except one of them, which seemed to be a kind of entrance or doorway. In the clay, about the place of interment, were found pieces of an urn of very rude formation, and a few bones scattered here and there about the place. It seemed that an entrance had been made into the tomb by breaking a part of the thin stone, which formed a kind of doorway, and probably the urn, which was inside, was

taken out, when it went to pieces. Several monuments of this kind have been found at different times in this parish, as we learn from the history of it published in the "Montgomeryshire Collections for 1868," written by the present rector, the Rev. G. Edwards. Some of them were covered with cairns of stone or barrows, and others, like the present one, with a mound of earth. It is likely the fragments found belong to more than one urn, as they were a good deal scattered in the clay about the place. The bones were deposited with the ashes, after burning the body, in an urn, and these, when the urn went to pieces, were scattered about in the clay. A few of these were found here and there in the clay, and mixed with what seemed to be ashes.

The restoration of St. James, Avebury, which has been five years in progress, has brought to light elements of the greatest antiquarian and historic interest; not only has the old Saxon church been revealed identical with the present nave, with its unglazed windows, its rude, string course, and its external coat of mortar, as sound, apparently, as when it was applied a thousand years ago, but indications have been revealed of a still earlier *British* church, formed of "wattle and daub," the floor of which was found at a depth of two feet below that of the present church, which is within an inch or two of the level of the floor at the time when Norman aisles were added to the nave at the beginning of the twelfth century. Masonry dating from probably the eighth or ninth century has recently been found. In the Saxon period the church consisted of a nave (without aisles) and probably an apse and porch, although the two latter have disappeared. In the twelfth century the side walls of the nave were pierced, an arcade of two arches on each side inserted, and north and south aisles added. The fine south doorway with its corbel over, the angle shafts to the responds of nave arcades, and the charming little window in the west end of north aisle, with the font (a well-known and interesting specimen), are all that can now be seen of this period. Late in the thirteenth, or early in the fourteenth century, the present chancel was built, and the chancel arch inserted. In the fifteenth century a great deal of work appears to have been done to the church. The north and south aisle walls (with the exception of the west wall of north aisle) were rebuilt, and the tower and porch erected. The ambulatory passage connecting the north aisle with the chancel, the piscina at east end of north aisle, which was then used as a chapel, and the hagioscope or squint between chancel and south aisle, are also of this date. In the following century a deficiency of light in the nave appears to have been felt, and two windows of a debased type were inserted in the south clerestory wall of nave. Again, early in the present century, the Norman arcade was taken out, new shafts with classical caps and bases, copied (it is said) from Calne Church, were erected, and the Norman arch stones reused in new arches of pointed form. The chancel, south aisle, and porch have now been restored, new roofs being given to them, and the vestry and organ chamber added. Three new windows in the south clerestory of the nave, in lieu of the debased one alluded to, have been put in, and three to correspond on the north side,

where none existed but the hidden Saxon openings referred to below. The two lower Saxon windows of nave were also opened out. It was then found practicable to repair and retain the old fifteenth century roof of the nave, which it had been intended to remove. The oak ceiling of the north aisle has been faithfully copied from the much-decayed original, line for line, and it rests on the outside Saxon string course separating the lower range of windows from the clerestory. The stone corbels of this ceiling had been destroyed, and the new ones are conjectural; but, with this exception, the design is that of the fifteenth century architect. At the time of Mr. Ponting's first connection with the work, he found three stones pierced with circular openings, and bearing evidence of being windows of Saxon date. These were lying amongst the rubbish in the churchyard, and, it was remembered, had been removed in inserting the three new north clerestory windows. Further research revealed another of exactly similar description *in situ* indicating their proper level; and measurements of the positions of this and the lower window previously opened showed that there were originally, in each side wall of the nave, four of the lower single lights, with one of these small circular ones over each, and the massive string course (on which the north aisle roof now rests) between, on the outside. The use of these holes was indicated on opening out the inside splay of the one found *in situ*, when it was seen that a "centre" or cage of "wattle" work, on which to construct the circular interval splay, was formed by inserting in them sticks reaching to the inside face of the wall, and interlacing with them, in the opposite direction, smaller split sticks, as in basket and hurdle work. The inside of this cage was plastered, and a portion of this (the only piece sound) has been retained. Remains of corresponding openings on the south side can be seen above the roof of aisle. The Saxon walls were covered on the exterior with plaster, and this had been retained as the inside plastering of the north aisle both in Norman and Mediæval times, and we are glad to observe that Mr. Ponting has found it practicable (by pouring in liquid cement grout to secure it to the walls) to hand on to posterity a piece of this ancient plaster, which can be seen at the south-west angle of the aisle. The antiquity of this plastering was an interesting point which has been proved in the most conclusive manner; for on taking down, for the purpose of rebuilding, the crumbling late twelfth century masonry of the west wall of the north aisle, it was found to have been built *against* the face of the Saxon nave, forming a straight joint vertically, instead of, as is usual, being bonded into the wall; and the plastering was found to run quite through this junction of Saxon and Norman work, thus showing it to be older than the latter. It was also carried around the quoins, which are of the Saxon "long-and-short" work, and are now exposed on the north side of the tower. These show the walls of the Saxon nave to have been within a foot of the height of what they now are. The church is not rich in mural monuments. A small portion of the tomb of a priest was discovered. The tomb of one John Truslowe, dated 1593, is the earliest, and records in doggerel rhyme how he lived and died, and his testamentary dispositions.

The Lord Mayor of London, in conformity with an ancient custom, has received from her Majesty warrants for four fat bucks from Windsor Great Park. The Sheriffs, at the same time, have had three bucks presented them, and the Recorder, Chamberlain, Town Clerk, Common Serjeant, and Remembrancer, one each. In the winter a similar number of does are presented. These venison warrants had their origin in the early charters granted to the citizens of London, in which their "hunting" were secured to them. As far back as 1101 King Henry I. granted and confirmed by charter that "the citizens of London should have their chases to hunt as well and as fully as their ancestors had—that is to say, in Chiltre (Hertfordshire), and in Middlesex and Surrey." The privilege was confirmed by three subsequent charters by King Henry II., John, and Henry III. Fitzstephen, in his description of London (1174), expressly mentions the privileges of the citizens to hunt in Middlesex and Hertfordshire, and also in Kent as far as the river Cray. There is an original warrant in the British Museum, dated 1428, granting the Lord Mayor six fat bucks, two from Eltham Park and two from Windsor, and it is signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and six others. Fabyan, in his chronicles, gives an account of a grand hunt, to which the citizens were invited by King Edward IV. in 1481, in the forest of Waltham; and he states that afterwards the King, of his great bounty, sent to the Mayoress and her sisters, the aldermen's wives, two harts and six bucks, with a tun of wine to drink with the venison, and that the entertainment was held in Drapers' Hall. In 1821, after the accession of George IV., an attempt was made to question the privilege of the civic dignitaries to receive venison warrants, but the right was satisfactorily established as a commutation for the chartered privileges of the citizens to hunt in the royal parks and forests.

A remarkable monument, says the *Athenæum*, has been found within the ancient town of Ariccia, at the foot of the hill formerly occupied by the Acropolis, and now by the modern village. In laying down the pipes of the aqueduct which brings to Albano the waters from the "Facciate di Nemi," and which follows the line of the Via Appia across the crater and lake-bed of Ariccia, several blocks of marble were discovered at the place called the "Torrión de Chigi." Orders were issued by the Minister of Instruction for a thorough exploration of the neighbourhood. Thirty-seven huge blocks of marble were brought to light, belonging, as it seems, to a portico ornamented with columns of *cipollino*. The architectural details are very elaborate, especially the frieze, worked in wreaths and festoons. There is also an inscription, on a slab of marble 10 ft. long, 5 ft. high, with the name of Latinus Pandusa. Tacitus, "Ann." ii. 66, speaks of him as being proprætor of Mœsia, A.D. 19. He died in the same year, during the tenure of his office. The monument at Ariccia must have been built by him in his younger days, at the beginning of his career, as no mention is made by the inscription of any employment higher than the *vigintiviratus*.

Mr. John Henry Parker has presented to the Ashmolean Museum 500 drawings of ancient Rome, chiefly

by Prof. Cicconetti. Mr. Parker had previously presented to the museum 3,400 photographs which he had collected during the fifteen seasons that he was in Rome. Of the photographs he has printed a catalogue, and of the drawings he is now making one.

The parish church of Barnstaple has been restored. The church of this old Saxon borough does not present considerable architectural or archaeological features of interest as a structure; but its importance mainly rests on its antiquity and history, its associations and its monuments, all of which possess features of interest, and will well repay notice and examination. The original of the present fabric dates only from A.D. 1318, which is the first actual record of its consecration. The first actual reference, however, to a church existing at Barnstaple is the statement given by Dugdale in his *Monasticon*, and subsequently set out by Lysons, that "The tithes of Barnstaple were appropriated to Malmesbury Abbey, to which abbey the church had been given by King Athelstan." This appropriation rendered Barnstaple a vicarage, which it has been ever since. Nothing further is recorded of the church until the Conquest, when it was again appropriated and formed part of the grant made on the foundation of the Priory of St. Mary Magdalene by Judhael, the son of Alured, on whom the manor and lordship of Barnstaple had been bestowed by the Conqueror. In 1311 Bishop Stapleton assigned the altarge of small tithes, etc., for the further support of the vicar. This brings us just to the period when the existing church was built, and from whence its history as a building commences. It has been a debated point as to how much of the structure of 1318 actually remains, but there can be no doubt that the existing tower, transept, and west wall of nave were of this date—the two windows of the tower and the facing of the walling clearly show it to be quite as early. The window of the transept was of the same period, though the original tracery and some of the stone work was removed in 1811. It is clear that there must have been a tower of the same period as the general structure, which formed one arm of the original cruciform building, but the steeple raised was not added until seventy years later, having been erected at the cost of the town in 1389. This structure, formed entirely of wood covered with lead, misshapen and devoid of all beauty, has narrowly escaped destruction on several occasions from fire and tempest, the first of which occurred above a century since, and is supposed to have caused the deflection of the spire so considerably out of the perpendicular. It still exists, however, despite all the restorations and the inconvenience caused by its peculiar position, having been preserved mainly out of deference to the opinion of Sir Gilbert Scott. There are no records from which it is possible to obtain the exact dates of the addition of the different aisles; their appearance points to their having been erected at different periods, and the south aisle subsequently widened, and perhaps the nave also, which causes the effect of the tower being apparently thrust forward into the body of the church. The north aisle was again altered about the end of the fifteenth century, as shown by the windows, but the construction of the roof leaves little doubt that that was not touched. The chancel aisles, originally formed out of the old chapels,

were either built or altered at a later period. The ancient arcades were taken down in 1811 and 1823, giving place to very unmeaning columns, totally altering the original character of the church, which, no doubt, was, at the commencement, a well-proportioned cruciform building.

At the sixth annual meeting of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, the report of the committee was read. It pointed out with regret the disastrous nature of the works now in progress at the Tower, involving the manufacture of a sham mediæval fortress, and the destruction of historic buildings. In addition the report speaks of the injurious effect of the so-called "restoration" of the once noble churches of St. Nicholas, Great Yarmouth, Rye, St. Crux at York, Leigh, Herefordshire, and other places. In several cases the clergy in charge of ancient buildings have consulted the committee, and received practical advice as to the proper treatment and judicious repair of imperilled structures. To meet the charges incurred in giving such counsel the report appeals for increased funds. The committee had, with chequered fortune, during the past year, been active in promoting the preservation of about one hundred and twenty English and nine foreign buildings.

The members of the York Architectural Association visited Knaresborough recently. The Castle, which occupies an elevated situation, standing out in bold relief above the town, was first visited. The scattered ruins show on examination that it has been a fortress of great extent. The site commands a splendid view of the river, also the Dropping Well on the opposite side, the skirting woods, the railway viaduct, Parish Church, Conyngnam Hall, and part of the town. The members then proceeded to the Parish Church, where an interesting inspection was made. It contains many monuments and epitaphs of interest. One monument, which was greatly admired by the members, and which was received within the last few years from Rome, consists of a full length marble figure of Sir Charles Slingsby, who was drowned whilst hunting a few years ago. St. Robert's Chapel was the next place visited. It is a small place, skilfully hollowed out of the solid rock. On one side of the entrance is the rude figure of a Knight Templar in the act of drawing his sword. The roof and altar are adorned with Gothic ornaments, and on each side of the altar are places for holy water.

The "Notes and Queries" column of the *Winchester Observer and County News* appears to have met with marked success. It is therefore proposed to reprint the articles appearing in it in yearly volumes, of about 200 pages, with full index. The first volume is published under the title of "Hampshire Notes and Queries." We shall gladly welcome an addition to the gradually increasing series of local "Notes and Queries," and we wish the promoters every success in their undertaking.

Now that so much talk is going on respecting the Dene or Dane holes, it is well to draw attention to the views of so great an authority as Mr. Roach Smith, which will be found in the sixth volume of his *Collectanea Antiqua*. Mr. Smith laid great stress upon the great antiquity of these chalk-pits, and re-

ferred to Pliny's description of the white chalk called *argentaria*, used by silversmiths for cleaning plate. Pliny says it is obtained by means of pits sunk like wells, with narrow mouths, to the depth sometimes of one hundred feet, where they branch out like the veins of mines; and this kind is chiefly used in Britain. We shall hope to reprint Mr. Roach Smith's valuable remarks in our next number.

An obelisk has been discovered at Rome, close to the church of Santa Maria Minerva. An examination, as far as is yet possible, shows that it is covered with hieroglyphics, and about the size of that now erected on the Piazza Minerva. As a Sphinx was recently found in the same locality, there is little doubt that a temple of Isis existed on the spot.

In the course of excavations in the Via S. Ignazio at Rome, several Egyptian antiquities have recently been discovered. They include an obelisk bearing the cartouch of Rameses II., a sphinx of basalt, and a cynocephalus.

It is understood that Lord Darnley, with the assistance of Mr. Roach Smith, will give a full account of the hoard of Roman coins found in Cobham Park in the forthcoming volume of the *Archeologia Cantiana*. The coins (over 800) are chiefly confined to the reigns of Constantius II., Constans, and Magnentius.



Correspondence.

INSCRIPTION AT HAGENAU.

(viii. 85.)

These lines may probably have accompanied a figure of Janus, denoting the printing-house of Johannes Secerius (Jean Secer), whose books, printed at Hagenau from 1523 to about 1535, bear the head or full-length figure of Janus as a typographical device.

In the second line, ME is a certain correction for MB; and *videnda* would satisfy the requirements of sense and metre in the last line. V.

SILCHESTER.

Mr. Napper, in the last number of *THE ANTIQUARY*, states that Silchester was built in the reign of Constantius II.! Mr. Napper cannot have read all that has been printed on this interesting place. So far from its being of a date so late, it was a town in the very earliest times of Roman rule. Inscriptions show that in the reign of Severus it must have been in its glory. The British coins of *Calleva* speak of its existence in the time of Augustus. F. S. A.

AIZEN.

My gardener told me the other day that the ivy would soon grow "up to the *aizen* of the house,"—meaning "the eaves." That was exactly the way in

which he pronounced it (rhyming with "brazen"); and it seems to be an interesting word, as it is evidently a regular phonetic contraction of *efesen*, the plural in *n* of the Anglo-Saxon *efese*; thus—

A.-S. efesen.
 Pron. aivezen.
 Contr. aivzen.
 aizen.

It is a striking contrast to the way in which the standard language deals with the same word, corrupting *efese* into *eaves*, as if it were a plural.

It may be noticed that *aizen* preserves in its first syllable the original sound of the Anglo-Saxon *e*.

We have *eaves* in the standard language as a blundering plural, and *aizen* in the vernacular as a proper plural with regular phonetic contraction. The vernacular language is a true antiquary, preserving for us the past.

D. P. F.

August, 1883.

THE BOXLEY ROOD.

I have read with interest the letters which my article brought forth, and also Mr. Surtees' paper; and I am glad to find that others agree with me in thinking that the monks of Boxley may possibly not have been so bad as they are commonly described. With the evidence as it is, however, I do not think that we can give a more favourable verdict than "not proven."

With your permission I wish to add one or two remarks to my former notes.

1. No description of the (supposed fraudulent) *mode of working* the image is given by Chambers; this I think is a point in favour of the monks. Fox very absurdly says that it was worked by a man placed *inside* it; others state vaguely that it was worked by one of the monks concealed in some way.

2. Lambard says clearly that his account of its origin was the one formerly published by the monks *in print*. He does not say, however, that he had himself seen this printed account; and as no copy of it seems to have been preserved to our times, we must be content with uncertainty. Should a copy be discovered, it will evidently set at rest the question of fraud, one way or the other.

J. BROWNBILL.

9th Aug., 1883.

HAZLETON.

Any particulars of the family of Hazleton, where it was located, and what arms it bore, will much oblige
 CRUX.

OAK FURNITURE.

On reading the very interesting article in last month's *ANTIQUARY* on old oak furniture, I see that Mr. Udall complains of the injury done to a table of his by insects of some kind. Perhaps he will find the following recipe useful. Into each hole in the wood

drop, with a camel's-hair paint-brush, paraffin in which sulphur has been soaked. If any worms are at home, they will drop out in a few hours. Then fill up the holes with cobbler's wax. Of course the furniture should be placed with the mouths of the holes down; otherwise the insects will not drop out. I have not tried this recipe myself, but I send it in the hope that it may be of use to collectors of old oak.

E. EVA BOULT.

9, Lorne Road, Birkenhead.

A SUFFOLK BRASS.

It may be pleasant news to those readers of the *ANTIQUARY* who take an interest in East Anglian brasses to know that I have been able to restore to the proper authorities a plaque which for some time has been missing from the brass of John Drayles in the chancel of S. Mary-le-Tower, Ipswich.

The figures on the plaque represent his two sons, Thomas and John, the latter of whom was at one time incumbent of the above church. By a happy circumstance the plaque came into my possession during the autumn of 1879, and this summer I have had the pleasure of acquiring such evidence about it as has enabled me to hand it over to the care of its lawful custodians.

J. H. S.

Grantham, August 13th, 1883.

EARL MARSHAL.

With regard to a recent correspondence in the daily papers, it may be of interest to remark that the Earl Marshal of England—a quasi-hereditary office—is considerably the senior of the Lord High Admiral (now in abeyance) in point of creation of office. Gilbert Earl of Strigul served at the coronation of John as the King's Marshal. In a patent of the first year of Henry III., William Earl of Pembroke is styled "Marescallus Regis et regni custos." Walter Marshal was created "Marescallus Anglie" in the forty-second year of the same reign. These marshals were frequently entrusted with the highest commands from the time of Richard I., and they were unquestionably the natural leaders of the King's army in his absence. In the twenty-fifth year of Edward I., it will be remembered, the King looked to his marshal and constable (Norfolk and Hereford) to take command of the army in Gascony, and when they declined to serve was compelled to appoint substitutes. On the other hand, no patent for a lord high admiral, or his prototype in office, can, we believe, be found earlier than 43 Henry III., when a "capitaneus" of the King's ships and "custos maris" was appointed, whose duties seem to have only comprised victualling the royal galleys and defending the harbours. It is obvious, too, the title "Admiral" is of much later origin, if, as seems probable, the name is a corruption of the Turkish "Amir" or "Emir." Selden's etymology in point is commented on in a note amongst the Cotton MSS., and so nice a scholar as Milton wrote "Amiral."

H. H.

The Antiquary Exchange.

Enclose 4d. for the First 12 Words, and 1d. for each Additional Three Words. All replies to a number should be enclosed in a blank envelope, with a loose Stamp, and sent to the Manager.

NOTE.—All Advertisements to reach the office by the 15th of the month, and to be addressed—The Manager, EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT, THE ANTIQUARY OFFICE, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

The Manager wishes to draw attention to the fact that he cannot undertake to forward POST CARDS, or letters, unless a stamp be sent to cover postage of same to advertiser.

FOR SALE.

The Athenæum, July, 1879, to June, 1883, eight vols., in numbers as issued, clean and perfect, £2.—*Cassell's Magazine of Art*, vols. 1 to 3, in half morocco, new, and vols. 1 and 2 New Series, half roan, new, £3 the set.—The Hamilton Palace Collection, illustrated priced catalogue, printed on hand-made paper, 1882, cloth new, published at £2 2s., 21s.—*The Theatre*, vols. 1 to 3, first series, in half morocco (containing the portraits of Henry Irving, Ellen Terry, H. J. Byron, F. C. Burnand, and many others, price 30s.—Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, by T. Hall Caine (large paper edition, fifty copies only printed), with portrait, 20s.—Our Ancient Monuments, and the Lands around them, by Jackson. Introduction by Sir John Lubbock, M.P. (large paper, 250 copies printed), 10s. 6d.—Longman's New Testament, 18 parts, just completed, 12s. 6d.—Shakspeare, *The Plays* of, complete in 8 volumes, allegorical and other illustrations, copper-plate, very clean and perfect. London: printed for Bellamy and Roberts, No. 138, Fleet Street, and at 4, Peterborough Court, Fleet Street, 1791, whole calf, 20s.—Thackeray's Works, 24 volumes, very little used, bound in half calf, marble edges, clean and perfect, £5.—Dickens' "Our Mutual Friend," first edition, in original wrapper, 12s. 6d.—Ashton's Chap Books of the XIX. Century, published at 7s. 6d., 4s.—Shakspeare as an Angler, 10s. 6d.—Luxurious Bathing, by Andrew Tuer, oblong folio, first edition, with etchings by Sutton Sharpe, published at £3 3s., £2 2s.—Luxurious Bathing, small oblong folio, second edition, *remarque proofs*, etched by Tristram Ellis, only six printed, £3 3s.—A number of Book Plates (*Ex Libris*), from 2s. per dozen.—Sharpe's British Theatre, eighteen vols., 32mo, calf, covers of one vol. damaged. London: printed by C. Whittingham, Dean Street, for John Sharpe, opposite York House, Piccadilly, 1804-5. Very fine engraved title page to each vol., and portrait of W. H. W. Betty as Douglas. Book plate of Francis Hartwell in each vol., 20s.—Caxton's Game and Playe of The Chesse, 1474: a verbatim reprint of the first edition, with an introduction by William E. A. Axon, M.R.S.L. Forming part of the first issue of The Antiquary's Library, 10s. 6d.—W. E. Morden, 5, Longley Terrace, Lower Tooting, S.W.

Several Poesy, Intaglio, and curious Rings for sale, cheap.—Particulars, 220, care of Manager.

Giotto and his Works in Padua, 20s.—Ruskin's Lectures on Architecture and Painting, 36s.; Two Paths (with Plates), 30s.; Elements of Drawing, 30s.; Modern Painters, in fine condition, £30: all first editions, original bindings; two *Quarterly Reviews* with Ruskin's articles on Lord Lindsay and Eastlake, 16s.—Milton's *Paradise Lost*, 1st edition, 1668, splendid copy, £10; and 4th edition, folio plates and portrait, 1692, 25s.—Sir T. Browne's Complete Works, folio, 1686, 15s.—"Tryal of Dr. Sacheverell," 1710, 3s. 6d.—Joseph Lucas, Claremont House, Cawley Road, Hackney.

Matthew Henry's Commentaries, 6 vols., fol., calf, 1721.—Swift's Letters, 3 vols., 8vo, calf, 1766.—Spelman's Villare Anglicum, calf, 1678.—Tighe's Psyche, 8vo, half calf, 1812.—Haliburton's Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia, 2 vols., 8vo, half calf, 1829. (This copy is interleaved.)—234, care of Manager.

Copy of Blomefield's History of Norfolk, 11 vols., octavo, in boards, perfect condition.—Rev. E. Farrar, Bressingham, Diss.

Antique Oak (supposed) Saxon Church Chest, arch carvings, ugly, 18s. 6d. Other Oak Chests, Stools, and Cabinets, cheap; Weapons and Curious Books.—Mr. Hetherington, Writtle, Chelmsford.

WANTED TO PURCHASE.

Armorial Book Plates purchased or exchanged.—Dr. Howard, Dartmouth Row, Blackheath.

Dorsetshire Seventeenth Century Tokens.—Also Topographical Works, Cuttings or Scraps connected with the county.—J. S. Udall, 4, Harcourt Buildings, Temple.

Swift's Works, 19 vols., 1824; Walpole's Letters, edited by Cunningham, 9 vols.; Books published by Pickering, *ante* 1855; Hervey's Memoirs of George II., 2 vols., 1848; Doran's Their Majestie's Servants, 2 vols., 1864. Good prices for good copies.—Biblios, 20, King Edward Street, Lambeth Road, London.

Antiquarian Repository, 4to, vol. iv., 1808.—209, Care of Manager.

Antiquarian Topographical Cabinet, 10 vols.—210, Care of Manager.

Antiquarian Itinerary.—211, Care of Manager.

Gough's Anecdotes of British Topography.—212, Care of Manager.

Wanted, Poll Books, for County Elections in Essex, Herts, and Cambridgeshire.—Thomas Bird, Romford.

Genuine Arms and Armour purchased for cash; must not be later date than seventeenth century.—230, care of Manager.

Norris's Etchings of Tenby.—Morgan's Guide to Aberystwith, the 3rd or any later edition.—Leighton's Guide to Shrewsbury, the 4th edition.—Rev. W. A. Leighton, Luciefelde, Shrewsbury.

Findlay's Masonic Vade Mecum, 1865.—Book Plates (*Ex Libris*).—Spencer's Golden Remains of the Early Masonic Writers, 1847.—Briggs & Morden, 5, Longley Terrace, Lower Tooting, S.W.

Sheldon Chadwick's Works, complete set.—G. F. Fowler, 76, Paul Street, Tabernacle Square, E.C.



The Antiquary.



SEPTEMBER, 1883.

Southwark Fair.

By CORNELIUS WALFORD, F.I.A., F.S.S., V.P.
ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY, ETC.

MY recent work on *Fairs, Past and Present* (reviewed in the August issue of *THE ANTIQUARY*), only contained a portion of the materials which I had brought together during an extended inquiry into the subject. For instance, it only embraced one of the many famous fairs in and round the Metropolis. I think it may be interesting that such facts as I have been enabled to gather up concerning the other London fairs should from time to time be given to your readers. I now start with one, certainly at one period very famous, viz., Southwark Fair.

When this fair took its origin is by no means clear. It was long known as "Our Lady Fair." The grant of the fair to the Corporation of London—in connexion with, or as forming part of, the manor of Southwark—by Edward IV., in 1462, by no means determines the question of its origin. That had probably more to do with its decay. The fair was at one period a great resort of trade. After that it became simply a pleasure fair, and obtained a very bad repute. The one redeeming feature in this aspect of the case is that Hogarth selected the scene of this fair, in its declining days, for one of the masterpieces of his genius. This I shall notice in its proper chronological place. The fair was suppressed before the close of the last century.

Regarding the grant of the village of Southwark by Edward IV. to the Corporation of London, the following facts may be recorded :

The Corporation had presented a petition setting forth—

That felons, robbers, and divers other malefactors and disturbers of the peace, who in the said city and elsewhere have committed murders, robberies, and divers other felonies, departing secretly from the said city after such felonies committed, flee to the village of Southwark, and cannot there be attached by the minders of the said city, and are there publicly received.

They prayed, therefore, that—

For the preservation of the peace of the said city, and to restrain the wickedness of these evildoers, his Majesty would grant them the said village, etc.

The King complied, and granted the same for the sum of £10, to be paid annually. His successor, Richard III., refused to confirm this grant on the ground that it interfered with the privileges of certain religious houses there. So matters remained until the dissolution of the monasteries, when the ecclesiastical privileges reverted to the Crown; and then the Corporation again petitioned, but Henry VIII. refused the application. The regents of his son, Edward VI., thought better of the matter, admitting its possession to be necessary to the good government of the city.

1462. The first Charter obtained from Edward IV. by the City of London, bearing date the 9th November, in the second year of his reign,—

Granted to the said Mayor and Commonalty of the said City who now be, and their successors, the Mayor and Commonalty and citizens of that city, who for the time being shall be for ever, the town of Southwark, with the appurtenances.

The reasons assigned in the Charter were—

To take away from henceforth and utterly to abolish all and all manner of causes, occasions, and matters, whereupon opinions, ambiguities, varieties, controversies, and discussions may arise.

It is easy to see how in the defence of the City, in guarding its approaches (as for instance London Bridge), difficulties would continually arise from having differing regulations on the two sides of the river. But the clause in this Charter with which we have most to do here is the following :—

We have also granted to the said Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens, and their successors for ever, that they shall and may have yearly one Fair in the town aforesaid, for three days, that is to say, the 7th, 8th, 9th days of September; to be holden together with a Court of Piepowders, and with all the liberties to such fairs appertaining; and that they may have

and hold there at their said courts, during the said three days, from day to day, hour to hour, and from time to time, all occasions, plaints, and pleas of a Court of Piepowders, together with all summons, attachments, arrests, issues, fines, redemptions, and commodities, and other rights whatsoever, to the same Court of Piepowders, in any way pertaining, without any impediment, let, or hindrance of US, our heirs or successors, or other our officers and ministers soever.

This is the first instance I have met with of a Court of Piepowder being specifically authorized, and its powers defined, by an English sovereign. Mr. Morley (*Hist. of Bartholomew Fair*) has pointed out how several historians have fallen into the error of supposing that this was a grant of another fair at Smithfield, to be held in continuation of that of St. Bartholomew, and entirely in the interest of the City of London.

1630. In a proclamation issued by Charles I., in consequence of the plague prevailing at Cambridge, prohibiting the holding of "three great Fairs of special note" then at hand, this fair is specially mentioned as one of the three referred to.

There is preserved with the Harleian MSS. (5931), a showman's bill, issued in the 17th century, which states that—

At Crawley's Show at the Golden Lion, near St. George's Church, during the time of Southwark fair, will be presented the whole story of the Old Creation of the World, or Paradise Lost, yet newly revived, with the addition of Noah's Flood.

1660. Evelyn visited the fair this year, which he speaks of as "St. Margaret's Fair," and recorded in his *Diary* the following:—

I saw in Southwark, at St. Margaret's Fair, monkeys and apes dance, and do other feats of activity, on the high rope; they were gallantly clad *à la monde*, went upright, saluted the company, bowing and pulling off their hats; they saluted one another with as good a grace as if instructed by a dancing master; they turned heels over head with a basket having eggs in it, without breaking any; also with lighted candles in their hands and on their heads without extinguishing them, and with vessels of water without spilling a drop. I also saw an Indian wench dance and perform all the tricks on the high rope to admiration; all the Court went to see her. Likewise here was a man who took up a piece of iron cannon of about 400lbs. with the hair of his head only.

1668. Pepys visited the fair this year, to see the puppet show of "Whittington," and seems to have been greatly worked upon, like all people that saw it. He therefore

went again, and this time saw Jacob Hall's dancing on the ropes. He records:

..... I saw such action as I never saw before, and mightily worth seeing; and here took acquaintance with a fellow that carried me to a tavern, whither came the music of this booth, and by-and-by Jacob Hall himself, with whom I had a mind to speak, to hear whether he ever had any mischief by falls in his time. He told me yes, many, but never to the breaking of a limb. He seems a mighty strong man. So giving them a bottle or two of wine I went away.

1678. Complaint being made to the Corporation of London of the "Irregularities and Disorders" of this fair, the question of its suppression was seriously considered.

1684. During the fair this year there was exhibited at the Catherine Wheel Inn—a famous hostelry which existed down to our own day—a *Giant*, concerning whom the following announcement was circulated—

The Gyant, or the Miracle of Nature, being that so much admired young man, aged nineteen years last June, 1684. Born in Ireland, of such a prodigious height and bigness, and every way proportionable, the like hath not been seen since the memory of man. He hath been several times shown at Court, and his Majesty was pleased to walk under his arm, and he is grown very much since; he now reaches ten foot and a half, fathomes near eight foot, spans fifteen inches, and is believed to be as big as one of the Gyants in Guild Hall. He is to be seen at the Sign of Catherine Wheel, in Southwark Fair. *Vivat Reg.*

1689. A serious fire occurred in Southwark at the time of the fair this year, which consumed many houses and did much damage. Mr. Morley records:

The inhabitants prudently considering that this Desolation came upon them by means of the Disorderly Booths which were erected in this Fair, and by the just Vengeance of God for permitting such pregnant cause of Licentiousness, have ever since forbidden the setting up of Booths there, and have not suffered any to be erected.

Vide memorial issued by Corporation of London regarding Bartholomew Fair in 1711. When this fair was resumed does not appear.

1733. It was this year that Hogarth produced his famous picture, "Southwark Fair." The fair had then ceased to be a mart of trade, and had become simply a pleasure fair: dramatic performances composed its chief amusement and attraction. The original three days prescribed by its charter had become extended to fourteen. Not only did people attend from all the surrounding coun-

try, but the citizens of London had come to regard it as a loose species of holiday. The comic genius of the painter seized upon the more humorous incidents and accidents which would sometimes arise in such a promiscuous gathering, and so produced one of his greatest pictures; but for which the very remembrance of the fair would probably have died out. I will notice a few of the leading points of the picture: from these, indeed, the later history of the fair can perhaps be best written.

On the right of the plate is a falling scaffold—a company of strolling players being about to perform the “fall of Bajazet.” Confusion worse confounded prevails amongst this group. Queens, emperors, and their attendants are all falling to their “proper level.” The musical instruments (consisting, indeed, only of a salt-box and a fiddle!) are falling in different directions; and in order to increase the crush, Hogarth has whimsically placed beneath this falling stage a stand of earthenware and china. The monkey and merry Andrew seem the only two likely to escape the worst effects of the disaster! Above the scaffold hangs a painting, the subject of which is the “Stage Mutiny,” and which alludes to a dispute which arose this year between the actors and the proprietor of Drury Lane theatre (Mr. Highmore), when Theophilus Cibber (son of the laureate) was at the head of the faction. On one side is *Ancient Pistol* (young Cibber) strutting and exclaiming, “Pistol’s above.” Near him is the merry knight *Falstaff* (Harper, an actor who shone particularly in that character), together with *Justice Shallow* and *Bardolph*, waving banners on which is inscribed, “Liberty and property; we eat, etc.” On the other side is a female figure carrying a flag, with the inscription, “We’ll starve ’em out.” In the corner is a man (supposed to be Colley Cibber), with the words “Quiet and Snug” beneath his feet. He is hugging a bag of money, and laughing at the folly of the rest. Behind is a monkey bestriding a sign-iron, and squeaking out, “I am a gentleman.” The tall thin figure holding a paper, on which is written, “It cost £6,000” (Mr. Ireland conjectures) is designed for the manager, Mr. Highmore, as the scene-painter (indicated by the paint-pot and brushes at his feet) is intended for

John Ellis, who was principal scene-painter to old Drury-Lane theatre. He is here represented as having taken up the cudgel in behalf of the painter. So history lives on canvas.

But the study of the picture by no means ends here. A little below the show-scene just described a dancer on a slack-rope is exhibiting his agile performances. The man descending from the steeple is said to represent one Cadman, who performed a similar feat at St. Martin’s-in-the-Fields, from the steeple of which he descended into the king’s Mews. At the back of the print is a large show-sign announcing the “Siege of Troy,” beneath which the performers are rehearsing their parts. Of the next two scenes, the subject of one is the fall of Adam and Eve; the other represents a scene in “Punch’s Opera,” where the merry seignior is wheeling his rib into the jaws of destruction. Below, a mountebank elevated on a stage is devouring fire, to the great amusement of wondering spectators, and to whom his attendant merry Andrew dispenses his infallible nostrums. Still further in the background, to the left, appear a shift and hat, suspended on poles, the former of which is the prize allotted to the swiftest-footed nymph, and the latter for the successful cudgel player or wrestler. In the background, on the right, the fortunate candidate is elevated on a man’s shoulders, in triumphal procession.

In the centre is a group of strollers parading the fair, in order to collect an audience of their next exhibition; among them a female drummer, whose charms appear to have irresistibly riveted the attention of two country fellows. Her buskined companion, however, is fixed by different objects; his career has been stopped by the rude grasp of a bailiff, whose vigilance he cannot elude. Close to this group, a Savoyard is exhibiting her little show; and behind her a player at back-sword, his head and face covered with scars, makes his triumphant entrance and challenges the whole world to open combat. To this man a dexterous rogue directs the attention of a simple countryman, whose pocket he contrives to lighten. Further in the crowd one fellow is saluting a girl, while another artfully attempts to decoy her unsuspecting companions to their ruin; and above, two

jugglers are performing various sleight of hand tricks, to the amazement of the gaping spectators. Two figures more remain to be noticed. The first, the little performer on bagpipes, attended by a monkey walking erect, and with his foot dancing his little fantoccini figures. The other is a woman with her dice-box. She appears in earnest contention with a boy, who seems to doubt her integrity. They are all so intently engaged as to be insensible of the danger impending over their heads by the falling scaffold first noticed. These are the chief features of the picture.—*Vide Hogarth's Life and Works.*

Under date 13th September appeared the following newspaper paragraph:—

1717. Several constables visited Pinkethman's booth in this fair, and apprehended the proprietor, with others of his company, just as they had concluded a play in the presence of near a hundred and fifty noblemen and gentlemen seated on the stage. They were soon liberated on making it appear that they were the King's servants.

Gay, in his fable of the "Two Monkeys," thus describes this fair:—

The Tumbler whirls the flip-flap round,
With Sommersets he shakes the ground;
The Cord beneath the Dancer springs;
Aloft in air the Vaulter swings,
Distorted now, now prone depends,
Now through his twisted arms ascends.
The crowd, in wonder and delight,
With clapping hands applaud the sight.

1741. There was published this year the *Stroler's Pacquet Opened*, which purports to be a collection of the drolls played at this and other Fairs at that time.

These pieces, sufficiently contemptible in their construction, were, in most cases, formed out of old Dramas.—*BRAND, Pop. Antiq.*

1751. The fair was this year limited to three days by order of the city authorities, and all theatrical booths and puppet shows were prohibited. The principal shows present were (1) Yeates', which stood in George Yard, and consisted of an exhibition of wax figures, the conjuring tricks of young Yeates, and the feats on the slack wire of a performer named Steward; and (2) the Female Samson, an Italian woman, who exhibited feats of strength of an extraordinary character, in a booth opposite the Greyhound, and which I have already mentioned in my account of May Fair.

1755. The exclusion of theatrical entertainments was not maintained this year. Either in this or the following year a "great tiled booth" was erected for these performances.

1757. The fair was this year extended to four days. The comedy performed was the same as that at St. Bartholomew's, followed by a representation of the Capture of Louisbourg; concluding with a procession of colours and standards, and a song in praise of the heroes of the victory.

1760. On 3rd December this year the Court of Common Council referred it to its City Lands Committee to consider the Tenures of the City Fairs, with a view to their abolition. The subject was then carefully discussed, and a final report sent in, with the opinions of Counsel, upon which the Court came to a resolution that our Lady Fair at Southwark—over which the City had sole control—should be thenceforward abolished.

1762. The fair was suppressed by order of the Common Council of London; and hence there passed away another of those social landmarks which never become restored, but which go to make up the aggregate of our national history.



Primitive Agricultural Implements.

PART I.

BY G. LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A.



HERE is no better way of studying the principal lessons of archæology than by tracing step by step the development in any branch of culture or industry. We gather up by such means much of the evidence as to the intimate connection we of the present have with our ancestors of long ago, and as to the immense progress of human ingenuity. The life-object of the iron-age man is just the same as the life-object of the bronze-age man, or of the stone-age man—to feed the body, to clothe it, and to enjoy such mental culture as the age provides. We feed, clothe, and

educate better, and to a larger extent; but still the same objects exist with us as they did with our progenitors of all ages. Human progress, therefore, is relative, not absolute, and we can test its quality by examining into the progress of any particular industry or art; and perhaps there is no better instance of this than the evidence afforded by early agricultural implements.

In our age of division of labour, when there is a tool for every branch of industry—nay, almost every detail of each branch—it is somewhat difficult to rightly grasp the meagreness of the stock of implements used by a workman in early times. Certain implements, such as the hammer, the chisel, or the axe, seem to have existed as long as man has lived: they might be called the natural tools of man. And the archæologist has come upon an age where there does not seem to be much beyond this natural selection of tools.

Sir John Lubbock observes that we see before us the whole contents of the workshop of the primitive savage; and with these weapons, rude as they seem to us, he may have cut down trees, scooped them out into canoes, grubbed up roots, killed animals and enemies, cut up his food, made holes in winter through the ice, prepared firewood, built huts, and, in some cases at least, they may have served as sling stones.* This phase of primitive industrial life is the very starting-point of our subject, and it should be borne in mind as we come to consider the various stages in the use of agricultural implements which it will be necessary to treat of.

It is somewhat remarkable that, although agricultural life is reckoned one of the very first steps towards a development of the social unit from pure savagery, yet we find evidence of it so far back as the stone-age period of man's history. No doubt it is during the later stone-age, when there was already a movement towards the bronze age, when in some cases a bronze age existed among people neighbouring upon the stone-age people—but still it is distinctly and definitely a stone-age culture. How long the stone-age existed it is impossible to say. Archæology sees it spreading over a vast

period of years—embracing an epoch of pure nomadism; but in its best known periods it has developed, purely by its own mental capacity and power, the agricultural life. It is well for us to pause and think of this. A civilization where man's weapons for defence and his tools for work were entirely of stone, wood, or bone, is a state of affairs that even archæology has some difficulty in faithfully representing to modern thought.

To dig a tunnel or make a canal is now the work of some commercial enterprise, and apparently has little to do with the history of man. Yet to the true observer these stupendous labours have their place alongside of the labours performed by the stone axe, the flint chisel, and arrow head. We cannot contemplate what an enormous influence the invention of the stone-axe must have had on man during the stone-age. It meant everything to him just then.

These stone-age men travelled through Europe by two great routes. Their course was along the great rivers or by the open coasts. One stream came along Southern Europe by the Mediterranean route and passed through Western Europe into Britain; the other stream passed through Russia and by the Baltic route to Scandinavia and Denmark. They were hunters and fishermen. But whether by reason of their arrested progress in these extremities of the then world, or whether by reason of successive migrations of stone-age men bearing improved weapons and possessing improved culture, when the step from hunting to sowing and planting was taken it is impossible to say; all that we know is that the stone-age man turned his eyes upon the dense forests and jungles that surrounded him, saw that they were good, and set to work to bring them to his use. It is at this stage of his progress that the stone-age man becomes interesting for our present purpose. To travel along by the great rivers and the coasts, to catch fish and kill animals, was one kind of progress, and required certain kinds of tools; to turn from these natural trackways, and open up passages through dense jungles, to clear away patches in these jungles and cultivate grain for food, was an altogether different kind of progress, and would require improved weapons and im-

* Quoted in Mr. Evans' *Stone Implements*, p. 572

proved tools. It is the constant improvement in his tools and weapons that has made man progress from barbarism to culture, and it is well therefore for archaeology to turn its attention to these early pioneers of success.

No doubt the earliest system of tillage was to burn down a great tract of forest, and then to cultivate the land thus laid bare. Such was the custom among many of the hill tribes of India, as for instance the Lushais.* Implements known as "hoes" both of stone and elk-horn have been found, and in the opinion of Professor Nilsson must have been very suitable for the operations incident to this primitive mode of agriculture.† In America chipped flint hoes of a peculiar pattern are frequently met with. They are broad blades with deep lateral notches near one end, by which they can be readily fastened to a wooden handle.‡ Other hoe-like implements found in America

of them is of basalt, and has a shaft hole lying upwards in an oblique direction, so that the person using the hoe may be able to avoid stooping while at work. The other is made of the horn of an elk, the shaft hole being straight and oval (p. 74). I cannot discover that anything of the kind has been found in Great Britain, but their rarity in all stone-age finds leads Dr. Abbott to the conclusion that it is more than probable that the hoes made of the shoulder-blades of deer and of tortoiseshell, mentioned by several early writers, generally outnumbered those of stone.*

Besides the hoe and the spade among stone-age agricultural implements, there have been found one or two examples of what must have been a kind of sickle.

Mr. Evans describes and figures three stone convex implements from Yorkshire, Yarmouth, and Eastbourne, the use of which,

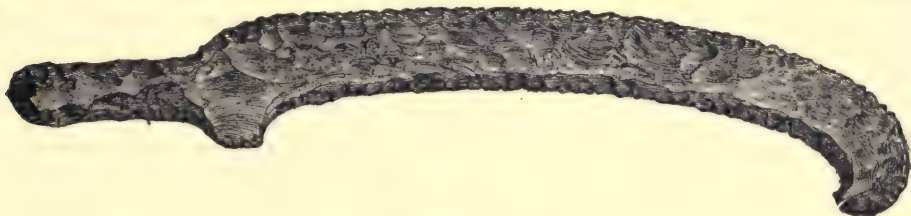


FIG. I.

are made of bone. The Delaware and Iroquois Indians used formerly the shoulder-blade of a deer, or a tortoiseshell, sharpened upon a stone and fastened to a thick stick.§ The same authority mentions a second class of stone agricultural implements known as "spades," consisting of oval plates of flint, flat on one side and slightly convex on the other, the outline being chipped into a sharp edge. Very much the same kind of hoe here mentioned as found in America has been found in the peat bogs of Scandinavia; the chief difference being in the method of fastening to the handle—one by a notch and the other by a hole. Professor Nilsson figures and describes two specimens in his *Primitive Inhabitants of Scandinavia*. One

after discussing their shape and method of handling, he is inclined to think may not impossibly have supplied the place of sickles or reaping hooks, whether for cutting grass to serve as provender or bedding, or for removing the ears of corn from the straw. The Yorkshire flint is about seven inches in length, is almost equally convex on the two faces, but thickens out at the butt, which seems to have formed the handle, as the side edges, which are elsewhere sharp, are there slightly blunted.† A stone sickle is also described and figured in Worsæ's recently published *Industrial Arts of Denmark*, p. 24. It is of the remarkable length of fourteen inches, and is a splendid specimen of the wonderful manner in which the people of those times handled flint. Through the kindness of Messrs. Chapman and Hall we

* *Indian Antiquary*, ii. 366.

† *Stone Age in Scandinavia*, p. 74.

‡ Abbott's *Primitive Industry*, p. 217.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

* *Primitive Industry*, p. 225.

† Evans' *Stone Implements*, pp. 317-9.

are enabled to reproduce here the illustration of this sickle (Fig. 1.)

It is possible to get a glimpse at these stone-age clearings in the forest if we turn to modern examples of this ancient culture-period. Dr. Abbott, in the book I have already quoted from, says that there are still to be seen in various parts of New Jersey certain barren weed-grown tracts or clearings, as they are called if still surrounded by a forest-growth, known as old Indian fields. At the time of the settlement of the country by Europeans these tracts were under native cultivation. On such spots there are found a larger number of "hoe-blades" than elsewhere.* The modern traveller standing within these clearings, or the modern student working up his materials from the facts laid before him by the traveller, both in effect retrace their steps from civilization to barbarism, and stand within the pale and influence of prehistoric times.

Indeed it is very remarkable how slowly the influence of the past dies out amongst us. The progress of a nation is generally tested by the progress of its most dominant society; but there is a social strata underlying the dominant class—those who for the most part live in towns and obtain their culture from the most progressive of the nation—and this strata is to be found in the outlying provincial districts where the waves of progress do not reach, or, if so, only fitfully and in broken force. Here are to be found some of the unchanged practices of past ages, and if the traveller in America comes upon a prehistoric agricultural clearing and learns his lesson from that, the English student of Scottish life no less comes upon prehistoric agricultural practices from which there is much to learn.

In Ure's *Agriculture of Dumbarton*, 1794 (p. 39), we read :—

The simplest and probably the first kind of agricultural instrument in the world is still in use in Luss and Arroquhar. It is called the Highland spade. This rude instrument is a strong stick about six feet in length; the shaft is round, and bended a little for the sake of purchase. The head or lower part is about fourteen inches long, and four to six broad. This is furnished with a plate of iron that covers the fore part about six or eight inches up, but behind it does not reach above two or three. The notch in

which the foot is placed in time of delving is on the right side, and is commonly very narrow (Fig. 2.)

We scarcely want Mr. Ure's testimony to the primitive characteristic of this wooden spade. Of course the iron-tip is its modern improvement—is the one little piece of evidence which proclaims that the stone-age implement is in use during the iron-age.* By comparing this Highland spade with implements used by admittedly primitive people, we shall better understand its prehistoric character. The Fiji Islanders, the Maori New Zealanders, and the Tahitians, have, so far as anthropological evidence tells us, never passed through, or alongside of, a civilization equal to that of the Scots. They have lived in a state of arrested progress. But the Tahitians have agricultural implements of hard wood, about five feet long, with sharp edges, and pointed, which they use as spades or hoes.† The only instrument used by the Maori New Zealanders for tillage was a long narrow stake, sharpened to an edge



FIG. 2.

at one end, with a short piece fastened transversely at a little distance above it for the convenience of pressing it down with the foot.‡ The Fijians use digging-sticks made of the young mangrove tree. They are about the size of an ordinary hay-fork, and the lower end is tapered off on one side after the shape of a quill tooth-pick. In digging this flattened side is kept downwards.§ Here, then, are the parallels in primitive society to the Highland spade. But we can go a little farther than this. Highland agriculture, no doubt, aided the permanence of these prehistoric implements, and it is curious to find that the Highland method of using their wooden implement is practically identical with the Fiji method. Highland spades, says Ure, are found to be

* We have parallel evidence of this in other lands. The Hawaiians used the "oo" as their principal agricultural implement. Formerly it was a sharp-pointed stick of hard wood; it is now usually tipped with iron.—Ellis's *Missionary Tour through Hawaii*, p. 167.

† Lubbock's *Prehistoric Times*, p. 373.

‡ *Ibid.*, 365.

§ Williams' *Fiji and the Fijians*, i., p. 63; Lubbock's *Prehistoric Times*, p. 359.

* *Primitive Industry*, p. 221.

of great utility in cultivating small pieces of ground on the declivities of hills, to which the plough cannot have access. It is the common practice for eight or ten men and women to assemble with their spades for the purpose of digging a piece of ground; and it is amazing with what speed they accomplish their work. They begin at the lower extremity of the ground, and form themselves into a row at a convenient distance from one another; they cut with their spades a line in the ground, nine or ten inches deep, and then, with one united effort, throw over at once a furrow or piece of ground about eighteen or twenty feet in length, and eight or ten inches in breadth.*

And so in Fiji, when preparing a piece of ground for yams, a number of men are employed, divided into groups of three or four. Each man being furnished with a digging-stick, they drive them into the ground so as to enclose a circle of about two feet in diameter. When by repeated strokes the sticks reach the depth of eighteen inches, they are used as levers, and the mass of soil between them is thus loosened and raised.† The similarity of these two practices is remarkable, and the peculiarity of hillside agriculture in Scotland has no doubt been the means of preserving this relic of prehistoric culture for the observation of the modern student.

Another very peculiar method of digging in Scotland must be mentioned here. It is accomplished by the *caschrom*, of which, says Dr. Mitchell, there are thousands now in use in the Hebrides and on the west side of the mainland.‡ By turning to the Statistical Account of Scotland, we shall find a full description of this curious implement.

The *caschrom* or crooked foot is in pretty general use in many parts of the Highlands, and is of great antiquity. It consists of a crooked piece of wood, the lower end of which is about two-and-a-half feet in length, somewhat thick, pretty straight, and armed at the end with iron, made thin and square, to cut the earth. The upper end of this instrument is called the shaft, and the lower is termed the head. The shaft above the crook is six feet long, and tapering towards

the end, which is slender. Just below the crook or angle, which is an obtuse one, there must be a hole wherein a strong peg must be fixed for the workman's right foot, in order to push the instrument into the earth. While standing upon his left foot and holding the shaft firmly with both his hands, he with his right foot drives the head far enough into the earth with one bend of his body; he then raises the clod by the iron-headed part of his instrument, making use of the heel or hindpart of the head as a fulcrum; in so doing he turns it over always to the left hand, and then proceeds to push for another clod in the same manner. With some disadvantages, it is of all instruments the fittest for turning up ground in a rocky country, where a plough can do little or nothing, either from a multitude of rocks, or from the earth being so marshy that cattle cannot pass over it without sinking. It is



FIG. 3.

From A to B the head, which is $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and 6 inches broad at one point. From B to D the shaft, which is 6 feet long. C the peg for the right foot.

asserted that one man can turn over more ground with it in a day than four can do with a common spade.*

The subjoined sketch (Fig. 3) will give some idea of the shape and figure of this implement. It is taken from the Reports of the Board of Agriculture on the Highlands of Scotland, and relating to the Agriculture of Sutherland (p. 152).

Another instrument, which may, perhaps, be referred to the stone-age, in transition, is the "*tribulum*." It has remained in use in some Mediterranean countries until the present day, and, says Dr. Evans, is a remarkable instance of survival of ancient customs.† In its present form, no doubt, it has been improved upon, but the influence of the stone-age is seen in the teeth of the *tribulum* being of flakes of flint or other stone.

* Ure's *Agriculture of Dumbarton*, p. 40.

† Williams' *Fiji and the Fijians*, i., p. 63.

‡ Mitchell's *Past in the Present*, p. 95.

* *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. vi., p. 288.

† Evans' *Bronze Implements*, p. 203.

Varro thus describes the tribulum or threshing implement employed both by the Romans and other ancient civilized nations :

Id fit e tabula lapidibus aut ferro exasperata, quæ imposito auriga aut pondere grandi trahitur jumentis junctis ut discutiatur e spica grana (lib. i., cap. 52).

And Mr. Evans points out that this instrument very readily leaves in the soil many of its teeth. Drawings of various tribula have been given by various travellers, and the implements themselves may be seen in the Christy collection and the Blackmore Museum. They are flat sledges of wood, five to six feet in length and two or three in breadth, the underside fitted with a number of square or lozenge-shaped holes, mortised a little distance into the wood, and having in each hole a flake or splinter of stone.*

Among the implements discovered in Scottish Lake Dwellings are several of wood, figured and described by Dr. Munro as belonging to agricultural purposes. These are a mallet, a scraper or hoe, ten inches long and four broad, an implement like a boot or ploughshare, and other fragments.†

(To be continued.)



The Home of "Belted Will."

IT is a difficult matter, in these days of easy and quick communication, to realize the ordinary condition of society in the middle ages. The free and roving outlaw had a fine time of it. He literally set at defiance all the laws and customs of those in authority. He had a vast number of advantages on his side, and could easily avoid detection and evade with thorough impunity the hand of justice. When the feudal system declined, a new state of affairs seemed to take its place. Vassals and retainers assumed a different kind of position altogether. Then came the days of rough-and-ready brigandage. Large tracts of the country were occupied by dense masses of

trees, and an undergrowth which had been growing for centuries, and was almost as impenetrable to explorers as those primeval forests which have existed, and in many parts still exist, on the great American continent. These sylvan retreats afforded protection, and even sustenance, to the fierce bands of marauders who devastated the land with their raids on all classes of the community. These were the veritable terrors of society. They held for their rule of conduct that "they should take who have the power, and they should keep who can." At the end of the sixteenth century, and towards the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a great amount of rapine was committed by a set of idle mischievous people who kept the owners of flocks and herds in a perpetual condition of watchfulness. It was calculated on the best authority that as many as four hundred vagabonds plied their unlawful occupation of plunder in each county throughout the kingdom.* In the reign of Henry VIII. the number of thieves and malefactors hung yearly rose to the average of two thousand.† Some of these marauders congregated in troops, and moved about like an army, defrauding the country people in all directions. They made fastnesses for themselves, and had regular plans for meeting at stated times and places, where it was impossible to follow them, or to penetrate into their hiding caverns. In the northern districts bands of predatory rascals went prowling among innocent people, and the usefulness of the various castles, peels, towers of refuge, and other similar habitations was very manifest. It was found advisable even to place some of the churches in a position of defence. The church of Burgh-upon-Sands, near Carlisle, is an excellent example of a fortified border church.‡ The atrocities committed in the repeated attacks made by the Borderers were distinguished for their violence. These people were of the most clannish disposition, and clung together throughout every species of aggression and warfare with great determination. Their ways were not the ways of the generality of mankind. Sir Walter Scott,

* Strype's *Annals*, vol. iv.

† Harrison's *Britain*, Book II.

‡ Great Salkeld, in the same county, is also another instance. At the base of its tower is a dungeon.

* Evans' *Stone Implements*, p. 256. An illustration of a tribulum from Aleppo is given on p. 257.

† Munro's *Scottish Lake Dwellings*, pp. 119—121.

in the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, brings them prominently forward as actors in that legendary poem. He tells us in his notes that they regularly told their beads before going on an expedition of plunder, that they bore the appellation of moss-troopers, and that their predatory inroads were termed forays.

Her son pursued his infant play,
A fancied moss-trooper, the boy
The truncheon of a spear bestrode,
And round the hall right merrily
In mimic foray rode.*

In a fortunate hour Lord William Howard was appointed Warden of the Marches, and it was well for the good folks of Carlisle and Brampton that they possessed such a powerful neighbour to rid them of many of the pestilent knaves who worried them. Ill the day for the vagrant and ferocious free-booters who were caught tripping. Once in the strong grasp of the Warden, their power for evil soon went. Many a sturdy vagabond has been suspended by his decree from the boughs of one of the ancient oaks near his lordly dwelling. A noble specimen of that grand English tree bears the credit of having been the extempore gallows of the Border ruffians, and it is pointed out to strangers who approach the time-worn towers of Naworth Castle as symbolical of the power of one of the haughtiest chieftains of the north. Stern, severe, and unrelenting, he showed little mercy to the wild fellows who roamed the country far and wide in those lawless days. Any amount of interest attaches itself to the home of Lord William Howard. His Castle of Naworth lies about two miles from the town of Brampton, and although a fire which broke out on the 18th of May, 1844, did a vast amount of damage to the interior, sufficient remains to indicate the former grandeur and authority of "Belted Will." Sir Walter Scott gives him this sobriquet in his famous poem. Its origin is doubtful. It has been thought to have for derivation the Saxon *bauld*, bold. Another version gives the term as in reference to some peculiarity in the belt of the noble wearer, as exhibited in his portraits. In these, however, the bauldrick or belt is worn very narrow.

* Canto i., Stanza 19.

The Dacres were the original possessors of Naworth, and of the Barony of Gilsland. They held them for more than two hundred years. The princely domain came to Lord William Howard through his wife, Elizabeth, sister to George, Lord Dacre, who died without issue. The Barony of Gilsland was given by Henry II. to Hubert de Vallibus, from whose family it passed to the Dacres, one of whom, Ralph, Lord Dacre, had licence to crenellate his mansion.* In the reign of Henry V., Thomas de Dacre is summoned to the Parliament holden at Westminster in the first year of that monarch's reign. It is noteworthy that he is styled Thomas de Dacre de Gilsland. He is found again on the roll of summons in the second year of Henry V. It was during this session that Thomas Chaucer, Esq., chief butler to the king, prayed that the executors of Henry IV. may appear and pay him certain moneys for wine taken up for the king. Much uncertainty prevails as to the builder of Naworth Castle; many circumstances point to Ranulph de Dacre, who flourished in the time of Edward I., and who was the Constable of the Tower in the fourteenth year of that king's reign.† Stowe relates, in his very quaint fashion, how the property went out of the Dacre family. He says:—

George, Lord Dacre, of Greystoke, son and heir of Thomas, Lord Dacre, being a child in years, and then ward to Thomas, Lord Howard, Duke of Norfolk, was, by a great mischance, slayne at Thetford, in the house of Sir Richard Palmerston, knight, by meane of a vaunting horse of woode standing in the same house, upon which horse as he meant to have vaunted, and the pins at the feet being not made sure, the horse fell upon him and bruised the brains out of his head.

The unfortunate young nobleman left three sisters co-heiresses, and to the youngest of these "Belted Will" is said to have been married when only fourteen years old. Lord William Howard, to give his real name, was one of the sons of that Duke of Norfolk who was beheaded for conspiring with the Queen of Scots against Queen Elizabeth, on the 8th of May, 1572. It is on record that, when nine

* One Randolfe de Dacre was summoned to Parliament in the third year of the reign of Edward III. — *Vide Cotton's Records*, p. 5.

† It fell to the lot of the Constable of the Tower at this time, by command, with the aid of the Mayor and Sheriffs of London and the Earl Marshal, to execute Roger Mortimer as a traitor.

years of age, he was compelled to see his father executed on Tower Hill. Later on Lord William, having embraced the Romish faith, together with his brother the Earl of Arundel, it was considered politically expedient to incarcerate both the brothers in the Tower of London. Both were grandsons of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, who suffered death on the 21st of January, 1547, and whose fame as a poet lives in the memory of all lovers of English verse. Philip, Earl of Arundel, died during his captivity in 1595, and has left behind him two very interesting memorials, to be seen on the walls of the Beauchamp Tower in the Tower of London. Lord William was released after a time. He was married at Audley End. He lived at Thornthwaite, which he had purchased of Sir Henry Cuiver, having previously resided at Enfield, in the county of Middlesex.* When King James ascended the throne, Lord William Howard went into Cumberland, accompanied by his uncle, Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, in order to meet him and do homage. Soon afterwards he is heard of, purchasing some of the relics from the dilapidated castle of Kirkoswald, and having them placed in Naworth. In the very troublous era, when so many plans were being inaugurated for the purpose of placing Mary, Queen of Scots, in power, we discover Sir Francis Knollys busily engaged in affairs of State, and dreading the escape of Mary from the castle of Carlisle, recommending Naworth Castle as a fitting place of confinement.† This advice was not acted upon, Mary being relegated to the charge of the Earl of Shrewsbury, at Bolton Castle, in Yorkshire. The approach to Naworth is striking, and fully exhibits the truth of the remark so frequently made of the inaccessibility and strength of Border castles and feudal fortresses. The building is quadrangular, with towers at each corner, and is built on the edge of a precipice, at whose foot runs a stream contributed by the river Irthing. The declivities are covered with shrubs and trees, and so dense is the growth

of underwood that it is a matter of some difficulty, in more places than one, for a stranger moving below to see the castle in all its glory. The weakest side is at the entrance. Here, a curtain wall and an embrazured gateway lead into the courtyard. The interior of the great hall, though shorn of much of its ancient interest, is still sufficiently splendid to attract antiquarian tastes. It is seventy-eight feet in length, and contains a variety of heraldic devices, indicative of the lordly houses of the Dacres and Howards. The griffin representing the family of De Vallibus, the dolphin of the De Greystokes, the unicorn of the Multons, and the bull of the Dacres, are conspicuous amongst others. Two suits of armour preserved from the fire stand near the door. One of these is stated to have been worn by "Belted Will." As it is Elizabethan in character and design, there is every likelihood that the celebrated Warden may have worn it. The famous oak ceiling and wainscoting perished in the fire. These were the objects so prized by their former owner, and came originally from Kirkoswald. The ceiling was divided into panels, and on each panel was a portrait of a king of England. A long and narrow gallery runs round another part of the castle. Here, too, were some fine examples of armour. Now there are only a few *dissecta membra*. A tasset on the wall beside some portrait of a Dacre or Howard, and a pauldron and knee-piece, with some few other pieces, alone remain.

The most interesting part of Naworth remains fortunately almost intact. This is that portion of the castle where the Naworth hero seems to have lived and slept. Here, at the summit of one of the towers, is the library, where are yet to be seen in little closets many books of old theology, one bearing his autograph. Adjoining is the oratory, on whose altar are many figures in white marble. A painting of the crucifixion is very suggestive of the style and manner of Lucas van Leyden. Below is the bedroom. All the rooms are very strongly secured: plated iron on the doors, ponderous bolts and stout locks, show the means taken to keep out intruders. A private and craftily-devised staircase communicates from these apartments to the dungeons below, so as to render escape easy in the event of a successful siege.

* Probably at Lincoln House, in Ponder's End, in the parish of Enfield, where a branch of the great Howard family once lived. Lord William paid poor-rates here from 1600 till 1623.

† Letter preserved in Cotton MS., dated 1568.

Portraits of Lord William and Lady Elizabeth Dacre, his wife, are shown in the castle. Two portraits are hung in the Stuart gallery at Corfe Castle: one is said to be that of "Belted Will," the other his grandson, Colonel Thomas Howard, who was killed at Atherton Moor. In the collection belonging to the Earls of Carlisle is a full length, in which he is dressed in doublet and hose with an open white collar. It is from him that the Carlisle branch of the Howards descends. Mr. Fairfax possesses a representation of Lady Elizabeth Dacre, the wife of Lord William. She wears a lace head-dress, wide ruff, and a brown figured surcoat, showing a black puffed skirt and sleeves. This lady, like her husband, had a nickname, being called by the north country people "Bessy with the braid apron," owing to the large possessions she brought into the Howard family. They lived together for ten years beyond the period of their golden wedding. She died in 1639, and he in the following year, on the 9th of October, at Naworth. The place of his interment is doubtful. The motto *Fort en Loialte*, which is seen in more than one instance inscribed at Naworth, is characteristic of the life and proceedings of "Belted Will." When, on the accession of James I., he was invested with the office of Warden of the Western Marches, he determined to execute the sovereign's mandate, and to compel submission from every one whose outrages disturbed the peace and quiet of the land. Complaints had been made in the time of Elizabeth of the lax administration of justice, and Her Majesty once threatened to commit authority to indigent and needy persons, who would find it suitable to enforce the law.* No such stimulus was required by "Belted Will." His castle at Naworth served as a regular centre, from whence, at the head of some fourteen hundred men-at-arms, he could scour the country in all directions, and chase the barbarous marauders to their doom.

Galled by the chain, in the victor's train,
They walked for a weary hour;
They passed from their sight, the cheering sunlight,
In the dungeons of Naworth Tower."

Sleugh-dogs or blood-hounds were kept by order, for the object of chasing the moss-

troopers. Notwithstanding the rigorous measures adopted by the Warden for the protection of himself and family, as well as his peaceful neighbours, it is certain that his mind was not entirely occupied by the duties of his office, for he had literary tastes, and evidently not only collected books but read them with diligence. The learned historian, Camden, visited him at Naworth in 1607, and describes him not only as a lover of antiquities, but able to converse upon kindred topics.

At a short distance from Naworth, all that is left of Lanercost Priory may be seen. This monastic institution was founded in the year 1116 by Robert de Vallibus, and to it came the Augustine Order of Brothers.* Its revenues became very great, and at the dissolution of these establishments in 1543 it was given to Thomas Dacre, a direct descendant of the founder. Of all else, the conventual church is the one part in repair and good condition, and is used now as the parish church. The following lines are inscribed on a brass plate in the chancel. Within the memory of some of the adjacent parishioners they were to be deciphered on one of the tombs amidst the ruins:—

Sir Roland de Vaux, that sometime was Lord of
Tryernmaine,
Is dead, his body clad in lead, and lyes under this
stane,
Even as we, even so was he on earth a laornard
man,
Even as he, even so maun we, for all ye craft we
can.

This Roland, who lived in the reign of King John, was nephew of the founder. The outside of this church has certain imposing features. Over the west front there exists still a statue of Mary Magdalene, the tutelar saint of the priory. A portion of the buildings has been converted into a farmhouse. The Prior's lodgings are preserved, with a square tower in the centre. One of the rooms is called the King's chamber, from the fact that Edward I. passed the last winter of his life here.† Possibly on account of the hospitality afforded him on this occasion, the

* The date has been disputed, the charter being signed by Walter, Prior of Carlisle, who was made Prior in or about 1133.

† Edward died at Burgh-by-Sands, in Cumberland, on the 7th of July, 1307.

* *D'Ewes*, p. 234.

king subsequently gave two advowsons to the Prior. About the same time some curious donations were allotted, such as the tithes of venison, the skins of deer and foxes, the bark of trees, as well, and strangest of all, sundry villeins, their issue and goods. Two other noble and illustrious guests were entertained here—Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, in 1311, and in 1346 David, King of Scotland. Both, however, came accompanied by an army, and exercised great severity towards the unhappy canons. Indeed, it was from this time that the fortunes of Lanercost declined. The chapels, transepts, and chancel are roofless and in ruins. An open colonnade goes round part of the buildings, and is supported by single pillars only. On the ground are tombs, chiefly of the Dacre and Howard families. Here and there a word or two, together with an occasional heraldic device, may yet be traced. Once, about a hundred years since, the vault of one of the Lords Dacre was opened, and a body wrapped in lead carried off.* A quantity of Roman altars are preserved in the Cloisters. The Wall of Severus passed near the Priory. One altar is inscribed to the god Cocidius, another to the god Silvanus.† At a few yards' distance are the remains of an arched gateway, which in its present state forms a picturesque frame for the ruined Lanercost. The ruins and the surrounding scenery are in harmony with every recollection of one whom—

the Borderers still
Call noble Howard, "Belted Will."



Thumb-Lore.

BY LEOPOLD WAGNER.

TO those possessing a taste for the curious, the folk-lore of "thumbs" forms an interesting study, while such persons as are apt to deride the thumb as an apparently insignificant

member of the hand, may be surprised to learn, not perhaps that it performs many essential functions of daily life, but that it has played an important part in ancient and modern history, as well as among the social customs of different nations. Nothing is more usual, during the cold weather, for instance, than the remark that "one's fingers are all thumbs," meaning thereby that they have temporarily lost the power of sensibility and usefulness; while, on the other hand, so conscious were the ancients of the practical utility and value of that particular member, that it was quite a common thing for the Roman soldiers to *cut off their thumbs* in order to avoid being pressed into active service.

From the remotest days of antiquity the practice of *licking the thumb* has always been regarded as a solemn pledge or promise, existing, according to Tacitus and other authorities, not only among the Goths, the Iberians, and the Moors, but which may be traced through successive periods even down to our own time.

Lord Erskine, in his *Institutes*, affirms that among certain of the lower ranks in Scotland, the final settlement of a bargain was always signalled by the "licking and joining of thumbs," and decrees are at this moment extant testifying to the legality of sales effected upon "thumb-licking," with this interpretation, "that the parties had licked thumbs at finishing the bargain." Relics of this ancient custom are still to be met with among the vulgar in Scotland, as also in those parts of Ulster where the inhabitants are of Scottish descent, the common observation between two gossips who ultimately agree upon a disputed point being, "We may lick thooms upo' that!"

In another aspect, *licking the thumb* appears to have implied a challenge or promise to be redeemed at some future opportunity, equally significant as was the casting of the gauntlet at the rival's feet of an earlier period, and from which no departure was possible. But from the days of chivalry down to the time of Shakespeare, and long after, the recognised form of challenge was universally that of *biting the thumb*, though many historians and commentators argue that this may have been intended merely as an

* It proved to be the remains of Lord William Dacre, Knight of the Garter.

† These altars are figured in Dr. Collingwood Bruce's fine work, *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, which he edited for that distinguished provincial institution the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

insulting gesture. At the very rising of the curtain upon *Romeo and Juliet*, the feud between the adherents of the rival houses is introduced by one of them biting his thumb, which is construed by those on the opposite side as an intentional insult or challenge for another deadly broil. Thus *Samson*, on the Capulet side, tells his companion that he will bite his thumb at them, "which is a disgrace to them if they bear it," upon which *Abram*, of the Montague, demands, "Do you bite your thumb at us, sir?" Here *Gregory*, having hastily taken in a calculation of the opposing numbers, thinks fit to decline the challenge, and returns: "No, sir, I do not bite my thumb at you, sir, but I bite my thumb, sir." This evasive reply is, however, of little avail, for the onslaught becomes general, the fatal issue of which is only prevented by the timely arrival of the Prince, who commands them instantly to disperse, under penalty of their lives. Again, the poet Decker, in his *Dead Term*, wherein he gives us a lively description of the groups of gallants who daily distinguished themselves in the walks of old St. Paul's Churchyard, uses this expression:—"What swearing is there, what shouldering, what jeering, *what biting of thumbs to beget quarrels*;" and, says a writer in Chambers's *Book of Days*, the whole history of a quarrel seems to be detailed in this quotation:

We almost see the ruffling swash-bucklers strutting up and down St. Paul's Walk, full of braggadocio and "new turned oaths." At first they shoulder, as if by accident; at the next turn they jostle; fiery expostulation is answered by jeering, and then, but not till then, the thumb is bitten, expressive of dire revenge at a convenient opportunity, for fight they dare not within the precincts of the Cathedral church.

In a note to his *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, Sir Walter Scott likewise alludes to this custom, viz.:

To *bite the thumb* or the glove seems not to have been considered upon the Border as a gesture of contempt, though so used by Shakespeare, but as a pledge of mortal revenge,

and proceeds to narrate an instance wherein a young gentleman of Cheviotdale discovered on the morning after a hard drinking bout that his glove had been bitten, and knowing that he must have quarrelled with some one, he instantly repaired to his late companions until he whom he had challenged presented

himself, following which the two engaged in a duel, which proved fatal to the challenger. This incident occurred at Selkirk in 1721.

From Seldon's *Titles of Honour* we learn that *kissing the thumb* was formerly a characteristic of servility, the clergy, the rich, and the great being in receipt of this honour from the "tradesmen" who had the privilege of supplying their household requisites. This ceremony was performed at every interview: the tenant kneeling and clasping the hands of his lord, he kissed the thumbs ere he rose to depart. The custom was widespread on the Continent, and peculiar most of all to Dauphiny.

Omens and superstitions have been connected with the thumb equally with other material things. Shakespeare has several allusions, notably in *Macbeth*, Act IV. sc. 1, where the second witch, anticipating the approach of the murderer of Duncan, says:

By the pricking of my thumbs
Someone evil this way comes,

an omen as characteristic as that of the tingling of the ears, by which we believe ourselves to be the topic of thought or conversation on the part of a distant acquaintance. Again, in the same play, Act I. sc. 2, the first witch thus foretells the manner of Macbeth's return from the seas—

Though his bark cannot be lost,
Yet it shall be tempest tossed,

and being questioned by her companion as to the stability of her knowledge, she returns, showing her withered thumb:

Here I have a pilot's thumb,
Wreck'd as homeward he did come.

The thumb also played an important part in the ceremonies which attended the gladiatorial shows of the ancients. When, during such scenes in the Roman arena, any one of the combatants had obtained a complete victory over his opponent, his eye would be directed towards the Imperial throne, as also towards that galaxy of feminine beauty that surrounded it, for the usual signal. If the thumbs of the Emperor, who was invariably guided by the fashionable part of the populace, were merely stretched forward or pointed towards the ground, the victim was to be forthwith despatched; but if held upwards, his life was to be spared.

From time immemorial the *thumb pressed on the wax* as a seal or mark of good faith has been universally recognized, and which custom has survived to this day. Nor have instances been wanting to prove that forgers and secretaries detected in falsifying documents have been condemned to lose their thumbs by amputation, which sentence was rendered the more degrading by reason of its being performed by the common executioner. It may also be interesting to note that in China it has long been the custom, and still is, to preserve an impression of the thumbs of criminals; and which means of identification on future committals is at least equal to our own method of taking the portraits of notorious malefactors, or, in the case of those sought after by the law, of the collection of any existing likeness of their features previous to the commission of their crimes. Indeed, so far from acknowledging their peculiar process of identification to be in any manner absurd, the Chinese authorities hold that the human countenance, and even the hand, as a whole, undergoes a marked change by the progress of time; but the thumb retains its peculiar formation and other characteristics during life, nor has it ever been known to change.

Swearing by the sword was formerly one of the most solemn oaths that could be administered, particularly in the days of knight-errantry. Nevertheless, the historian Ducange has left us an instance where the registration of a vow by *pressing the thumb on the sword blade* was not only considered above any knightly oath, but was even more binding than those most rigorous vows which virgins impose upon themselves when taking the veil. The story is too long for reproduction here; but it may be summed up with the remark that the Pope of Rome, while he published the fact that he could grant a dispensation from taking the veil, yet he could not impose upon himself the responsibility of gainsaying the *oath by thumb*. It has been conjectured by antiquaries that the Latin word *polliceri*, "to promise to engage," has been directly derived from *pollex*, *pollicis*, the thumb.



A Description of England sent to Philip II. of Spain.

BY J. THEODORE BENT.



JUST two years before the Spanish Armada, the following account of the condition of England at that time was sent to Philip II. of Spain by one of his agents in England. It is presumable that it was one of the principal incentives to that monarch for undertaking his expedition. The document has for long been reposing amongst the other Spanish MSS. in the British Museum. The letter is without name or date, but written in the same handwriting as that of another written to the Spanish king a year or two later, describing Flanders very minutely. In the course of the letter the year is alluded to as 28 Elizabeth. It was written in bad Italian, evidently not that of a native of that country from the construction of sentences, wrong genders, etc. A translation into Spanish is appended. From the fact that the writer calls the Thames *Tamise*, it might be argued that the letter was written by some French-speaking merchant, perhaps from Flanders, who used Italian as a convenient medium for conveying his information.

The following is a literal translation of the letter, as it stands:—

Most illustrious and revered Lord,—

The kingdom of England is divided into 39 Provinces, as will be presently notified, and those which are in the hands of men for the most part Catholic are marked +. We will begin from the River Thames, which passes through London, and falls into the sea in the east, and commencing from the Southern side and the side nearest Spain; they are as follows. Kent, Sussex +, Surrey, Southampton +, Berkshire +, Wiltshire, Dorset +, Somerset, Devonshire +, Cornwall +. This last province has a mountain, which bends towards the sea after the fashion of a horn in the direction of Spain, and extends along the coast towards London in the east about 90 miles, and is about 12 miles in width, in parts about 15. And to the west there is the river Severn, which divides it from England. The inhabitants are quite different in speech, customs, and laws from the English; they use the (imperdali?) laws, as also do the Welsh their neighbours, who are on the side of Ireland, and are also still for the most part Catholic.

Still keeping to the said river Thames on the left towards the East and on the side of Flanders and Scotland, there are, Essex, Middlesex, Hertford, Suffolk +, Norfolk, Cambridge.

There are then ten of the said provinces in the middle of the kingdom—Bedford, Huntingdon,

Buckingham, Oxford +, Northampton, Rutland +, Leicester, Nottingham, Warwick, Lincoln.

There are six which border on Wales towards the side of Ireland, Gloucester +, Hereford +, Worcester +, Shropshire +, Stafford, Chester.

Almost in the middle of the kingdom there are four. Derby +, York +, Lancaster +, and Cumberland +.

On the north towards the Scottish border there are three. Westmoreland +, Durham +, Northumberland +.

There are 22 bishops in this country, who are all heretics, so I will not name them. I will only point out the principal ports for receiving a fleet; those which have forts to protect them will be marked O, and those which have castles will be marked Θ, and we will commence at the mouth of the Thames, on the side towards Spain:—the Isle of Sheppey, the Shore of Margate Θ, Chichester, Portsmouth* Θ O, Antona Θ (Southampton), the Isle of Wight* Θ, Poole, Exeter, Dartmouth, the shore of Tor Bay, Plymouth Θ, Falmouth Θ, Cornwall Θ, Bristol, Bridgewater.

Turning eastwards towards the side of Flanders, there are Cippisto (?), Sandwich, Colchester, Ipswich, Yarmouth, Lynn, Boston, Brichelsea (?), Yelle (?) Goole, Hull, Newcastle.

There are moreover all round the island plenty of ports for ships below 50 tons, but as for the forts and castles they are of no account, except those that are marked +, for the rest they are of small value, so that by landing 100 men, as could easily be done, they could easily be captured, because they have only a sea frontage, and inland there is nothing to fear, for in this kingdom they do not like fortresses through fear of rebellions.

The following is a list of the noblemen of this country; those who are considered Catholics are marked +, and those who are safe Catholics are marked ++.

THE EARLS.

++ Arundel	Bedford
++ Oxford	Southampton
Salisbury	+ Cumberland
Derby	+++ Rutland
Kent	Essex
Lincoln	+ Worcester
Huntingdon	Hereford
Pembroke	++ Westmoreland
Leicester	Northumberland
Sussex	++ Viscount Montague
Warwick	Viscount Bindon
Hertford	

THE BARONS.

++ Lumley	Mountjoy
Chandos	+ Berkley
Hunsdon	Montacute
+ Dacre of the North	Latimer
Dacre of the South	+ Scrope
Darcy	Rae
Bray	Lucie
Burgh	+ Audley
Windso	+ Morley
Monteagle	Gray
Cobham	Harewood
+ Compton	Dudley
Bruchelle (?Burghley)	Howard, Admiral

Now I will tell you how many soldiers this country can produce, and what fleet they can get together. Your Highness knows that it is now 2 years since there was a general review of the kingdom, when they showed that there were 200,000 infantry, and 5,000 cavalry, which by the report of most captains, and also by witnesses, the fact cannot in truth be more than 20,000 infantry and of regular service soldiers, and 2,000 horses, that is to say cobs (cavalucci), for of a truth you could not find 400 chargers in the whole kingdom, perhaps not so many as 200, since the Earl of Leicester has passed over to Holland as governor,* and his nephew Philip Sidney is at Flushing, Colonel Norris is at the siege of Nimeguen, others are at La Bulle, Bruges, Michelburg, and Ostend, and to tell the truth I believe the greater part of the army has crossed over.

Now as to the fleet. The Queen has only 28 ships, ten of which are from seven to eight hundred tons, others from three to four hundred, and small ones of about 250. Eight of these the Queen has built herself, two were built in the time of King Edward, and the others are very old, having been built in the time of King Henry. She can get together about 150 private merchant ships, but still few of these are suitable for war, and one can calculate that three-fourths of them are not more than 150 tons and downwards, but as we have just seen, if this Queen has to make so great a fleet, and maintain so many troops in the Low Countries, how can she make good this deficiency? And it is quite certain she will not be able to do so. And so your most illustrious Highness can see that it is so.

Presently I will give you a calculation about the revenue of this Queen, and the expenses which she has, by which it will be clearly seen that she is not so skilful as also experience taught us in the case of King Henry, who had the reputation of having a great treasure from all that he had taken from the churches, yet when he wanted to cross over to Boulogne, he was obliged to debase his coinage, and to make some of white brass, and ever after neither he, nor King Edward, nor Queen Mary, was able to replace it with good money. Furthermore let your Highness be assured that the principal foundation by which this country is maintained is by piracy at sea, and they entertain hopes some day of seizing our Indian fleet, which assuredly they will do, if this kingdom is not shortly suppressed, since every day they are growing in strength, and in the knowledge of military affairs, far more than the rest of the world are aware of.

Of a truth your Catholic majesty has now the best opportunity for restoring the Catholic religion in this country which could possibly be desired, and with a few men this enterprise could be carried out, seeing that now so many of them are abroad, and moreover the Catholics in the country will arise in favour of you. All that is necessary is to have cavalry to pass quickly through the country, which is all open, and level without any fortresses, and abounding in all necessary things, and of a truth it will not take more than a month when once the troops are landed. Furthermore there is no fear of France, nor of others

* Elizabeth called her general in the Low Countries "Governor of the Netherlands," *vide* Lingard.

who are in league with this country, being able to come to their assistance, and only very little that those who are in the Low Country could return in time to assist their countrymen.

Finally I tell your illustrious Majesty, that if you are not resolved to make this expedition at once, these wars will not be finished for many years to come, which may God forbid and save and protect your royal and illustrious person with happy prosperity and a long life.

Your Highness shall now have the calculation of what this country renders by the year, and what is spent, so that you may better judge that the boasts which the Queen is now making are all founded in the air, and that the greater part of her funds come from the piracies, which I have alluded to.

The regular established revenue is calculated at	£120,000
From the duty on the merchandize which goes out	80,000
From the duty on the merchandize which comes in	30,000
From the impost on the wines of France	5,000
From the impost on the wines of Spain and Candia	3,500
From extra sources, such as guardianship of wards, etc.	20,000

Which is in the sum total £258,500

In money of which $\frac{3}{4}$ of our lira make one English one, and hence the total is 861,666 $\frac{2}{3}$ gold pieces.

She has placed besides five taxes on her subjects, which can be calculated as having produced at the most £500,000, which is equivalent to 1,666,666 $\frac{2}{3}$ gold pieces. She has reigned twenty-eight years, which, at 861,666 $\frac{2}{3}$ per annum, will make her to have received 18,413,870 gold pieces, so that in all, with the taxes on her subjects, she has received 20,080,536 gold pieces.

The expenses are as follows :—

The annual household expenditure	£24,000
For the payment of fifty gentlemen of her guard, at £50 per man, and the liveries at £15, in all £65 per annum, amount to	3,250
She spends every year in moving the court	2,000
For the salary of the gentlemen in office and other household officials	3,550
For the official list in various parts of the kingdom	2,500
For the official list in maritime affairs	2,500
For annual pensions, counting one year as another	3,000
For ambassadors sent abroad	5,000
For spies which she keeps abroad, counting one year as another	2,500
For gifts to foreign ambassadors, counting one year as another	3,500
For Warwick's armament on the Scotch frontier, where there are 1,500 infantry	20,000
For the armament in the Isle of Wight, and the Isles of Guernsey and Jersey	25,000
For keeping up her fleet, counting one year as another	5,500
which would amount to 380,166 golden pieces, that	

is, in 28 years, 10,644,648, which sum we must deduct from the 18,413,870, which makes her income come to 7,769,222.

Now the Queen, since her accession, has coined good money, instead of brass ; she has constructed many arsenals, and much metal and iron artillery. She has constructed 8 large ships ; she has maintained the rebels in France and in the Low Countries. The expedition to Alba Nova (?) cost her more than a million. Furthermore, one can well calculate that her income can exceed this but little, and this calculation has been made most carefully, as far as one was able to inform oneself from the English who are about this Court.

Now if your Majesty should choose to make war on England, it would be necessary not to come hither from Spain without the following preparations :— Seville oil, whale oil, alum, macaroni, which comes to them neither from Rome nor Civita Vecchia ; soap from Seville ; drag-nets from the island of Terceira and St. Michele, all of which things are necessary to gain your ends, with which one can give a livelihood to the people, who if deprived of them cannot gain their bread. But that which would please them most would be the salt of St. Lucar, without which they cannot go to fish, since there is no other good salt for salting the fish, for they are all too strong to eat away the fish, and in this way you will be able to get the people to rise against those who are causing all these troubles.

May God Himself direct your Majesty's mind towards what is best.



Osemund.

BY EDWARD PEACOCK, F.S.A.



HE date of the iron age, like that of its predecessors of stone and bronze, is unknown. More than one controversy has arisen as to its limits.

We shall enter on no fruitless argument of this kind, feeling assured that dates belong but to written records and the very limited period beyond on which written records cast a feeble and uncertain light. When history begins in these northern lands we find our forefathers using iron tools, and the testimony of graves and other relics leads us to believe with confidence that they were ironworkers long—very long before the light from Mediterranean lands dawned upon them.

However early we may throw back the knowledge of the art of manufacturing metals, it is a fact well known to all who study the history of mankind in its earlier stages that it is the newest of the great metals that have

been of service to man. As such it has retained among primitive peoples a sacredness which even gold has not. Gold is, indeed, the most precious of all created things, except a few gems which are valuable as ornaments and charms only, but iron was a great and new power in the hands of those who used it, and so was held to have many properties which we who know it from daily domestic use fail to attribute to it. Fragments of iron, the broken sword, the useless tool, the corroded vessel, were not useless; when their service in every-day life was over, they could still do good work of another kind, for if buried beneath the threshold, thrust into the thatch, or nailed upon the door, they were a great hindrance to, if not a certain cure for, witchcraft. The Bulgarians had a belief that fowls and other creatures might not be eaten unless killed by an iron instrument;* others have thought that iron objects exposed outside the house will cause strayed cattle to return and keep them safe from wolves,† and that a bit of iron held between the teeth when you hear the bells ring on Holy Saturday will cure toothache.‡ It was even used sometimes as a divining rod, a purpose for which a heavy metal implement seems remarkably unsuitable.§ Among the Pythagorean maxims we are told that fire must not be stirred with a sword, or as it stands elsewhere with iron.||

A no small volume might be written to good purpose on the folk lore of iron. Our object is the humbler one of drawing attention to one kind of iron, or rather to a forgotten name by which a certain sort of iron was long known in this country.

Such of our readers as are accustomed to read old account rolls of the latter middle ages or the sixteenth century must sometimes have come upon the word "osmund," "osemund," or "osmond." The light of nature would hardly be sufficient to explain its meaning to them, and if they had recourse to books of reference, although they would gather that the word had something to do

with iron, the explanations would be so conflicting that they would desist from their researches filled with confusion rather than knowledge. The earliest instance of the word which we remember to have come across is in *Le Domesday de Gippewyz* where we find in the English version "of osmond be the custum takyn as of brasse."* It is here explained to mean "a kind of ore or ironstone." In an undated compotus of Kingston-upon-Hull of the reign of Henry IV., "IX. bar osmond" are mentioned.† The editor gives no explanation of the meaning of the word. The late Mr. Thomas Wright published a poem, *circa* 1436-1437, called the *Libel of English Policy*, in which "osmonde" occurs named among other articles of merchandise such as copper, steel, and wax. He tells us that it is "a sort of iron." Fish-hooks, we are instructed by Dame Juliana Berners, or whoever wrote the book that passes under her name, should be "of stele and of osmonde."‡ In 1465 Sir John Howard paid for "iij sheffe osmond bowt be Pakwode sfor to make arow hedes ijs." In a note we are instructed that osmond is "a species of iron so called."§ In the reign of Henry VIII. the Humber was much infested by pirates. On one occasion some of these sea-thieves went so far as to carry off a vessel, and their doings became the subject of proceedings in the Star-chamber. The documents relating to this curious case have been printed by the present writer in the *Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Journal*. Among the merchandise that these ill-conditioned people had appropriated was "one last of osmonds."|| In the unprinted churchwardens' accounts of Louth, Lincolnshire, eighteenpence is charged in 1510-11 "for osmondes to bell yokes," and in 1530 tenpence was paid to the clockmaker for a similar article. The word occurs in the Statutes of the Realm, 32 Henry VIII. c. 14,¶

* *Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. by Sir Travers Twiss, ii. 190, 191.

† *Notes relative to the Early Hist. of the Town of Hull*, by Ch. Frost, App. 18.

‡ *Treatyse of Fysshinge with an Angle*, ed. 1827, p. 7.

§ *Manners and Household Expenses* (Roxb. Club), 301.

|| Vol. ii., p. 248.

¶ *Record com.*, ed. iii. 761.

* Thiers' *Traité des Sup.*, 1777, i. 236.

† *Ibid.*, i. 239.

‡ *Ibid.*, i. 340.

§ Le Brun, *Sup. Anc. et Mod.*, i. xiii.

|| Tylor, E. B., *Early Hist. of Mankind*, 2nd ed. 279.

and in the will of Henry Anderson, of New-castle-upon-Tyne, dated 1558. He was a merchant, and the "osmondes" in his possession is distinguished from "Amyshe iron," "English iron," and "Spanish iron."* In the inventory of the goods of John Nevil, of Faldingworth, in Lincolnshire, the original of which is in the writer's possession, "a barrell of osmonds" is described as being in the nether buttery. It was worth fourteen shillings. There were also "certayne osmonds in a barrell in the milkhouse," which were valued at four shillings. The Rev. W. D. Macray has drawn our attention to the fact that in Forrest's *History of Grisild*,—that is Katherine of Arragon,—which he edited for the Roxburgh Club, the word is used in such a way as to show that it was then well understood.

* With that a woman (I saw it trulye)
A lumpe of osmundys let harde at hym flynge,
Which miste of his noddle the more pyte,
And on his fryers heelys it came trytelynge,
Whol (sodaynly) as hee it perceavyng
Made his complaynt vpon the women so
That thirte the morowe were in Bokerdo. †

A former editor of a portion of this poem had gone so utterly astray as to explain the "osmundys" of the text by *osmunda regalis*, a plant not at all likely to have been found growing in the street of a town, and one that could not have formed a very serious missile had it been at hand.

Several more recent instances might be given. The last time I have met with it used as a vernacular word is in *The Builders' Guide*, by William Salmon, jun., carpenter, of Colchester. I have not succeeded in finding any other copy of this book except the one in the British Museum. From this, unhappily, the date has been shorn away by some ruthless binder before the little book became national property. There is no doubt that the book was issued about the middle of the eighteenth century. In a table of measures we are told that "a last of osmonds or ironstone is four thousandweight." † The word does not occur in the alphabetical arrangement in Spelman's *Glossarium Archaeo-*

logicum. It is however to be found under *Last*, but is left without explanation. It is given in Blount's *Law Dictionary*; but the hazy way in which it is explained shows that the author knew very little of the subject on which he was giving instruction. He says that it is "a kind of ore, or ironstone, assuming the nature of iron, and it seems was anciently brought into England." Cowel's *Law Dictionary*, 1727, repeats these words; and Giles Jacob, in his *New Law Dictionary*, 1756, varies them as follows: "A kind of ore of which iron is made anciently brought into England." Kersey and Bailey both tell us that it is "the ore of which iron is made." The modern dictionary makers and note-writers have gained what knowledge they have from some of the above authorities. Admiral W. H. Smyth thought that it was "the old term for pig-iron."*

Mr. T. Hudson Turner, in his *Account of Domestic Architecture in England*, made a guess at the derivation of the word. He tells us that "the signification of the term is not very obvious, though we presume it to be the name of the place of manufacture." †

There seems no reason why we should presume anything of the sort. Experience teaches us that guesses at the derivation of words have a most provoking habit of turning up blanks. Mr. Turner had probably got a hint from some continental guesser; for we find in the *Algemeene Kunstwoordentolk* of J. Kramers, jun., *osemund* or *oszmund* defined as a sort of Swedish iron bars, called thus from an iron-mill of that name. It is proverbially difficult to prove a negative; but from inquiries we have made, we think it almost certain that this is a mistake. No such place is at present known, and Hüber and Zincke's *Natur-Kunst-Berg-Gewerck und Handlungs Lexicon* defines *osemond* correctly as "das beste Eisen so aus Schweden kommt," but makes no reference to any place of that name. Zedler's *Universal Lexicon* uses similar words, and directs the reader's attention to a passage where it is mentioned in the *Berg Chronica* of Petrus Albinus, A.D. 1589-90.

It is somewhat strange that antiquaries and the annotators of old documents have not, when puzzled by this strange word, tried

* *Wills and Inv. of Northern Counties* (Surtees Soc.), i. 166.

† P. 77, 195.

† P. 150.

* *Sailors' Word-book*, sub *voc.*

† P. xxxi.

to find something concerning it in works on metals. Dr. John Percy, in his great work on *Iron and Steel*, furnishes evidence which at once disposes of the iron-ore theory. He gives a very interesting account of the Osmund process of iron manufacture, an operation which may still be seen going on in Finland. The ore treated in the Osmund furnaces was, and is still, we believe, bog-iron, which "consists essentially of hydrated sesquioxide of iron." It was gathered from the bottoms of lakes and rivers in large porous brown masses of sponge-like texture. During the summer the ore was gathered into boats by means of drags; and when the rivers were frozen, it was raked up through holes made in the ice. The manner in which it was collected is fully described by Dr. Percy, as is also the construction of the Osmund smelting furnace.*

Emanuel Swedenborg has in his *Regnum Subterraneum* a chapter entitled "De ferro Svecano Osmund vocato," in which he gives an interesting account of the Osmund process, and an engraving of the furnace and tools used.† This is the earliest detailed account of the Osmund process with which we are acquainted; but there is not much doubt that earlier notices of it may be found in Northern books with which we are unacquainted.

There is evidence that iron was smelted in the Roman time, if not earlier, in several parts of England. In the neighbourhood of the Frodingham iron field, in Lincolnshire, large quantities of iron slag have been found, but no excavations have been observed from which the ore can have been taken. It is therefore probable that the old ironworkers employed bog-iron, which exists in swampy places in large quantities, and that it was prepared for use by means not unlike the Osmund process.

In a proposed treaty with the King of Sweden in 1551, *ozymus* is mentioned in conjunction with steel and copper.‡ This seems to be a kindred word. We have not succeeded in finding the text of the treaty, and at one time suggested that *Ozymus* might be a misprint for *Osmond*. In this

we were in error. The authority on which Burnet and Heylyn relied was King Edward VI.'s diary. We have examined the original autograph manuscript in the British Museum, where the passage runs thus in the boy-king's clear hand, under the date of April 24, 1550:

Certein articles touching a straighter amytie in marchandes sent to the King of Suethen, being these—First, if the King of Swethen sent bullion, he shuld haue our commodities and pay noe toll. Secondly, he shuld bring bullion to non other prince. Thirdly, if he brought *ozymus* and stele, he shuld haue our commodities and pai custom as an Englishman.*

If *ozymus* be another word for *osmond*, new instances of it may not improbably be found. Should a Latin text of this treaty exist—of which we can find no trace—it might clear up the difficulty.

We shrink from suggesting anything as to the origin of the word *Osmond*. A derivation not palpably absurd has occurred to us, but it is a guess only, and guesses perform no useful function in relation to word-derivation except the humble one of exposing the ignorance of the incompetent.



British or Roman-British Remains near Bicester.

BY N. S. FOSTER, M.B.



HERE is a large tract of arable land on the south-easterly slope of a hill two miles from Bicester, where for many years stone used for repairing the roads has been dug to a depth of about four feet, and a considerable area annually turned over. This spot may be briefly described as being not far from the Roman city of Alcester, and the Akeman Street; and also in the immediate neighbourhood of "Graven Hill," where popular tradition credits the Saxon and Dane with engaging in numerous sanguinary encounters during the period of their continuous strife, this eminence (Graven Hill) being the place where they buried their dead.

* Pp. 320-325.

† Vol. ii., pp. 119-124.

‡ Heylyn, *Eccl. Restaurata* (Eccl. Hist. Soc. Ed.), i. 232. Burnet, *Hist. Ref. Ed. Pocock*, v. 16.

* Cotton MSS., Nero, x.

In the autumn of 1879 I heard from the workmen employed at this stone-pit that they were continually meeting with places where the stone had been scooped away, and re-filled with mould, and that these trenches abounded in broken crockery and bones. These finds had been going on for twenty years; and although the men were on the constant look-out for a "pot of guineas," which they, simple folk, fully expected to find, to their disgust nothing but bones and crockery ever rewarded their vigilance.

As there chanced to be several of the trenches open in the section then being worked, my curiosity being aroused, I determined to explore for myself.

The one I commenced upon had already been fallowed up for about a dozen yards with the usual results, and a general description of it may be briefly given as typical of the rest.

On account of the ploughed surface, I could not ascertain whether there had been any slight mound to indicate its site; the top soil averages a foot in depth, and the rock about three feet. The light colour of the oolite renders the section of the trenches very distinct, the depth and width of which, in the rock, vary from one and a half to two feet each way.

The manner in which the stone is cut rendered the labour of removing the soil very easy, as one has only to drag it into the pit below, and thus examine every inch of ground at a convenient standing height. I emptied the remainder of the trench, which extended another sixty-five feet, making the total length about thirty-three yards, and carefully preserved everything it contained. Many others, but all shorter ones, generally from five to fifteen yards, have been examined under my supervision with similar results.

Extending in all directions, they were never connected, nor did they run parallel, and but seldom at right angles to one another. Their distance apart was, as a rule, three yards to twenty yards or more. Some I learned had been found in quite solitary positions. The longest trench I thought would intersect another that for a little way ran at right angles to it; but it stopped short at about five or six feet from it, making the nearest approach of any to a join.

In direction none were quite straight; one only was bent at an angle. In some cases the curves rendered them tortuous, but were not reflected.

I noted a curious fact, viz., that the earth with which they had been re-filled contained no fragments of the stone which was removed to form the trench. Great care must have been taken to prevent this occurring.

The different contents may be thus classified, the first four met with in abundance:

1. Broken crockery, including one small vase almost perfect.
2. Ashes.
3. Bones and teeth of animals.
4. Pebbles, chips of flint, granite, etc.
5. A metal rim.

The broken crockery is variously distributed. I have sometimes found in a cubic yard of excavation as much as I could carry, whilst at others there were few pieces, and far between; but it is invariably most plentiful at the bottom of the trench. There are many varieties both in colour, quality, and thickness. The prevailing colours are red, black, grey, and white, including many shades of each. The thickness varies from one-eighth of an inch to one half inch or more, but is not always constant in the same fragment. Some are very tough and well made, whilst others are loosely worked, and exceedingly friable, yielding to the most careful touch, and containing small pebbles like millet seeds. It is rare to find close together two pieces which fit one another, and often a single specimen occurs with none to match it either in thickness or colour. Many of the fragments are three or four inches square, and portions of rims and bottoms are very numerous, the former giving a clue to the diameter of the vessel to which it belonged, and would frequently reach eighteen inches or more, and in several cases nearly three feet, which if the whole vase were in proportion would be unable to be placed in the trench whole.

Most of the bottoms have distinct perforations, cleanly pierced, which would about admit a pea, and invariably two in number (a curious fact); a few had a large hole evidently purposely broken. Judging from the size of the rims, large-mouthed jars seemed to predominate; but I have also found several necks and handles of Amphoræ.

On some specimens ornamentation of a simple character is very distinct. The following are the chief varieties :—

1. Parallel rings round the vessel varying in depth and heaviness from a mere scratch to a broad line.

2. The same with indentations about an inch long, placed closely together at right angles to the rings.

3. A space of about one inch broad covered with small tubercles arranged in order, and, as it were, vertically dividing the vase in sections.

4. A ledge encircling the neck, of various sizes.

The small vase I have already mentioned is almost perfect, light grey in colour. Its height, three inches; diameter, two and a half at the rim, and three and a half at the broadest part. It also stands on a foot a quarter of an inch high, and one inch across.

The modelling is exceedingly graceful, but on looking down upon it, the circle is not true; several rings circumscribe it of different depths, having the appearance of string marks. The vessel is too light and delicate to have been used for domestic purposes.

The teeth and bones belong to various natural orders, and two specimens were never found in anatomical relation to each other; thus the inferior maxilla of a pig would be near the metacarpal bone of a cow, a cow's astragalus turn up after a canine jaw; but altogether, especially among the teeth, the remains of cattle seemed to prevail. Most of the long bones were indiscriminately broken without any attempt at selecting the weakest part in order to render the task easier. The articular extremities are the best-preserved, much of the shaft being disintegrated and powdery.

The pebbles, chips of flint, granite, etc., are remarkable from their not belonging to the surrounding oolite; the former are water-worn, and mostly black or red, like those abounding by the sea shore, resembling carnelian, and some like pieces of iron ore. The size varies from an acorn to a walnut or larger. The granite and flint must also have been brought from a distance, and deposited where they were ultimately dug up.

The ashes are easily distinguishable from the surrounding mould by their dark appear-

ance, although they are much intermingled by the working of numerous large worms which seem to thrive among these remains.

They occur at uncertain intervals in the trenches, when a cubic foot or more is very dark, gradually shading off to the colour of the surrounding earth. They have no special relation to the potsherds; an abundance of the one may accompany a scarcity of the other, or *vice versâ*.

The Metal Ring.—Unfortunately the only metallic relic that has been heard of, is bronze or some similar alloy without any pattern, about one and a half inches in diameter, irregularly bent, more rounded on the outer than the inner surface, thicker in one part than another, and having at each extremity somewhat the appearance of a large earth-worm—that resembling the head is bolder and more rounded than the rest; the other, resembling the tail, is flattened and slightly twisted. The ends simply overlap each other about a quarter of an inch with no join. The metal is very tough, and the ring could only be unbent by using considerable force.

Having described the trenches and their contents, it remains to consider their intentions and use. I have not met with any account of similar remains, so that no assistance, as far as I know, is to be gained from other examples. It has been supposed they were burial places. Against this is the fact that no human skeletons are known to have been found, nor calcined bones of such, nor perfect pottery vessels, weapons or ornaments, excepting one small vase and ring.

It has been supposed the trenches were drains round habitations. This would account for the broken pottery, ashes, and animal bones, but does not account for the pebbles and pieces of granite, nor for the absence of the stone which was taken out of the trenches. It is possible that this latter may have been gradually taken away, as the land has been long under cultivation. The flint flakes may be the refuse of manufactured arrow-heads or scrapers, for which the unworked flints were brought from a distance. This refuse has often been found far away from flint districts.

At Yarnton, not many miles off, in excavating gravel for the railway in 1876, some trenches were discovered which contained

potsherds and animal bones, and in or near the trenches were six or more clearly defined interments.

A plan of the ground at one stage of the excavation was made by Sir H. Dryden, and notes were taken by Prof. Rolleston, but owing to the subsequent illness and death of the latter, they were probably never published. The trenches at Yarnton were from five to nine feet wide.

The foregoing account of the remains near Bicester may come under the notice of some one who, from having met with other examples, can explain the intentions of the trenches.



Mohammadan Coins.

BY STANLEY LANE-POOLE, B.A., M.R.A.S.

IN the study of Greek coins we are unceasingly fascinated by their artistic excellence and the lights they throw on the mythology of the most interesting people of antiquity. Roman and mediæval coins have their importance in showing us the source of our monetary system, and possess an added charm in the many historical associations they awake, though they seldom increase our actual knowledge of history. English coins we study because we are Englishmen, and like to know what our ancestors bartered their souls for. None of these attractions belong to Mohammadan coins. Art we should scarcely look for, since we all know that the Blessed Prophet declared that "every painter is in hell-fire," and straitly forbade the making of "statues" (by which he probably meant idols) and images of living things, on pain of the artist's being compelled to put a soul into his creation on the Day of Judgment. Hence true believers have always been very cautious of representing human or even animal forms as an aid to decoration, and we shall find that it is only when barbarous Tartars or heretical Persians enter the field that figures of living things appear in the art of Mohammadan countries and then very rarely upon their coins. The Eastern draughtsman, being debarred from the most fruitful of artistic materials, took refuge in the elaboration of those beautiful

arabesque designs and geometrical patterns which are so characteristic of so-called Arabian work, and even turned the natural grace of the Arabic writing to account as an element in decoration. Thus, on coins, as in mosques, we find the Kûfy character used as a thing of beauty and disposed to the best advantage, where a European artist would have relegated the letters to an obscure corner and devoted all his space to the head or other figure that occupied the face of the coin. It was a matter of necessity rather than of choice, but it had a good effect in developing the graceful and little cultivated art of calligraphy.

Nor must we expect any very interesting metrological data to be derived from Mohammadan coins. Their metrology, so far as it is known, is borrowed—like most other so-called Arabian things, whether philosophical, artistic, literary, or even religious—from the more cultivated nations the Muslims conquered, and the subject still rests in deep obscurity, chiefly because no one, except my indefatigable friend M. Sauvaire, has had the patience to work so dreary a vein. Historical associations it were vain to call up at the sight of a Muslim coin, since the great majority of even well-educated and reading folk are profoundly ignorant of everything oriental, except what is Biblical or Japanese. There are, perhaps, three or four Mohammadan celebrities known by name to a fair proportion of ordinary readers. "The good Haroun Al-Raschid" owes his popularity to the *Arabian Nights* and Mr. Tennyson, and coins bearing his name together with that of the ill-fated Vizir Jaafar, of which there are many examples in the British Museum and every other large collection, might touch a chord of remembrance; while a piece issued by the famous Saladin, though in itself uninteresting, carries upon its surface a long train of Crusading associations for the historical student. The currency of the great fighting Sultans of Turkey, the Amuraths and Mahomets, the Selims and Solimans—to adopt the barbarous kakography of Western writers—has its memories, and so have the large gold pieces, with their uncompromising declaration of faith, issued by "Bobadil" and the other heroes of the dying kingdom of the Moors in Spain. To a very few the solitary piece of

gold struck by the Mameluke Queen, Shejer ed-Durr (which, being interpreted, means Tree of Pearls), may recall the fact that it was this apparently fascinating but not quite irreproachable lady who first made the pilgrimage to Mekka in the palanquin or mahmal which has ever since been a notable feature of the departure of the pilgrims from Cairo, and which, being inextricably confused with the Holy Carpet, has severely exercised the British conscience of late.

The coin in question is a good example of the rich genealogical material to be extracted from an Arabic half-guinea. On one side, in the margin, is the profession of faith, testifying to the striker's belief that "there is no God but God, and that Mohammad is His Prophet,"—a formula which appears on the majority of Mohammadan coins, often accompanied by other expressions of religious orthodoxy, and by sentences from the Koran. This very marginal inscription goes on to tell, in the words of the Koran, how God "sent Mohammad with the guidance and religion of truth, so that he might make it triumph over all other creeds." Encircled by these pious words, the field shows a long string of titles, all belonging to Queen Shejer ed-Durr, from which a sort of outline of her life may be constructed. In the first place she is called El-Mustaasimiyeh, which means that she was once a slave-girl of the 'Abbâsy Khalif El-Mustaasim. Her next title is Es-Sâlihîyeh, showing that she was transferred from the Khalif's harim to that of Es-Sâlih, the grand-nephew of Saladin, who had succeeded to the kingship of Egypt after the deaths of his granduncle, grandfather (the scarcely less famous El-Adil), and father. Further, this coin gives her the title of "Queen of the Muslims," and "Mother of Khalil," a son who, we know from the historians, ought to have reigned, but never did, in consequence of his mother's marriage with the Emir Ezbek, who himself ascended the throne, the first of the renowned Mameluke Sultans. On the other side are the name and titles of the reigning 'Abbâsy Khalif, El-Mustaasim, the Queen's former husband, round which is arranged a marginal inscription which records how, "in the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful," the coin was struck at Cairo in the year of the Hijreh 648.

In the wealth of information afforded by this coin we see the real value of Mohammadan numismatics. The coins of the Muslim East do not so much recall history as make it. The student is constantly meeting with a perfectly unknown king or even dynasty, which fills up a gap in the annals of the East. A Mohammadan coin generally gives not only the date and place of issue, and the name of the ruler who caused it to be struck, but frequently the names of his father, and grandfather, his heir-apparent, his liege-lord, and other valuable genealogical data and aids to the due understanding of the inter-relations of different dynasties; while the religious formulæ employed will enable one to tell the sect to which the ruler who issued the coin belonged, at least so far as the broad distinctions of Islam are concerned. If the complete series of coins issued by every Muslim state were preserved, we should be able to tabulate with the utmost nicety the entire line of kings and their principal vassals that have ruled in every part of the Mohammadan empire since the eighth century, and to draw with tolerable accuracy the boundaries of their territories at every period. Minting was ever one of the most cherished rights of sovereignty; the privileges of "Khutbeh and Sikkeh," that is, of being prayed for in the Friday prayers in the Mosque and of inscribing his name upon the currency, were the first things the new king thought about on ascending the throne, and we may be confident that the right was exercised at the earliest possible opportunity, so that a prince who occupied the kingly office for but a few weeks was sure to celebrate his royalty on a coin. Shejer ed-Durr is a case in point, for the coin above described must have been struck in her brief reign of two months. It is this peculiarity of Eastern princes that makes their coinage so valuable to the historian, and indeed compels him to regard numismatic evidence as the surest he can obtain. Of course it may be urged that the facts thus derived from a study of coins are not worth having; they may be absolutely true, but they relate to persons and countries concerning which nobody has any possible interest, and even of these they tell only such meagre items as dates and chief towns, the very things we are now carefully expunging from our

school-books! It may be said in reply that like every currency, that of the Mohammadan East really supplies important evidence concerning the economic state of the country by its quality and rate of exchange. But we join issue on the main question, and venture to assert that no scrap of positive historical fact is really useless, or may not at some time be turned to important ends. The Mohammadan coinage, more than any other, abounds in historical data, and when the as yet unwritten history of the East during the Middle Ages comes to be told, the author will find no surer check upon the native annalists, than the coins.

If the history of the Mohammadan East were comprised in the annals of a few great dynasties, the value of the coins would not be so considerable, for we should only learn perhaps some fresh dates or confirmation of dates already known, and the mints would only be the capitals and large towns of well-



FIG. 1.—GOLD COIN OF 'ABD-EL-MELIK, KHALIF OF DAMASCUS, A.D. 696.

known provinces. But Mohammadan history is made up of the struggles for supremacy of hundreds of petty houses, and thousands of petty dynasts, of whose very existence we should often be wholly ignorant but for their coins. These petty dynasts struck their money at towns of which next to nothing is often known, and thus the coinage is frequently our only means of establishing the position of the smaller towns of the mediæval East. Sometimes these small towns preserve the names of cities famous in antiquity, but whose site, save for the numismatic evidence, was uncertain. Thus geographically as well as historically Mohammadan coins have a high value.

But it is time to give some idea of the nature and extent of the coinage. In the brief space necessarily allotted to so technical and obscure a subject, it is manifestly impossible to attempt more than the barest outline, and some of the more complicated branches of the subject, such as metrology and assay,

must be set altogether aside. All we can do is to sketch in the barest outline the chief division of Mohammadan currency, and point out briefly the main characteristics and developments. The British Museum Catalogue in the first eight volumes contains descriptions of some six thousand coins issued by a hundred distinct dynasties, many of which numbered thirty or forty separate sovereigns. To trace even an outline of these and the peculiarities of their coinages is quite beyond the possibilities of the present article.

It took the Arabs half a century to discover the need of a separate coinage of their own. At first they were content to borrow their gold and copper currency from the Byzantine empire, which they had driven out of Syria, and their silver coins from the Sassanians, whom they had overthrown at the battles of Kadisia and Nehavend. The Byzantine gold served them till the 76th year of the Flight, when a new, but theologically unsound, and



FIG. 2.—REFORMED GOLD COIN OF 'ABD-EL-MELIK, A.D. 696.

consequently evanescent, type was invented, bearing the effigy of the reigning Khalif instead of that of Heraclius, and Arabic instead of Greek inscriptions (Fig. 1). So too the Sassanian silver pieces were left unaltered, save for the addition of a governor's name in Arabic letters. The Khalif 'Aly or one of his lieutenants seems to have attempted to inaugurate a purely Muslim coinage, exactly resembling that which was afterwards adopted, but only one example of this issue is known to exist, in the Paris collection, together with three other silver coins struck at Damascus and Marw between A.H. 60 and 70, of a precisely similar type. These four coins are clearly early and ephemeral attempts at the introduction of a distinctive Mohammadan coinage, and their discovery, which is an affair of quite recent times, in no way upsets the received Muslim tradition that it was the Khalif 'Abd-El-Melik who, in the year of the Flight 76 (or, on the evidence of the coins themselves, 77) inaugurated the regular Muslim coinage, which was thence-

forward issued from all the mints of the empire so long as the dynasty endured, and which gave its general character to the whole currency of the kingdoms of Islam. The copper coinage founded on the Byzantine passed through more and earlier phases than the gold and silver, but it always held so insignificant a place in the Muslim currency that we can afford to disregard it in the brief outline to which we are obliged to confine ourselves.

Specimens of 'Abd-El-Melik's reformed coinage are engraved above (Figs. 2 and 3). The gold and silver both bear the same formulæ of faith: on the obverse, in the area, "There is no god but God alone, He hath no partner;" around which is arranged a marginal inscription, "Mohammad is the apostle of God, who sent him with the guidance and religion of truth, that he might make it triumph over all other religions in spite of

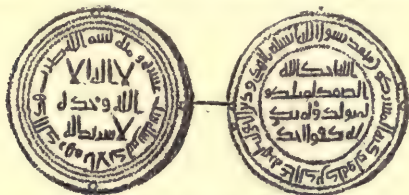


FIG. 3.—SILVER COIN OF THE KHALIFATE.
Struck in Andalusia, A.D. 734.

the idolaters," the gold however stopping at "other religion." This inscription, however, occurs on the reverse of the silver instead of the obverse, while the date inscription which is found on the reverse of the gold, appears on the obverse of the silver. The reverse area declares that "God is One, God is the Eternal: He begetteth not, nor is begotten;" here the gold ends, but the silver continues "and there is none like unto Him." The margin of the gold runs, "In the name of God: this Dinâr was struck in the year seven and seventy," the silver substituting "Dirhem" for dinâr, and inserting the place of issue immediately after the word dirhem, in the case of Fig. 3, "El-Andalus (*i.e.* Andalusia) in the year 116." The mint is not given on the early gold coins, probably because they were uniformly struck at the capital, Damascus. The contemporary copper coinage generally offers portions of the same formulæ, with often the addition of the name of the governor of the province in which the coin was issued.

These original dinârs (a name formed from the Roman denarius) and dirhems (drachma) of the Ommiade Khalifs formed the model of all Muslim coinages for many centuries, and their respective weights—65 and 43 grains—served as the standard of all subsequent issues up to comparatively recent times. The fineness was about '979 gold in the dinârs, and '960 to '970 silver in the dirhems. The Mohammadan coinage was generally very pure. The 'Abbâsy dinârs retained the fineness of '979 for many centuries, and the same proportion of gold was observed in the issues of the Fâtimy Khalifs, the Almohades, and sometimes of the Almoravides, but the last usually employed a lower *titre*. At first ten dirhems went to the dinâr, but the relation varied from age to age.

The dynasty of Amawy or "Omniade" Khalifs, to which 'Abd-El-Melik belonged, continued to issue their dinârs and dirhems without any change until their overthrow at the hands of the 'Abbâsis in the year 132, and even then one of the family fled to Spain, and there continued both the Amawy line and the Amawy coinage in the Khalifate of Cordova, which lasted three centuries. The 'Abbâsy Khalifs, on succeeding to the eastern dominions of the Amawis, retained in all essential respects the coinage of their predecessors, substituting, however, for the formula of the reverse area, the words, "Mohammad is the apostle of God," thus repeating the beginning of the marginal inscription. They also inserted the name of the mint-city, on the gold as well as on the silver. Soon, moreover, the strict puritanism of the early Khalifs, which did not permit them to place their own names on the currency, gave way to the natural vanity of the ruler, and the names and titles of the 'Abbâsy Khalifs are regularly inserted beneath the reverse area inscription, often accompanied by the names of their heir-apparent and grand-vizir. Thus, for some 250 years the universal coinage of the Muslim empire was of one simple and uniform type.

It is, however, with the sudden and general upspringing of small independent, or only nominally dependent, dynasties in the fourth century of the Hijreh, the tenth of our era, that Muslim coins acquire their highest value. The history of the Khalifs has been carefully re-

corded, and their coins, though they confirm and sometimes give additional precision to the statements of the historians, do not greatly enlarge our knowledge. But when the Samânis in Transoxiana and Khorasan, the Saffâris in Seistan, the Buweyhis in various provinces of Persia, the Hamdânis in Syria (all adopting a predominantly silver coinage), and the Beny Tûlûn and Ikshîdis in Egypt (who coined almost exclusively gold), and the Idrîsis (silver) and Beny-l-Aghlab (gold) in North Africa, begin to strike coins after the model of those of the Khalîfate, but abounding in names of local dynasts, the historical value of the coinage rises. These dynastic coins always retain the name of the reigning Khalîf in the place of honour, and this conjunction of names of Khalîf and dynast will often supply the required chronological position, in the absence or the obliteration of a definite date. With the

earliest known representation of the two-headed eagle. But this divergence from the established theory of Islam was only a temporary and exceptional phase, due to the irruption of foreign barbarians. The contemporary dynasties of Africa, the Fâtîmy Khalîfs of Egypt, and the Almoravides and other Berber dynasties of West Africa and Spain, adhered strictly to the orthodox tradition which forbade the representation of living things, and this was all the more noteworthy inasmuch as most of these African dynasties belonged to heretical sects. A specimen of these western coinages is shown in the engravings, Figs. 4-6, in which the "maravedi" and "millaris" of mediæval chronicles may be recognised. The square shape is peculiar to north-west Africa and Spain.

In the seventh century of the Flight—our thirteenth—the Muslim world was almost wholly in the possession of foreigners. The Mongols had overrun the eastern provinces,

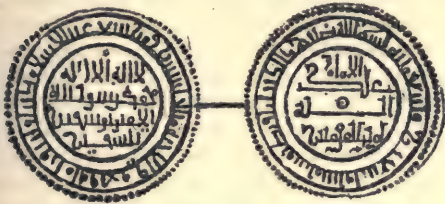


FIG. 4.—"MARAVEDI": GOLD COIN OF ALMORAVIDES.

Struck at Cordova, A.D. 1103.



FIG. 5.—"MILLARES": SILVER COIN OF ALMORADES, MOROCCO. 13th and 14th Centuries.

advent of the Seljuk Turks, who subdued the greater part of Persia, Syria, and Asia Minor, in the fifth century of the Hijrah, the coins acquire a special importance in deciding the difficult question of the territorial divisions of the various Seljuk lines; and the numerous dynasties of Atâbegs or generals of the Seljuk armies, which sprang up as soon as the central power grew weak, possess a numismatic interest in their general adoption of Byzantine types on their large copper pieces. On coins of the Urtukis, for example, a petty dynasty of some crusading fame that ruled a few fortresses in Mesopotamia, we meet with not only the figures of Byzantine emperors, but those of Christ and the Holy Virgin, with mingled inscriptions of Christian import! Figures of a similar character also appear on the coinage of the Ayyûbîs (Saladin's Kurdish House), and that of the Bengy Zengy of Môsil and Syria, together with the

which had not yet recovered from the inroad of the Turks, and henceforward the monotonous (chiefly silver) currency, and bad, or at least irregular, standards of the various Mongol houses, the Ilkhans of Persia, the Jagatay family in Bokhâra, the different branches of the House of Timur (Tamerlane), the Khans of Kipchak, of the Krim, etc., disgust the student; till the fine issues of the Shahs of Persia and the Patans and Moguls of Delhi restore something like order and beauty to the chaos that, numismatically as well as historically—the two generally go together—succeeded the terrible swoop of Chingüiz Khan. Meanwhile the Mamelukes, in their two lines,—Turkish and Circassian,—held sway over the provinces of Egypt and Syria, and left many a noble monument of their love of art and culture behind them; but not in their coinage (mainly gold), which is perhaps the most debased in a debased age. Several Berber dynasties had established themselves in the Barbary States, and continued for some centuries to issue their large

gold pieces, resembling the coin engraved above, Fig. 4. One of these, the line of Sherifs of Morocco, endures to the present day, but the Ottoman Turks extinguished the other two. This clan of Turks rose into power about the same time as the Mongols and Mamelukes. From one of ten petty dynasties that fattened upon the decay of the Seljuk kingdom of Anatolia, they became by the end of the eighth century of the Hijreh—our fourteenth—rulers of all Asia Minor and a slice of Europe, and the middle of the sixteenth century saw them possessed of an empire that stretched from Hungary to the Caspian, and from Baghdad to Algiers. The Ottoman currency at first consisted of small silver and copper pieces, bearing no very obvious relation, either in weight or style, to the old Seljuk or the older Khalif's coinage, and for a long time they were content to use foreign gold. Mohammad II., the conqueror of Constanti-



FIG. 6.—GOLD COIN OF ALMOHADES, MOROCCO.
14th Century.

nople, was the first to strike gold coins, upon the model of the Venetian sequins, but of course with Arabic inscriptions. Various gold sequins or "altuns," small silver "akchehs," and copper "manghirs" constituted the Turkish currency up to the beginning of our seventeenth century, when a double standard of sequins and a perfectly new silver coinage, based upon the Dutch dollar, with numerous subdivisions and multiples, was introduced, and was ever after the subject of countless modifications and degradations, until, after an unsuccessful attempt at reform by the great Mahmūd II., the modern Turkish series, approximating the monetary systems of Europe, was inaugurated by Sultan 'Abd-El-Mejid, and is hence known as the Mejidtyeh. A similar series, bearing the Sultan's but not the Viceroy's names, was and is in use in Egypt, and a third series, on a different basis, in Tunis.

The Turkish coinage as a whole is important in its relations with the Mediterranean currencies, and it has a certain bearing upon the history of trade in the Middle Ages. It has also a value in determining the limits of the Turkish empire at different periods, as the number of mints is very considerable. But its historical uses are insignificant, and it is therefore uninteresting to the student, whatever it may be to the collector.

For the true value of Mohammadan coins lies, as has been said, in their historical data. What is really wanted is a *Corpus* of Mohammadan Numismatics, which should present, in well-arranged tables and indexes, the results of the coin-evidence of all the collections of Europe, and should place them at the service of historical students without compelling them to learn a difficult language and a still more difficult palæography. There is little interest in Mohammadan coins apart from their aid to history, and if their actual contributions to historical knowledge were once summarised and tabulated, few but inveterate collectors would want to study them. I write after finishing the eighth volume of my Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum, which has been going on for the last ten years, and I have no hesitation in saying that Oriental numismatics is a science which is interesting mainly in its results.

The readers of THE ANTIQUARY, however, have probably had enough of coins for the present. After seven essays on different branches of numismatics, I cannot expect them to listen to another, dealing with a specially outlandish subject, with any warmer feeling than gentle resignation:—

O passi graviora, dabit deus his quoque finem !



The Hawick Slogan.

BY DANBY P. FRY.



IN his interesting article on "Rhythmical Laws" (meaning not laws of rhythm, but laws *in* rhythm), Mr. Gomme refers to the well-known Hawick slogan, of which he says—

It is "Teribus ye teri Odin," which is probably a corruption of the Anglo-Saxon "Tyr habbe us, ye Tyr ye Odin"—May Tyr uphold us, both Tyr and Odin.

But could such a phrase have been Anglo-Saxon? Odin is the Scandinavian form of the name, Woden the Anglo-Saxon form; just as word is ord in Danish, worm is orm, and so forth. It would scarcely be correct to say that the name of the Great Orme's Head, near Llandudno, is Anglo-Saxon, since the absence of the initial W shows it to be Danish, or, at all events, Scandinavian. Moreover, the *r* in Ter (Ter ib us! ye Ter i Odin!,—the second *ye* being contracted to *i* under the influence of the preceding *r*) appears to be Norse rather than Anglo-Saxon. Although there was an Anglo-Saxon word *tir*, *tyr*, meaning glory, dominion, power, as well as lord, prince, chief; yet the name of the god corresponding to Mars, which is Tyr in the Edda, was Tiw in Anglo-Saxon (whence our Tuesday—"Martis dies"), and consequently Ter in the Hawick slogan (which is an appeal to the god of war as well as to the chief of the gods) represents the Scandinavian Tyr (with *r*) and not the Anglo-Saxon Tiw (without *r*). Whether the *r* in Tyr was an organic part of the original name, or whether, like the *s* in Zeus, it was merely the sign of the nominative case, the form of the word is equally Scandinavian.

If, therefore, Tyr (with *r*) and Odin (without *w*), were the Norse or Scandinavian forms of the names of these gods, the war cry was not Anglo-Saxon.

In Dr. Murray's valuable discussion of this curious slogan, he carefully calls it Anglian (see his work on *The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, published for the Philological Society, 1873, p. 18 and p. 248). He says that the phrase appears to be "a relic of North Anglian heathendom," and "to have come down, scarcely mutilated, from the time when it was the burthen of the song of the gleo-mann, or scald, or the invocation of a heathen Angle warrior, before the northern Hercules and the blood-red lord of battles had yielded to the 'pale god' of the Christians."

The entire passage on the subject in Dr. Murray's work is as follows:—

A relic of North Anglian heathendom seems to be preserved in a phrase which forms the local Slogan of the town of Hawick, and which, as the name of a peculiar local air, and the refrain, or "overture" of associated ballads, has been connected with the history of the town back to "fable-shaded eras." Different

words have been sung to the tune from time to time, and none of those now extant can lay claim to any antiquity; but associated with all, and yet identified with none, the refrain "*Tyr-ibus ye Tyr ye Odin*," Tyr hæb us, ye Tyr ye Odin! Tyr keep us, both Tyr and Odin! (by which name the tune also is known) appears to have come down, scarcely mutilated, from the time when it was the burthen of the song of the gleo-mann or scald, or the invocation of a heathen Angle warrior, before the northern Hercules and the blood-red lord of battles had yielded to the "pale god" of the Christians.

And in a note Dr. Murray adds:—

The ballad now connected with the air of "*Tyr-ibus*" commemorates the laurels gained by the Hawick youth at and after the disastrous battle, when, in the words of the writer,

Our sires roused by "*Tyr ye Odin*,"
Marched and joined their king at Flodden.

Annually since that event the "*Common-Riding*" has been held, on which occasion a flag or "*colour*" captured from a party of the English has been with great ceremony borne by mounted riders round the bounds of the common land, granted after Flodden to the burgh; part of the ceremony consisting in a mock capture of the "*colour*" and hot pursuit by a large party of horsemen accoutred for the occasion. At the conclusion "*Tyribus*" is sung, with all the honours, by the actors in the ceremony, from the roof of the oldest house in the burgh, the general population filling the street below, and joining in the song with immense enthusiasm. The influence of modern ideas is gradually doing away with much of the parade and renown of the Common Riding. But "*Tyr-ibus ye Tyr ye Odin*" retains all its local power to fire the lieges, and the accredited method of arousing the burghers to any political or civil struggle is still to send round the drums and fifes, "*to play Tyribus*" through the town, a summons analogous to that of the Fiery Cross in olden times. Apart from the words of the Slogan, the air itself bears in its wild fire all the tokens of a remote origin.

Dr. Murray gives the air in an appendix.

The Anglian dialect may have been half Scandinavian before the Angles migrated to Britain; but it was not wholly so, and it seems clear that the war cry of Hawick must be ascribed to Scandinavian influence (whether Norse or Danish), unless it can be shown that Tyr and Odin were Anglian as well as Scandinavian forms.

These are the facts, and the conclusion seems clear.

The names of the two heathen gods to whom the prayer was addressed had different forms in the Saxon and Scandinavian dialects. Tyr and Odin were not Saxon forms. Tyr and Odin were Scandinavian forms. Can it be shown that they were also Anglian forms?

If they were not Anglian, but exclusively

Scandinavian, it follows that the war-cry must have been of Scandinavian origin, being indeed an invocation or prayer expressive of the strong religious feelings of the pagan Scandinavians.

But it would not follow that it must have originated at Hawick. Norse or Danish settlers in Hawick may have brought it with them from their Scandinavian home, possibly in the ninth, or even tenth, century after Christ. If it could be ascertained at what time and in what way it came to be adopted in Hawick, the question would be settled; but perhaps this can scarcely be done.



Reviews.

English Towns and Districts; a Series of Addresses and Sketches. By EDWARD A. FREEMAN. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1883.) 8vo, pp. xii. 455.



WE are quite willing to admit that Mr. Freeman is one of those scholars whose collected writings, whatever they may be and wherever they may have previously been printed, are full worthy of being published. There is too much of this plan of reprinting previously published articles, and the hurry and skurry of the day is the chief cause. But on a subject like the Towns and Districts of England, Mr. Freeman gives too much of new and bright thoughts to make us include the present book in the general regret above expressed. He looks at a town like Exeter or Silchester, at districts like South Wales, with its Anglia Transwalliana included in its area, he looks at pre-academic Oxford and Cambridge, in a way that no other English author, save only perhaps Mr. Green, has ever or perhaps could ever look at them. They are to him in the first place large and definite unities having a history of their own, which at some discernible point loses itself in the general history of the nation. Local history, as Mr. Freeman continually reminds us, is not only interesting from its small details, its architectural features, its local celebrities, its typographical peculiarities; but it is interesting, and that in a far wider and more important sense, in its contribution to the national history. Exeter, with all its old associations as one of the most charming of south English cities, has a history, which, if it had not been cut short, might have altered the history of our nation. It was fairly on the way to an independent existence like the cities of Greece, or like the Hanse towns of Germany, and if it had once thoroughly grasped this position, its burghers and townsmen, valiant in arms and in commercial enterprise, would have gained success and power which has happily passed from them to the nation at large. We all know Mr. Freeman's graphic

and extensive account of this important epoch in English history, and it cannot be too often impressed upon the mind of the student that English history is not a long series of chronicles of the doings and sayings of a central government chiefly in the hands of a personal monarch. There was a time when it chiefly rested, not upon monarchs and their courts, but upon towns and their burghers and citizens. Mr. Freeman in truth looks at a town from an altogether different view from that generally adopted. He does not stand within it to write its history, but he views it afar off. He sees in the position of Exeter something that tells him of a history that no other English town possesses, save only, in a somewhat less degree, Lincoln. And then proceeding from this topographical position he goes inside the walls and takes his stand upon the landmarks there presented to his all-grasping view, and he tells us of events which make us proud of this town-life of England. We cannot notice all the sections of this highly interesting volume, though we quite admit that there is matter enough to form a thesis of the most important character to the antiquary. The subjects dealt with by Mr. Freeman are Cardiff and Glamorgan, Llanthony, Anglia Transwalliana, South Pembrokeshire castles, the place of Exeter in English history, Glastonbury British and English, the Shire and the Gâ, Bradford-on-Avon, Devizes, Wareham and Corfe Castle, Silchester, Christchurch Twynham, Carisbrooke, Merton Priory, Lindum Colonia, York and Lincoln Minsters, Chester, pre-academic Oxford and Cambridge, St. Albans Abbey, Points in early Northumbrian history, Kirkstall, Selby, Notes in the North Riding, the Percy Castles, Farnborough and Dunstanburgh, the collegiate church of Arundel, Cowdray, Chichester, Colonia Camulodinum, the place of Carlisle in English history. Our readers will gather from this the great interest of this new volume of Mr. Freeman's writings. The one word of adverse criticism that we have to give is that there is no index. There are many points of interest which would be preserved and grouped together by means of an index. We may add that there are some excellent architectural illustrations, most of them from Mr. Freeman's own drawings.

The History of the Municipal Church of St. Lawrence, Reading. By REV. CHARLES KERRY, Curate. (Reading and Derby, 1883.) 8vo, pp. viii., 256.

If every curate or vicar would do for their churches what Mr. Kerry has done for his, we should have a vast mass of sound material for the domestic history of England. He has compiled the history of the Church from the church-records themselves. He takes us step by step all over the church, and lets the records tell for themselves what there is to say of every part. It appears to us that perhaps one of the most interesting sections is that relating to the seats. Seat-rents appear to have been a source of revenue from very early times. In 1441, 4d. was paid by one John Tanner for a seat, and 6d. by the wife of Nicholas Carter. The women only appear to have been accommodated. Mr. Kerry then prints "the rulement and payment for seats in St. Lawrence's Church and Chancell in Readinge, agreed and rated by the

parishioners to be levied yearly for ever, beginning this yere 1607." This contains a long list of names, the importance of which to the genealogist and family historian can perhaps be scarcely over-rated. There are also inventories of the Church plate, vestments, and other articles. The inventory of 1517 is given *in extenso*, collated with earlier and later inventories. A small portion of this contains a list of Books, and "Bokes of Pricksong." In his notes to this inventory Mr. Kerry gives us an account of the "cost of the Books," many of the items of which would startle a modern librarian. There are "parchment skynes," "vellum skynes," "threde and pak threde," "naylls and glaw," and the bookbinder takes xxiiiis. and "ffrere Peter for wrytting and nolyng the new grayle and for the vellum thereto xlvjs. viiij." We cannot linger over the innumerable points of interest in this book, but we must just mention the last section, which is devoted to "Sports, Pastimes, Mysteries, and Church Ale." The records abound with references, and Mr. Kerry gives some very good examples relating to the Morris Dance, Maid Marian, Corpus Christi, the King Play, Gaymes Pageant, the Passion Play, Hock Tide, Church Ale. There is an index to the book, but we should have liked to see it much fuller. We congratulate Mr. Kerry upon his careful editing, his sympathetic comprehension of the value of the records he has extracted from, and we congratulate him, too, upon adding a really valuable book to our local histories.

The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal.
Edited by Rev. STEPHEN W. PEET. April and July, 1883. Chicago.

We always welcome our American contemporary. It takes us into primitive archaeology for the most part; but there is so little known of this important branch of our study, and the materials for it are so far away from students of the western world, that we cannot express ourselves too thankful for the pleasant and instructive pages here submitted. Mr. Peet, as usual, is the most active, and we would almost say the most valuable contributor, his two papers on "Village Habitations" and "Village Defences" being particularly interesting. Mr. W. Matthews on "Navajo Mythology," and Mr. Riggs on the "Mythology of the Dakotas," give some valuable additions to our knowledge of American-Indian beliefs. Linguistic Notes, Ethnological Notes, Archaeological Notes, gleaned from all quarters, contain scraps of information nowhere else to be found. We should think our contemporary would find a large circle of readers in this country, and we observe that the indefatigable editor has enlisted some English scholars under his banner. Professor Sayce contributed to some earlier numbers we noted, and Mr. Lach-Szyrma contributes to the July number.

The Architectural History of the City of Rome, based on J. H. Parker's "Archæology of Rome." By ARTHUR SHADWELL (Oxford and London, 1883: Parker & Co.) 8vo., pp. xvi., 273.

Students ought to be thankful in the first place that the archaeology of Rome has had such a thorough

examination and exposition as Mr. J. H. Parker has given to it, and in the second place that so intelligent and practical a summary of the architectural history has been written by Mr. Shadwell. We are glad to see that the book has reached a second edition. There is nothing wanting to make this little book everything that its subject so well entitles one to expect. There are a great number of illustrations, and a good index. The plan of the work is to give letterpress explanations of the materials used for buildings, and of the various important architectural centres and buildings, and then to give plates corresponding to each chapter, with explanations on a page opposite to each plate. We thus get in a very tangible shape a book that all students, both architectural and archaeological, should reckon among their handbooks.

Clarendon Historical Society. Nos. 6 and 7.

These fasciculi, following the others we have already noticed, contain "A Brief Discovery of the True Mother of the Pretended Prince of Wales" (1696), by William Fuller, a very quaint tract on the secret history of the Stuarts, "The Siege of Hull" (1643), contained in a letter from Lord Fairfax to the Earl of Essex, and the "Remonstrance of the Commons" (1641). These are historical documents of no little value and interest.

The Fifty Earliest English Wills in the Court of Probate, London, A.D. 1387-1439; with a Priest's of 1454. Copied and edited from the original Registers in Somerset House, by FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL. (London: published for the Early English Text Society by Trübner & Co., 1882.) 8vo. pp. xvi., 4, 290.

The work of the Early English Text Society is so well known that it is not necessary for us to praise it here. A society which has produced about 120 admirably edited volumes, and has been a main cause of the revolution in the teaching of our language, can appeal with confidence to its history. In the present volume, which has only lately appeared (although it is dated 1882), Mr. Furnivall, the energetic director of the Society, has broken new ground. It is not every one who cares to read four versions of a rambling work like the *Cursor Mundi*, or to study Anglo-Saxon homilies; but there is a special interest in old wills which is sure to appeal to all true antiquaries. Mr. Furnivall has taken great pains in the editing of these old documents; he gives illustrated notes and lists of names and places and words and subjects. Readers will also thank him for the useful little abstract of contents which he places at the head of each will. If we quote two of these it will be seen in what way these wills throw light upon the habits of our forefathers:—

"William Newland, of London and Normandy, 1425. Going on a journey. Pilgrims to be sent to Rome, Jerusalem, Canterbury, St. Michael's Mount, and St. James's of Compostella, for testator's soul, and priests to sing for it. Gifts of gilt and silver cups and goblets, bed and money. Gifts to parson and clerk of St. Thomas's, London, and prisoners and poor. Goods for testator's soul."

"Richard Bokeland, Esq., of Allhallows the Greater, Thames Street, London, 1436. To be buried in Pardon churchyard, St. Paul's. Two Oxford or Cambridge priests to be paid to pray for testator's soul for twenty years. St. Gregory's Trental to be sung. Marble tombstone to have crest on, with 'Mercy and Grace.' Year's mind to be kept for twenty years at St. Mary Ottery, Devonshire, and for five years by the four orders of Friars in London. Gifts to poor and to Allhallows and St. Nicholas Cold Abbey Churches. A million masses to be said for testator's soul. Gifts to London and Westminster prisoners, to the Spital sick folk, and the Lazar-houses. Gifts to the Priorest of Cheshunt and the canons of Waltham Abbey. £100 to daughter, and £20 to each of her children. Legacies to brother and other folk. Cheshunt convent to have back the pledges free. Residue to executors, two of whom get fur'd gowns."

As Mr. Furnivall says, these wills are most valuable for the insight they give us into the life and language of the men of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. As to the language, it got altered and reduced to one pattern by the copyists in London; still some dialectal marks remain. The references to London localities, to articles of clothing and silver plate, are specially interesting. If we are to judge from the constant mention of furred gowns, our ancestors must have suffered severely from the cold. Certainly we do not like sitting in our large halls before the furnace fires are lighted, and these are quite modern luxuries. The editor says, with regard to the contents of his volume, "In persons it ranges from the Countess of Warwick, the King-maker's mother-in-law, to a wax-chandler's servant, and many a poorer man. In property it stretches from the entail of large landed estates on sons to a portion of one bullock for a daughter or to the gift of one sheet or a towel-roller, an egg-gridiron or an old brass pot to a legatee."

Mr. Furnivall has been much helped in the matter of notes by Mr. J. Horace Round, whose important genealogical and historical researches are so well known to our readers; and he dedicates his book to Mr. J. Challenor Smith, Superintendent of the Department for Literary Inquiry in the Registry of the Court of Probate, who greatly helped him.

Lambeth Palace and its Associations Supplementary Chapter. Medieval Life among the old Palaces of the Primacy. (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. 8vo., pp. 89.)

We have already reviewed Mr. Cave-Browne's delightful work on Lambeth Palace (vol. vii., p. 113), and we are glad to welcome an addition to that volume which contains some account of the other residences of the old Archbishops. The Cardinal Archbishop of the fifteenth century, who took six days on his journey from Lambeth to Canterbury and stopped each night at his own manor house, would indeed be surprised if he could come to life and see his successor stepping into a train which will arrive at the Metropolitan city two hours after it has left London. At one time nineteen lordly residences belonged to the See of Canterbury. In Kent there were thirteen,—Aldington, Bishopsbourne (not till

a later period exchanged for Bokesbourne), Canterbury, Charing, Forde, Gillingham, Knole, Lyminge, Maidstone, Otford, Saltwood, Teynham, and Wrotham; in Sussex three,—Mayfield, Hindon, and West Tarring; and in Surrey three more,—Mortlake, Croydon, and Lambeth. This is a list that brings before us very vividly the state and grandeur that formerly surrounded the Primate. The history of these manor houses, some in ruins, some entirely cleared away, and others still glorious, is a most interesting one, and we must refer our readers to Mr. Cave-Browne's chapter for the particulars of the history of houses, most of which were taken from the See by Henry VIII.

A History of Aylesbury, with its Borough and Hundreds and Hamlet of Walton. By ROBERT GIBBS. Part 7, September 1883. Aylesbury, 4to.

Mr. Gibbs continues his valuable *History of Aylesbury* with spirit, and in the present part he completes the parliamentary history of the borough. The list of representatives is a respectable one, and contains some distinguished names. John Wilkes sat for this place, as did the famous General Gerard Lake, Sir Thomas Crewe, one of the Speakers of the House of Commons, and Sir Richard Bethell, afterwards Lord Chancellor Westbury. After the parliamentary history of the borough comes an account of the Manors with their Lords. This work bids fair to be a real addition to our topographical collections.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Royal Archæological Institute.—July 31st to August 6th.—The annual meeting of this body was opened at Lewes by the reception of the members by the Mayor and Corporation. After the customary address had been presented, the Earl of Chichester, the president of the meeting, who is also president of the Sussex Archæological Society, delivered the inaugural address. His speech was short and to the point. He showed how very far the science of archæology was from being "worked out," as some thoughtless persons have supposed, and then touched briefly on some of the events and persons which have made the county of Sussex memorable in English history. On the conclusion of the address the party visited Lewes Castle, under the guidance of Mr. G. T. Clark. The castle is the chief object of interest in Lewes, as the priory, which might have vied with or even surpassed it, has almost entirely perished. The castle probably existed in pre-Norman times. This, indeed, is almost certain from the fact of its being built upon a huge mound, which, though partially natural, has evidently been much increased in size by the hand of man. We know that the castles of the Anglo-Saxons were commonly, though not quite universally, mounds with a stockade on the top.

It was not till after the Norman time that it became the custom to remove these strong wooden erections and supply their place by a curtain wall around the top of the mound. The Normans were not mound builders; when they found a hill ready to hand they used it, as at Berkeley and Lincoln; when no mound existed they built a huge square keep. Of this latter kind the Tower of London is the best known, though perhaps not the most favourable example. At Lewes there was the mound with its steep sides and ditch ready to hand; here what is called a shell keep was built, enclosing the top of the hill. Some remains of the fortification still exist in a much mutilated condition. This keep was, perhaps, all that the first Norman owner thought it needful to erect. The successors of William de Warenne, if not William himself, soon found that a larger enclosure was required, and took in a large plot of land adjoining it, which included a conical hill known as Brack Mount, on which a tower was built. Thus Lewes presented the singular spectacle of a castle having two keeps within its enclosure. The tower on Brack Mount has been swept away, so that we have no certain knowledge of its date or character. That the encircling wall of the whole fortification was a Norman work we know, as one gateway remains in a nearly perfect condition. At the base of the Brack Mount the Rev. W. R. W. Stephens read an interesting paper on the battle of Lewes, in which the fullest justice was done to Simon de Montfort and those who acted with him. The party then divided, one portion going to visit the battle-field of Lewes, the other to examine the small remains that are left of the priory, under the guidance of Mr. W. H. St. John Hope and Mr. Somers Clarke, jun. The Priory of St. Pancras, had it been spared to us, would probably have been one of the most interesting Norman buildings in England. Little, except mere fragmentary blocks of masonry, almost entirely divested of architectural detail, exists above ground. Some excavations have, however, been made which have brought to light much that is interesting. At present they have only been carried as far as the site of the domestic offices. In the chapter-house were found two leaden chests containing, as inscriptions on them showed, the bones of William de Warenne, the founder, and his wife Gundreda. The date of the original building is about 1077. William de Warenne and his wife were highly prepossessed in favour of the Cluniac order, and, after some difficulty raised by the abbot of the mother house, were permitted to found a branch at Lewes. The early church was of but small dimensions; it was much enlarged between the years 1136 and 1147, and a second dedication took place in the time of the third earl of the house of Warenne. Adjoining the priory gateway is Southover Church, dedicated to St. John the Baptist. It is a singular building, not without points of much interest. The old tower fell down in the earlier part of the last century, and was replaced by a new one of brick. The church underwent restoration some years ago, and has suffered not a little. Its rude early Norman columns remain, but the level of the floor has been raised and their bases are not shown. On the southern side is a modern chapel, built in imitation Norman of good character, in which are preserved the leaden coffers which con-

tain the bones of William de Warenne and his wife. In one corner of the chapel stands a leaden vessel which was found in the priory, which has probably contained the heart of some member of the great house of Warenne. In the middle is the grave-slab of Gundreda, one of the most beautiful relics of Norman art that has come down to us. In the evening Mr. E. A. Freeman, President of the Historical Section, read a paper on South Saxon history. The temporary museum contains many objects of interest. The rubbings of monumental brasses, which are exhibited in a room apart from the rest of the collection, form an almost complete gallery of art as far as Sussex monuments are concerned. Among the prehistoric antiquities are many celts of stone and bronze, and a mould for casting bronze spears that has recently been found in Cumberland. It is, we believe, the finest object of the kind known to be in existence. Coming down to a later time, we have a set of fruit trenchers with curious verses upon them, and much rude slip ware, among which is a doll's cradle with the name of Joseph Glass upon it, dated 1703. There is also a pin-cushion, inscribed "God bless P. C. and down with the Rump," which carries us back to a time when party differences were fought out by less gentle means than are used at present. A fragment of Roman tile from Silchester should be noticed. When the clay was wet a dog ran over it and made a most perfect impression of one of his feet.—On Wednesday a special train took the members of the Institute and their friends to Pevensey. On the way their attention was directed to a human figure of vast dimensions cut in the turf of a chalk hill. It is known as the Wilmington Giant, and local archaeologists are of opinion that it dates from Saxon times. The Roman and mediæval remains of Pevensey have often been described. There is certainly no place in Britain, not the Roman wall itself, which so impresses one with a sense of the power and greatness of that vast empire of which we were once a part as do the crumbling walls of this deserted city. The exterior walls are all mainly, though not entirely, Roman. The mediæval castle, partly late Norman and partly Edwardian, has been a large and imposing structure, but is dwarfed, both to the eye and the imagination, by the ancient work. The town of Pevensey is outside the Roman walls. Andrew Borde, the reputed author of the *Merry Tales of the Wise Men of Gotham*, once lived here, and local tradition affirms that the vagaries of the Pevensey corporation suggested some of the details of that curious work. Pevensey Church is an interesting First Pointed building. The arcades have clustered and octagonal columns alternately. The old grave slabs seem to have been swept away in some modern restoration. The south wall of West Ham Church is Norman. The tower arch has been pronounced by some to be First Pointed, but there is no doubt that it is Early Perpendicular. The chancel is of the time of Henry V. There are some interesting remains of old stained glass in the windows. The rood-loft yet remains, stowed away in the tower.—Rye is full of interest. One of the gates—the Land Gate, as it is called—is a noble fabric of the time of Edward III., which reminded those who have seen it of the gate of Rockingham Castle. The church at Rye is Transition Norman;

the arches are pointed and have nail-head mouldings. There is a curious wooden pulpit, much restored, which is certainly not later than the earlier years of Henry VIII. The choir contains much Early English work; the eastern window is Perpendicular; behind the altar are two recesses in the wall, which have had no projecting mouldings.—Winchelsea was the next place visited. The old town was destroyed by a storm. The present one was built by Edward I., who caused it to be laid out in thirty-nine quarters, or squares, divided from each other by streets at right angles—a plan almost exactly similar to that of several American towns. It was fortified from the first, and three of its gates still remain. In 1359 the town was sacked and partly burned by the French, who are said to have forced their way into the church and to have carried off as captives several of the more beautiful of the women. The church has been, and indeed still is, a magnificent structure. The nave has disappeared—indeed, there is some doubt, though probably an unreasonable one, as to whether it ever was built. The north and south transepts are in ruins. The choir remains perfect, and is a noble example of the Decorated style, well worthy of the study of all who are interested in architecture. There is a remarkably beautiful sedilia in what we take to have been the Lady Chapel, and another, almost equally good, in the south aisle. There are several very fine canopied tombs with well-preserved effigies of knights. All are deserving attention. The most noteworthy, perhaps, is that of Gervase Alard, Admiral of the Cinque Ports. It is of the latter part of the thirteenth century, and is said to be the finest monument in Sussex.—In the evening Mr. Micklethwaite, the President of the Architectural Section, gave his inaugural address.—On August 2nd, Hastings Castle was the first place visited. Though there are few places in England of more historical interest, its remains, though considerable, are not important. The Royal Free Chapel, which stood within the walls, seems to have been an Edwardian building; one arch remains. Mr. E. A. Freeman explained the battle. He divided his discourse into two sections: the first delivered within the Saxon lines, on the face of the hill; the other on the spot where Harold's standard stood, where the Saxon king and his two brothers fell, where the Conqueror supped when the fight was over, and where for many centuries stood the high altar of the Abbey of St. Martin of Battle. The monastic remains were explained by Mr. Micklethwaite. Of the church but little has been preserved. Some of the domestic buildings exist in the garden, and others have been incorporated in the present house. The parish church of Battle has nave arcades of Transition Norman. The tower seems originally to have been central. On the south one of the Norman arches which once supported it has been spared. The chancel is Early English. It contains a fine altar tomb of Sir Anthony Browne and Dame Alis his wife. Browne was the first lay improprator of the place. It is a good specimen of the Italian style, which was becoming popular in the middle of the sixteenth century. The knight's feet rest on a stag, the dame's on a dog. An Early English "skew" window was noticed in the north wall of the north aisle.—In the evening a paper was read by Mr. R.

S. Ferguson (Mayor of Carlisle) on the dignity of that very ancient office, in which he explained the history and meaning of maces, batons, wands, oars, caps of state, and the other like objects which have been used in different parts of the country to symbolize the authority of the local chief magistrate.—The early part of August 3rd was occupied by the annual meeting of the Institute, to which members only were admitted. Afterwards Major-General Pitt-Rivers opened the Antiquarian Section by giving a sketch of the objects and methods of prehistoric archaeology, which was followed by a paper of very high character, on the traces of Teutonic settlements in Sussex as illustrated by land tenures and place-names, by Mr. F. Sawyer. Some of the facts stated were familiar to students, but by far the greater part of the paper was composed of new work, facts gleaned in the neighbourhood, and now for the first time arranged in a coherent manner, so as to be useful to the historian and ethnologist.—In the afternoon, under the guidance of Major-General Pitt-Rivers, the party visited Mount Caburn, a large early fortification on a down near Lewes. The next place examined was Hurstmonceux Castle. It was perfect and inhabited until 1777, when it was unroofed and dismantled. The church is an unpretending but interesting building; the arcades of the nave are First Pointed. On the north side of the chancel is a chantry chapel, built of brick; between this and the chancel stands a very noble canopied tomb to the memory of Thomas, Lord Dacre, and Thomas, his son. This beautiful monument has suffered little from violence, and nothing at the hands of the restorer. Its date is probably to be placed in the middle of the fifteenth century. In the evening the following papers were read in the Antiquarian Section:—"On the Shears as a Clerical Symbol on Gravestones," by the Rev. T. Lees; "On the Church Bells of Sussex," by Rev. J. J. Raven; and "On Swan Marks," by Mr. Peacock.—On August 4th, New Shoreham was the first place visited. Its church was once a grand Norman structure; the nave has, however, perished. The transepts are Norman, the choir and choir aisles Transitional, of noble character. The next church visited was Sompington. The tower here is one of the finest specimens in England of what is called Saxon architecture. There is much Norman work in the nave and north transept. In the south transept is a stone panel in the wall of late Norman character, representing our blessed Lord in majesty, with the four evangelistic beasts around Him. Broadwater has a cross church, with a central tower supported by four late Norman arches. The nave is Early English, and the chancel of the same style and vaulted. Arundel Castle, Church, and the Howard Burial Choir were the last objects visited. At Chichester, on August 6th, the cathedral was the chief point of interest. The new central tower and spire, which is almost an exact reproduction of the old one which fell some years ago, was admired and pronounced to be a most successful reproduction. In the south aisle is a tomb of various colours to the late Dean Hook, which is about as unsatisfactory as a monument can be. The old stalls had been very much mutilated. Much of the harm was done by the troopers of Sir William Waller, when he took the city on the 29th of Decem-

ber, 1642. Their date seems to be about 1320. The misereres under the seats are very boldly carved. Many of them represent fabulous animals with human heads. On one there is a mermaid with her glass, on another a harper and flute-player sitting in curiously formed chairs. The kitchen in the Bishop's Palace is probably a work of the thirteenth century. The original oak roof is preserved, and seems to be in excellent condition. Very near to it stands the bishop's private chapel, a vaulted Early English building of four bays. Some of the windows are Decorative insertions. There is a good screen of the same date. On the wall, in the inside, are two consecration crosses and a painting of the Blessed Virgin and her Divine Infant. The Hospital of St. Mary is an early fourteenth century building. The nave walls are but six feet high. They are covered by a very lofty oak roof. Inside this nave the houses of the eight inmates are built. The chancel has stepped sedilia of three seats, and a very good screen. Of the Franciscan Friary nothing remains above ground but a late Early English chancel.

British Archæological Association.—August 20th to 27th.—The annual congress of the British Archæological Society commenced at Dover, and was unusually interesting, embracing visits to Calais, Amiens, Abbeville, and Boulogne. The proceedings were presided over by Lord Granville, who delivered an address, at a luncheon given by the Mayor at the Lord Warden Hotel, on the occasion of the opening meeting. Amongst the places which were inspected in Dover and the neighbourhood were the castle, the old Roman church and pharos, for which Major-General Newdigate, C.B., offered special facilities, the ancient Priory of St. Martyn and the Maison Dieu, and the remains of Richborough Castle, one of the earliest traces of the Roman invasion. The ancient edifices of Sandwich were visited, and on the journey Earl Granville received the visitors at Walmer Castle. One day was set apart for a visit to the castle at Westenhanger, better known as "Fair Rosamond's Bower," Saltwood Castle, whose history is connected with the murder of Thomas à Becket, Caesar's Camp, and other places in the neighbourhood. Papers were read in the evening in the Council Chamber of the Corporation at Dover. At Canterbury they were received by the Mayor (Mr. Alfred Beer) and the members of the Corporation. Mr. George Lambert gave a short description of the regalia, commenting on the mace, which was of the time of Charles II., and the fine specimen of a large sword of state. This was followed by an account of the seals of the borough and of the early representation of Canterbury Cathedral on seals in the British Museum by Mr. W. de G. Birch, and then, under the guidance of Mr. J. R. Hall, the members proceeded to the cathedral, where the vice-dean, the Ven. Archdeacon Harrison, gave a history of the sacred edifice. More than two hours were spent in the perambulation of the cathedral, ending with a visit to the crypt, where Mr. Brock suggested there were evidences of Roman work on some of the columns supporting the vaulted roof. Afterwards a visit was made to St. Augustine's monastery, now used as a college for Church missionaries, and where a paper on the history of the establishment was read by the Rev. J. Orger, the late

sub-warden. With a visit to the museum of the city and an inspection of some of the Roman antiquities given to it by the late Mr. John Brent, and an examination of the fresco lately discovered in the hall of the King's-bridge, formerly a house for pilgrims and wayfarers, and now used as a charitable institution for certain poor women and men, the day's proceedings came to a close. In the evening, in the council chamber, with Mr. T. Morgan in the chair, Mr. Brock read a paper by Professor Hayter Lewis on "Sandown Castle," and this was followed by a paper written by Mr. R. Sims on "Municipal Documents relating to Dover in the British Museum," and another by Mr. G. Lambert on "St. Dunstan, the Patron Saint of Goldsmiths."

Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society.—The members of this society made an excursion to Youlgreave and Arbelow. At Youlgreave Church, the vicar, the Rev. R. C. Roy, was unable to receive them owing to domestic affliction; but the Rev. J. Charles Cox, than whom there could scarcely be a better authority, gave an account of the history of the church and of its careful restoration, and invited attention to the unique font and the several particularly interesting monuments which the church contains. At Arbelow Mr. Cox read a paper, the object of which was to establish the historic character of the Arbelow circle, in contradistinction to the usual and prehistoric theories. Mr. Cox avowed himself a disciple of Mr. Ferguson in his "Rude Stone Monuments," and expressed a belief that the true date of Arbelow was circa A.D. 500, and that the object of its erection was as a trophy of successful battle and for the interment of certain chieftains.

Durham Archæological and Architectural Society, and Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.—Aug. 30-31.—The visitors assembled in Bamborough parish church, which is dedicated to St. Aidan. Mr. Longstaffe, who stated that the nave of a church was formerly considered as a basilica or town hall, and had no sacredness attached to it until about two hundred years ago, proceeded to speak of the church. He said that in order to understand this very remarkable church rightly he had better explain at the outset that it is a double church. Double churches, which occur all over the kingdom, had exercised the minds of many people in later years. Judging from the analogy of Darlington Church, where the collegiate part came to a sudden stop with the rich architecture, and the parochial portion took a comparatively plain aspect, he would be inclined to fix the boundary of the double church at Bamborough at the pillar with the ornamental capital. There was, however, always a difficulty in fixing the boundary in a double church. In Durham Cathedral the boundary was at the Jesus Altar, where the transepts began. In all churches, as a rule, the conventual part was much richer than the parochial, as seen in this church. The nave is good work of a peculiar local type, of what might be called the transitional style of about 1170. A monastery, dedicated to the great saint of Bamborough, Oswald, known as Nostel Priory, was founded in Yorkshire by Henry I., who made Bamborough subject to Nostel. Bamborough became a cell of Nostel in exactly the same way that Tynemouth became a cell of St. Albans. Henry I. endowed two churches at Bamborough,

those of St. Oswald and St. Aidan; and these two churches appear to have coalesced into this church; at least there was no trace of the church of St. Oswald, and this was dedicated to St. Aidan. One part of the building would be the cell belonging to Nostel Priory, and the other part was the parish church. He directed attention to a lancet opening in a pillar which separates the nave from the south aisle and transept, and said the lancet had no apparent use. He only knew of this peculiar aperture and another at Droitwich; and at Droitwich he obtained clear and distinct evidence that the aperture looked into the shrine, or that portion of the church where was kept the shrine of the great local saint. He made inquiries, and, according to a book by Dr. Rock, found it was quite common to have openings, so that the faithful might either touch the sacred relics in the reliquary, or, if the aperture was large enough, bend forward and kiss the relics. He had not the slightest doubt that the lancet in Bamborough Church was a shrine opening. Up to a certain date the priests professed to have at Bamborough the incorruptible arm of St. Oswald. There might be other uses for the lancet opening. Referring to the architecture of the church, Mr. Longstaffe said that, contrary to one's expectations, there was not a trace of anything Saxon. It is a good burly church of the time of Henry II. The foundation of the monastery was in the time of Henry I., but there was nothing at all in the church leading up to that period. It was possible that the cell was at St. Oswald's, and not at St. Aidan's. The conventual portion of the church is richer than the parochial part. The crypt had clearly been the residence of a recluse. The whole of the chancel became the possession of the family of Forster of Adderstone, and eventually the Castle passed into the possession of a different branch of the same family. In double churches sometimes the nave only now existed, in others only the chancel remained, and occasionally both. When both portions existed it meant that some one had been generous enough to allow the conventual portion to stand, or that the parish had bought up the king's right, and kept the church intact from end to end. Whether the parish bought the right to the chancel, or whether it was given through generosity on the part of the Forster family, they could not tell, but fortunately Bamborough Church remained intact.—Holy Island was the next place visited. Assembling within the remains of the Priory Church, the company listened to an admirable address by the Rev. Canon Greenwell. He stated that they were met upon what was probably one of the most interesting spots in the whole of the North of England—he thought he might say *the* most interesting spot; for from that place they received their Christianity. Hills bordered the flat ground near the coast, and there were hills further inland, on some of which were defensive positions, called camps, of a date antecedent to the Roman occupation of Britain. The British entrenchments seemed to him to be defensive arrangements for the protection of one tribe against another tribe; for people quarrelled then as they did now, and would do till the end of time. He did not think the people lived habitually in those defensive places, many of which were in high and exposed positions, and would be very bleak places

for habitual residences, and besides, many of them had no permanent supply of water. One very remarkable series of entrenched places was near the Breamish. The low-lying ground by the Breamish was covered with remains of what were called hut dwellings, enclosed by a slight mound. A little higher up the hill was a stronger defensive position, containing a much smaller number of hut circles; and on the top of the hill there was a very strongly fortified place, with two high mounds and ditches surrounding it, and containing a very small number of hut circles. This final place of resort represented the keep in a castle. He was happy to say that on the previous day he secured the skull of an Ancient Briton found not far from Bamborough. A skeleton was found in a grave formed of four stones set on edge; and the farmer preserved the skull, but left the rest of the skeleton in the grave; and all the bones had since been taken away by curious people. The skull was a fine typical one of the people of the bronze age in Britain. The number of sepulchral places showed that the district was largely populated by the ancient British people who lived before the Roman occupation. Then came the Roman occupation, and the Roman occupation had left very material marks in the country, but not so much in the north of the country as in the south. In other parts of Britain it was unquestionable that Christianity had been largely extended during the Roman occupation, and various objects had been found showing that the people used articles marked with Christian emblems. In the North of England these things were almost entirely wanting; and there was no evidence to show there was any Christianity spread in the north of England under the Roman rule, at all events to any great extent. He next proceeded to refer to the occupation of England by the Teutonic people, and stated reasons for believing that the native population was not extirpated to the extent some people supposed. The first introduction of Christianity into this northern district was through the great missionary bishop, Paulinus, who preached largely throughout the kingdom of Northumbria; and through him no doubt there was a considerable admission of the native population into the Christian Church. But after King Edwin was killed, Christianity seemed to have been almost eradicated, and Paulinus went to the south. Oswald, another member of the royal house, had spent his youth in Scotland, which at that time had been very largely Christianized from more than one source; but chiefly from Ireland. The great missionary Columba, being obliged to leave his native country, established himself at Iona. From Iona came Christianity into the north of England, and especially to this island. No sooner had Oswald ascended the throne of Northumbria, than he sought how to introduce Christianity, and he applied to Iona; from whence came a missionary named Coran. Coran was too harsh and hard with the people, and did not succeed, and went back to Iona. Aidan, the great apostle of this part of the country, next came from Iona, and settled upon this island, now called Holy Island, and often called Lindisfarne. The island was not Lindisfarne; it was a part of the territory of Lindisfarne. St. Cuthbert, the great patron saint of Northumbria, must be regarded as the great central figure around which the whole was massed. Cuthbert

passed the greater part of his life here, and upon the neighbouring island of Farne. He thought the skeleton discovered in 1827 upon the site where the magnificent shrine of the saint was in Durham Cathedral, really represented the body of St. Cuthbert. He next briefly referred to the incursions of the Danes, and the building of the Priory Church, and concluded by stating that he was inclined to think it was not improbable that the same man who designed Durham Cathedral designed this church, and that it was built about 1100.—Mr. C. C. Hodges (Hexham) next read a paper on the history of the architecture of the Priory Church. He said that, in the absence of anything conclusive in the way of dates, they must rely on the evidence of the building itself, if they would learn with any degree of precision the time of its erection. The similarity between the nave of this church and that of Durham Cathedral was so evident and so striking, that the merest tyro in matters architectural could not fail to observe it. The first thing which struck him in making the comparison between the two buildings, was that Lindisfarne was not a model of Durham on a smaller scale, nor yet a copy of it in any sense, but an adaptation of the same design to a church of lesser magnitude. This was a distinct indication that a master mind was at work in both cases, and he thought there could be no doubt that both were designed by the same hand. The plan of arranging the bays in couples, and making the piers alternately cylindrical and compound, was, among English churches, peculiar to Durham and Lindisfarne, at any rate so far as the Norman period was concerned. He could not remember an instance where it occurs in any later style in these islands, though it was very frequent in other parts of Europe, especially in the centre of France. The cylindrical columns in the naves of both churches were covered with a surface ornament of a remarkable and somewhat unusual character, consisting of a sunk moulding, which traversed the pier in various ways, forming spiral, zig-zag, vertical, and double spiral lines, the latter forming lozenges. This form of adornment occurred also in the naves of Norwich Cathedral, and the priory of Christ Church, Twyneham, which was erected by Flambard immediately before his elevation to the See of Durham, and at other places. After making other comparisons between Lindisfarne and Durham, he went on to describe the Priory Church in detail; and then said that it remained for them to come to a conclusion as to what date they should assign to it. He thought no one would dispute that Durham and Lindisfarne were the work of the same architect, nor did he think he would be assuming too much when he said Lindisfarne was distinctly later in date than Durham. The only thing he could definitely point to, and say that it showed this church to be later in date than the nave of Durham Cathedral, was the form of the caps on the cylindrical columns. At Durham the caps were octagonal, and at Lindisfarne the capital was a square block with four spaces cut out of it on its diagonal faces. Both capitals were distinctly Norman, but those at Lindisfarne were a step towards the coming Transitional style. It had been decided that the nave and aisles of Durham were erected between 1099 and 1128; and he thought they might fairly assume that the prior and convent erected this church immediately after that, say between 1128 and 1135.

Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Society.—Aug. 29.—Patrington was the first place visited, and here the party were received at the parish church by the rector, the Rev. F. Sheppard. The architectural features of the church were explained by Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, from whose statement it appeared that the building was in the Decorated style, and it was probably built in the early part of the reign of Edward III. It is cruciform in plan; the front consists of a solid block of granite, covered with sculpture, and there is an Eastern sepulchre in the north wall of the chancel. Regarded architecturally, it was a great deal more of a Lincolnshire than a Yorkshire church, and many of the details were similar to those to be found in Easington church.—At Hendon the church of St. Augustine was visited, Mr. Micklethwaite again explaining to the company the various interesting details connected therewith. The building, it may be stated, contains specimens of Transitional, Norman, Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular work. The tower was stated to be one of the finest in Yorkshire, and the nave one of the finest parochial naves to be found in the country. Having inspected an ancient cross which formerly stood at Ravenspur, the party returned to Leeds during the evening.

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.—August 28th.—The Chairman (the Rev. Dr. Bruce) read a paper on "An Exploratory Turret of the Wall near Magna Cærvoran." Having heard last week that a mile-castle had been discovered on the wall in the vicinity of Greenhead, and that it was likely to be speedily removed, he went with Dr. Hodgkin to make inquiries respecting it. Instead of a mile-castle, as they had supposed, they found that it was an exploratory turret which had been exposed; this was to a certain extent an agreeable surprise, for although we have several mile-castles on the wall, in a tolerable state of preservation, we have but two turrets, and both of these have been but recently brought to light through the exertions of Mr. Clayton. The two turrets which have been recently exposed are situated, the one at East Brunton and the other on the Black Carts Farm, near the Limestone Bank. Both are in an encouraging state of preservation. There are traces of another turret to the west of the station of *Amboglanna*, Birdswald, but they are so slight that few explorers will notice them. This new turret stands on the top of a cliff which forms the western extremity of the great basaltic dyke, over which the wall runs for about ten miles in the central part of its course. The cliff is about one hundred feet above the plain to the north, and as it descends rapidly to the west a most extensive view is obtained to the north, the south, and the west. It must have formed a good look-out station. The north wall of the turret is standing eight courses of stones high, and measures 5 feet 9 inches. Its side walls are nearly as high, and they are 3 feet 2 inches thick. The width of the turret (inside measurement) is 13 feet 6 inches. The south wall has not yet been cleared of the rubbish which has encumbered it for ages, so that its full dimensions could not be ascertained. During the course of excavation numerous bones of animals were, as usual, found, one of them being the lower jaw of a young boar. One or two specimens of embossed Samian ware were turned up, together with fragments of a wine amphora and other species

of pottery. In the southern face of the wall, near the turret, has been found an inscribed stone, which, however, is scarcely legible. The first line seems to read *CON. III.*, the second line could not be deciphered. This turret, or stone sentry-box as we may call it, stands upon a basaltic cliff, the last in a westerly direction of the nine nicks of Thirlwall. The cliff is now being quarried, and largely supplies the towns and cities to the east and west of it with paving stones. Should the quarrymen proceed right on, the turret will soon be undermined and disappear; already its north-west angle has fallen.

Lancashire and Cheshire Archæological Society.—August 25th.—The members of this association visited Preston, under the guidance of Mr. Hardwick, of Manchester. Through the kindness of Mr. L. Rawstorne, the interior of Penwortham Priory was inspected, and afterwards Castle Hill (behind the ancient church), mentioned in Domesday Book as a Saxon castle, and probably used by the Romans as a *specula* or outpost of observation in connection with the station at Walton-le-Dale. Castle Hill was excavated in June 1856, under the superintendence of Mr. Hardwick, and the Roman station at Walton-le-Dale in 1855, and these excavations were explained by Mr. Hardwick. The visitors were afterwards shown through the Preston Museum, where they inspected a portion of the immense "Cuerdale find," consisting of 6,800 silver coins, 16 ingots of silver, rings, armlets, etc.

Cambrian Archæological Association.—Sept. 6, 7.—Annual excursion.—Fishguard.—The last day was the really interesting portion of the meeting. Professor Westwood and Mr. G. E. Robinson were constituted a sub-section of two to inspect some alleged new oghams and crosses, which Dean Allen referred to as having been recently discovered near St. Edrens. At Castle Villia they found two oghams which have never been described before, and four crosses, one only of which was broken. Sketches and rubbings were taken, and the balance of the local fund raised at Fishguard will be used to defray the cost of illustrating these discoveries in the journal of the society. On one cross were the characters of Alpha and Omega and Iesus, and on an ogham was a very distinct inscription, which was so written, however, that it had to be read backwards. In this form the letters were *FENDOGNE*.—The first half of the main party was at Longhouse, the country residence of Mr. Marychurch, of Cardiff. There is a remarkably perfect cromlech here, which was, when discovered, in the hedgerow, but which has had the ground cleared around and fenced. The capstone has six supports, three only of which touch, one other having been broken off within living memory. The capstone measures 18 feet long, from point to point, 9 feet 8 inches broad in the middle, and is 4 feet 6 inches at the thickest part. The east support is 7 feet 4 inches above the ground, the west 5 feet, and the middle 4 feet 9 inches, and 5 feet wide. From Longhouse they took the nearest road to St. David's. The Shrine of Menevia (as some call it) was once one of the richest, not only in England, but in the whole of Europe; and it may not be generally known that one of the charges trumped up against Bishop Farrar, who was martyred at Carmarthen, was that he robbed this shrine. Dean Allen

assumed the guidance of the party, and at once proceeded in lucid, familiar speech to unfold the story of past grandeur and magnificence which the edifice itself would have recalled only to the practised eyes of experts. Having entered the nave, the Dean said his hearers were at the extreme west end of a church which was begun just 700 years ago—1120. It was on a simple plan: a nave with aisles, transepts north and south, central tower and presbytery, or, as it was called in the parish churches, a chancel. It was simple in plan, but very rich in design, and there were indications of the time when the Romanesque circular arch gave way to the pointed arch. They would observe that the floor was on a steep gradient, following the natural slope of the ground, the pillars being lengthened. They would have noticed rich pieces of sculpture, and Sir Gilbert Scott, at one meeting of the archæological institute at Canterbury, which was built at the same time as St. David's, spoke of the remarkable similarity between the sculpture here and there. Standing on the steps of the choir they would observe the arcade was leaning outwards very considerably. That displacement was caused by an earthquake in 1246. People sometimes asked whether it was safe, but he had concluded that as the walls had stood for four hundred years in that position, they would, if the damp was kept out, last so to the end of time. In the choir they were under the central tower, where services had been said or sung every morning and evening for seven hundred years. They had never been omitted, except for repairs. From the east end they observed far more distinctly how much the arcades sloped northwards and southwards. During the troubles of the seventeenth century somebody stripped the roofs of the lead, and the consequence was the beams were exposed to the weather, became rotten, and the place went to ruin. In 1820 the two eastern piers gave way, and the tower fell down. The eastern piers were much damaged, and there was such cracking and crumbling that they thought they would give way. If they had fallen they would have destroyed the whole of the church, and the eastern legs of the tower, which were estimated to weigh 4,600 tons, had to be rebuilt. At the east end of the chancel the stone work was extremely beautiful, and any one acquainted with mediæval architecture would say that it was about the richest bit of stone work they had ever seen. The pavement was just four hundred years old, having been laid in 1485, and the ceiling was of the same date. The beams were much impaired by the lead being stripped off the roof, and much difficulty was experienced in getting pieces of oak of the required size to replace them. The tomb beneath was that of Edmund Tudor, brother of Henry of Richmond, who was buried at Carmarthen Priory, and whose bones Henry VIII. brought to St. David's. The tomb, which was greatly decayed and the inscription effaced, was restored by a member of the family of Lucy. Various members of the family were buried around the tomb. Then they had, among many others, the tomb of Anselm, who, while not so celebrated as the Anselm of Canterbury, was a great and good man. His days were shortened by the earthquake, which shook the nave of the church. The party having, at the direction of their guide, passed through the south transept door into the ruins, the Dean proceeded with his discourse.

In the Lady Chapel, dedicated to the worship of the Virgin Mary, they had traces of three distinct specimens of architecture. It was begun by Bishop Martin, a relative of the great Lord of Kemmes, who built Newport Castle, and who came to St. David's in 1300. He was followed by Bishop Gower, who built the Palace, and in a very short time that early English style gave way to the rich decorated fourteenth century work. In the ante-chapel they saw the style of the ceiling which Bishop Vaughan put in the Lady Chapel itself. In the centre of the ceiling they had the arms of Bishop Vaughan, then those of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, the gallant Welshman who helped Henry to win Bosworth, and received the Garter for doing so. Lord Dynevor was his direct descendant, and others, including the Bowens of Williamston, were perfectly entitled to wear his arms. Sir Rhys was the finest horseman of his day, and at the age of sixty-two won the Battle of Spurs. Then they came to ruined aisles, which were now in the same condition as the aisles of the presbytery were fifteen years ago. There was a wonderful opening behind the high altar, of which they did not know the object. The probability was that it was used for the exhibition of relics. The chapel on the north transept was built by Bishop Vaughan, and dedicated to the Holy Trinity. In the north transept the visitors would see the case containing relics taken from the grave of Bishop Gower. There was a chalice, pastoral staff, and ring. The chalice and paten were, of course, never used to administer the Holy Sacrament, but were buried with bishops and priests to indicate the sacred office, in the same manner as weapons were buried with soldiers. There was also a little figure of St. John found on the back of the steps to the cross. The room where the relics were was really the chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Beckett's once stood there, but only the piscina now remained. The Dean here called the attention of the party to a stone remain, very much like a cylinder on end with a small base. The top was hollowed out to the depth of a few inches, and a piece of the rim was broken off.

[We are obliged to postpone our report of the Norfolk and Norwich Arch. Society.]



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Early Experiments with Cannon.—About the middle of the fourteenth century there seem to have been many simultaneous attempts to improve the construction and strength of artillery. One such, carried on in the city of Tournay, is recorded in the early registers of that city. "In the month of September a manufacturer of metal-pots, named Pierre de Bruges, had contrived a sort of engine, called a 'canoille,' to shoot into a good town when it should be besieged; and the council of the city ordered him to make one promising shot. If it answered their expectations he should be employed to make several others. Pierre de Bruges made the "canoille," and for the satisfaction of the municipal authorities it was carried out of

the city to be tried. Pierre loaded his machine, placed in it a dart, with a piece of lead weighing two pounds at the end, and took aim at a postern in the city wall. The "engine" went off with a "cruel" and great noise, but the maker seems to have so far underrated its strength, that, instead of striking the wall, it went over it and traversed a large portion of the city, and in the open space before the monastery of St. Brice it struck a fuller, named Jakeman de Raisse, on the head and killed him. When the inventor of the canoille heard this he took refuge in sanctuary. The magistrates of the city assembled, and after long discussion came to the determination that, considering the machine had been made and tried by their orders, that Pierre de Bruges, the maker, had aimed at a wall and not at a man, and as it was proved that he had no personal enmity to Jakeman de Raisse, he should be entirely acquitted of the death of the said Jakeman, "which could only be considered as purely accidental."

Ancient Representation of the Stocks.—One of the oldest representations of the stocks is to be found in Strutt, taken from an illumination in a very early MS. of the Psalter in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. In a manuscript copy of Livy, alluded to by Camille Bonnard in his work on costume, is the representation (supposed to belong to the fourteenth century) of a victim who is confined by the right leg in a kneeling attitude by a chair, tantalizingly near, but just out of the reach of the weary captive. In Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* there are many representations of stocks; one of these is alluded to thus:—"After this I with four others more were brought to the keeper's house in Paternoster Row, where we supped . . . and with that we were brought through Paternoster Row to my Lorde of London's Colehouse, into the wiche is joined a little blind house with a great payre of stocks appoynted both for the hand and foot, and there we found a minister of Essex."

Dates and Styles of Churches.—**YORK MINSTER.** The present cathedral was built under Archbishop Walter de Grey, 1215—55, and was not completed till 1472. It suffered twice by fire during the present century—1st, 1829, and restored by national subscription at £65,000; 2nd, in 1837, and cost £23,000 to restore. The *West Front*. The lower portion is in the Decorated English style; the higher in the Perpendicular. The lower has three divisions, separated by buttresses, enriched with niches and panellings. The *Great West Entrance* consists of a deeply recessed arch of exquisite mouldings and figures, showing the history of Adam and Eve, completed about 1350. *South Transept*, 1227. The great feature is the magnificent rose window, measuring 30 ft. in diameter; the transept is 249 ft. in length. *Lady Chapel*, 1398—1405. *Great East Window*, 1405—8. 76½ ft. high and 31½ ft. in breadth. This is said to be the largest glazed window in the world; made by John Thornton, of Coventry. As Decorated work the *West Windows* stand unrivalled. The *Chapter House*. In shape octagonal, with magnificent Decorated windows and buttresses, showing the best marks of the fourteenth century style; height, 99 ft. *Five Sisters' Window*. Height, 53½ ft.; breadth of each, 5 ft. Erected in memory of five sisters, and close to the

Chapter House. The *Central Tower*, 1400—44. 199 ft. in height, is ascended by 273 steps, the view from which is exquisitely grand. The *Western Towers*, 1454. 201 ft. in height. [Communicated by ROBERT KING-WALKER, M.A., B.E.]

Anecdote of Cromwell.—The following is from an old newspaper of the last century:—"In the time of Cromwell's protectorship, an English merchant ship was taken in the chops of the channel, and carried into St. Maloes, and there confiscated upon some groundless pretence. As soon as the master of the ship, who was an honest Quaker, got home, he presented a petition to the Protector in Council, setting forth his case, and praying redress. Upon hearing his petition, the Protector told the Council he would take the affair upon himself, and ordered the man to wait upon him next morning: he examined him very strictly as to every circumstance, and finding by his answers that he was a plain honest man, and had not been concerned in any unlawful trade, he asked him if he could go to Paris with a letter? The man answered he could: the Protector then wrote a letter to Cardinal Mazarine, and told the man he must wait but three days for answer, which answer, said Cromwell, must be the full value of what you might have made of your ship and cargo; and tell the Cardinal further, that if it is not paid in three days, you have my express orders to return home. The honest Quaker followed his instructions, but the Cardinal, as most Ministers do, began to shuffle with him, therefore the Quaker returned as he was bid. As soon as the Protector saw him, he desired to know whether he had got his money? and upon the man answering he had not, he desired him to leave his address with his secretary, and he should soon hear from him. The Protector then ordered a man-of-war into the Channel, with directions to seize and make prizes of every French ship she should meet with; accordingly she brought two or three into port, which the Protector ordered to be sold, and out of the produce he paid the Quaker what he demanded for the ship and cargo, which the French had unjustly taken from him: he then sent for the French Ambassador, told him what he had done, and paid him the balance remaining in hand, after the Quaker had been paid his demand." We have a somewhat similar anecdote in Pepys's Diary, Feb. 10th, 1663-64: "By and by joyned with us Sir John Bankes, who told us several passages of the East India Company; and how in every case, when there was due to him and Alderman Mico £64,000 from the Dutch for injury done to them in the East Indys, Oliver presently after the peace, they delaying to pay them the money, sent them word, that if they did not pay them by such a day, he would grant letters of mark to those merchants against them; by which they were so fearful of him they did presently pay the money every farthing."

Leland the Antiquary.—The parish of St. Michael le Querne at the west end of Cheapside is perhaps the smallest in London, having only thirty-seven houses in it; after the fire of London it was united with the parish of St. Vedast Foster, in which the General Post Office now stands. The church of St. Vedast for many years has served for the united parishes, and has of late been somewhat notorious for the conflict which has been carried on within its walls

between the late vicar, the Rev. Pelham Dale, and his parishioners, on questions of ritual. It is interesting to know that in the church of St. Michaels le Querne was buried John Leland the Antiquary, and Librarian to Henry VIII. His grave was destroyed when the church was burned in the great fire of 1666, but his epitaph was preserved by Weever. It is said that Leland's head was turned by overwork and disappointment at the lack of encouragement his labours met with. His MSS. were secured by Sir John Cheke, who presented the *Collectanea* to Humphrey Purefoy, whose son gave them to W. Burton of Leicester. The *Itinerary*, after passing through Lord Paget's hands and afterwards those of Sir William Cecil, came also to Burton, who, in 1632, deposited them in the Bodleian Library. Thus were this indefatigable antiquary's labours preserved to the many historians who have used them to the present day.

The Castle of Winchester, constructed by William the Conqueror, in 1069, and added to by subsequent monarchs, has, beyond the splendid hall and a ruined round-tower facing eastwards, nothing above ground to remind us of a fortress, which for ages was a palace and a parliament house, a "strong tower of defence," and a prison, and was the residence at various times of Norman, Plantagenet, and other kings, but was at last "slighted" by Cromwell. Beneath the surface of Castle-hill, however, there are abundant evidences of the massive construction of the Norman and Plantagenet stronghold. The Castle buildings, and notably the keep, are presumed to have occupied the area to the north of the present hall, for beneath have been found foundations in shape and dimensions such as a keep, etc., would require. Within the past few days drainage works on Castle-hill have laid bare more evidences of the old Norman and later erections, the workmen having uncovered enormous and almost rock-like masses of grouted flints, chalk, and mortar, the solidity of which try alike tools and temper. A fine piece of the base wall of a vast round-tower, with bold "breaks" in the ashlar work, has been uncovered, and, just beyond, the brick arch which protects the great subterranean works of the castle has been perforated, affording light whereby through the kindness of Dr. Brown (from whose garden they are entered), these passages can be viewed; indeed, this new excavation affords a better clue to the work than had hitherto been obtained. The interest felt in the place is great, and deservedly so, for the construction, in a structural and in a defensive sense, is of the highest order. Descending a ladder from Dr. Brown's glass-house, the archaeologist finds a fine arched passage, with a deep and rapid descent towards the city, completely choked with sand, but evidently once connected with the other passages. These are three in number, one leading upwards, and with breaks of steps to a kind of irregular triangular area, where another leads up and towards the hall and other parts of the castle, the steps remaining partially *in situ*. A third passage leads sharply downwards towards the city ditch, or West-gate, and this cannot be explored, for there are about twenty-four feet of water in it, being used as a receptacle for the drainage of the roofs of the County Buildings. This will now be prevented, and the place therefore soon dry enough to be inspected. The

arched roofs are constructed of oblong blocks of chalk, and were once, no doubt, plastered. The arches and "rabbets," against which the doors closed, are of remarkably close-jointed ashlar work, and the sockets for the massive timber bolts, about five feet long, and nearly as many inches square, remain. The arches are pointed, and therefore lead to the conclusion from this, and the fine joints of the mortar, that they are much later than the Norman times; and, as William of Wykham is supposed to have tried his "prentice hand" as an architect, under Constable Uvedale, he might have reconstructed the Norman subways which afforded access to the castle and outworks, and possibly to some safe but not luxurious dungeons. The great pluralist, Stigand (Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Winchester at the same time), died a prisoner in the castle in 1072. Some of the county magistrates have viewed the place, and we feel sure that Mr. Melville-Portal, whose good taste has achieved so much at the County-hall, will induce his colleagues to preserve this remarkable series of passages for the enjoyment of all antiquaries, opening up, as they do, rich historic memories. There can be no doubt that Dr. Brown, a gentleman with antiquarian tastes, will cordially co-operate with the county authorities in any steps that may be taken to preserve and open up the subways of the Castle of Winchester. [*Communicated by W. H. JACOB.*]



Antiquarian News.



A very large quantity of rare silver coins was found lately at Borzecice, in the Krotoczin district in Prussian Poland. A farmer was having a large stone removed from one of his fields, and the workmen found deep beside it an urn, with 530 silver coins of Bohemian, German, Hungarian, and even Anglo-Saxon mintage. With them were some silver ornaments, and a few silver bars.

We learn that a glacier garden, with glacier millstones and water-worn excavations like those in the glacier garden at Lucerne, has been discovered on the Maloja, in the Grisons.

A meeting was held in August, in the Mayor's Room, Leeds Town Hall, of gentlemen interested in the compilation of a history of Yorkshire. The Rev. R. B. Taylor, of Melbecks, Richmond, explained the proposed scheme, the chief suggestion being the formation of a general committee for undertaking the work. After several proposals had been made it was decided to form a committee to confer with the Council of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, and with other county societies, to see if any arrangement for amalgamation could be made so as to carry out the work of the proposed history.

There was offered for sale at Bridgewater some 188 acres of grazing land, known as the Athelney Estate—the veritable spot in which King Alfred lay in hiding

whilst the Danes were for the moment masters of England. In gratitude for the shelter which Athelney had afforded him, he founded a Monastery there, which was long a memorial of his romantic adventures. The late Sir John Slade erected an unpretending monument on the property to preserve the memory—which was hardly likely to be forgotten—of this royal hiding-place.

The fifth congress for the study of the history and ethnology of America before its discovery by Columbus was opened at Copenhagen. Among those present were the Princess of Wales and the remaining members of the Danish Royal Family. The congress was addressed by delegates from different countries.

Owing to the extensive excavations for the new railway line which is to intersect the south-eastern outlying works of the citadel of Mainz, massive Roman buildings have been laid bare, the existence of which has never been suspected. The most remarkable features are three massive walls, two running parallel to each other, the third inclining towards the first, leaving only narrow passages between them. The middle wall consists of heavy square pillars, which, together with the arches, consisting of double layers of vaults, must have been isolated. It has not yet been discovered what purpose the remains served. Their construction is of a most solid nature, and no doubt supported heavy loads. As the remains are exactly in the line of the new railway, they must be completely removed.

During the excavations carried on by the French school at Athens in the island of Delos, a very interesting discovery has been made. Near the Theatre of Apollo a private house has been discovered, probably of the Alexandrine period. A court, surrounded by pillars and twelve rooms, have thus far been revealed. The floor of the court is of beautiful mosaic, containing flowers, fishes, and other ornaments, and in the middle of the court there is a cistern full of water. The gate of the house and the street leading to it have also been dug out. As the excavations continue, an entire quarter of the ancient city may possibly be discovered.

Bosworth Park estate, by Hinckley, near the famous battlefield of King Richard III., has been offered for sale by Messrs. Driver and Son in the auction mart at Tokenhouse Yard. There was a large attendance. Mr. Driver stated that Bosworth Park was the ancestral home of the Dixie family.

The streets of the city of Coventry were the scene of another of the celebrations in connection with Lady Godiva's ride through the public thoroughfares in broad daylight to rid the citizens of oppressive taxes. The procession was a mile and a half in length, and its success was aided by the brilliant sunshine.

About ten years ago, when looking over the collections of drawings and prints at Chatsworth, with a view to making a report to His Grace the Duke of Devonshire on the treasures of that part of the library, Mr. Geo. W. Reid found two volumes filled with drawings, which had probably not been studied

since the days of William the second Duke. The first volume contains about forty examples, probably all of which were formerly in Vasari's possession, and formed parts of his collection of drawings in five volumes. They are, as Vasari described them, filled with drawings pasted on both sides of each leaf, grouped according to the artists, and enclosed by ornamental borders, which were executed in bistre by Vasari, or, more probably, one of his pupils. The name of each artist is placed in a cartouche below; the woodcut portrait of the painter, taken from Vasari's own book, is in a tablet above. The most important example is a "Holy Family," drawn with ink and black chalk, evidently preserving the first conception of a great work, and remarkably free in handling. It is by Perugino, and Mr. Reid believes it is the original composition of the so-called Raphael drawing, which was recently purchased by Dr. Lippmann for the Berlin Museum. Also in this volume are two studies by Carpaccio in black chalk; one of them is the reverse of the other. They were evidently made for his magnificent series of frescoes of the life of St. Ursula, painted in 1490 in the chapel of the Scuola di Santa Orsola, at Venice. One of these represents the arrival of St. Ursula, the prince her husband, and the virgins, her companions, at Rome, and their meeting Pope Cyriacus outside the gates of the city; the other is a slight sketch of the martyrdom of St. Ursula and her companions at Rome. Next in point of interest is a study in black chalk by Ghirlandajo, for the head of one of the attendants on a maiden of the Tornabuoni family whose figure is in the "Nativity of the Virgin," one of the frescoes on the left of the choir of St. Maria Novella at Florence. In this study we see where Michael Angelo must have learnt his vigorous manner of rendering first thoughts. On the reverse of this study is a sketch, likewise in black chalk, for the full-length figure of another of the ladies in the same fresco. In the Print Room of the Museum is the first design for the whole composition of the fresco, very slightly drawn in ink. It may be observed that a headress similar to that of one of these figures is worn by the seated Virgin in another of the same frescoes which represent St. John the Baptist preaching. With the above is one of the finest drawings in silver-point on bright salmon known. It is a study for a Madonna's head and hands, made by Filippino Lippi. There is likewise a highly finished drawing in ink on vellum representing a portion of a "Triumph of Silenus," by Andrea Mantegna. The second volume contains, on sixty-five pages, eighty-two drawings by Rembrandt, Rubens, and Van Dyck. Most of these were purchased with the collection of about five hundred examples from N. A. Flinck, of Rotterdam, by the second Duke of Devonshire, for 12,000 florins. Others have the well-known marks of Prosper Henry Lanckrink and Sir Peter Lely. The Rembrandts are thirty-five in all, twenty-nine of them being landscapes of a very beautiful kind. Others represent the history of Isaac and Esau with all the refinement of the master's happiest mood. By Rubens there are several landscape studies from nature slightly tinted. Among the Van Dycks not fewer than eight are masterly studies for the "Icones." Mr. Reid is reproducing some of these treasures.

The late Dante Gabriel Rossetti's house in Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, has passed into the hands of the Rev. H. R. Haweis. It is the property of the Earl of Cadogan, who has expressly stipulated that it shall not be structurally altered. It is one of the oldest houses in Chelsea, admirable in construction and architecture. It is built on the site of Henry VIII.'s palace, and the old Tudor foundations and dungeon-like cellars remain.

Two of the most interesting houses in England, from a literary point of view, are, *Land* says, about to be sold. Every visitor to Broadstairs knows "Bleak House," which stands so conspicuously on the cliff at one extremity of the bended bow forming the sea front of that charming little seaside place. In that house Dickens spent many a summer holiday, and within its walls much of his early work was written. It has become known as Bleak House by association only, for its real name is Fort House. Lawn House, hard by, is also to be sold. This was another of Dickens's holiday residences, which he occupied on several occasions before he took Fort House. A considerable portion of *The Old Curiosity Shop* was written at Lawn House. "Bleak House" is the more famous of the two seaside villas, and is one of the few "sights" of Broadstairs.

During the last few months an important work has been commenced, and in part accomplished, in the Department of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum, in the rearrangement and systematic description of the exhibits in the Assyrian Department. The advance of Assyriology and the importance of the inscriptions and monuments to Biblical Archaeology have made this one of the most popular departments of the Museum, and the former unsatisfactory state of the arrangements, and the disconnected nature of the exhibits, made it almost impossible to obtain any idea of the wealth and importance of our Assyrian collections. The tablets and smaller monuments were exhibited without any regard to the locality where they were found, or the nature of their contents, and the descriptive labels were often entirely wrong. The era of reform which at last set in has resulted in the complete rearrangement of the Koyunjik Gallery, that is, the room in which the antiquities from Nineveh are exhibited, and in the preparation and issuing of a carefully prepared handbook, compiled by Mr. Theophilus Goldridge Pinches, and edited by Dr. Samuel Birch, the keeper of the department. The change which has taken place in these galleries is a great one, and now, aided by the new guide-book, it is possible for visitors to gain a very complete knowledge of the Assyrian history, art, religion, and literature during the Augustan age of the Empire. The sculptures placed in this room come from the Palaces of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal on the Koyunjik mound opposite Mosul, and represent the finest work of the sculptor's art.

The proprietor of the Hohe Linie Inn, at Erfurt, has placed tablets over the gateway bearing inscriptions to the effect that the following persons have resided in the house:—1341, Duke Christian of Brunswick, Archbishop of Bremen; 1541, Landgrave Philipp of Hesse; 1543, Duke Maurice of Saxe;

1543, Dr. Martin Luther; 1631, Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden; 1817, Frederick William, King of Prussia.

Arpops of Dr. Ingleby's work on *Shakespeare's Bones* the following letter has been addressed to the Mayor and Corporation of Stratford-on-Avon:—"Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen,—Understanding that the subject of the proposed exhumation of Shakespeare may be discussed at the meeting of the Council to be held on Tuesday next, I venture very respectfully, but with equal earnestness, to submit reasons against the suggested disinterment. Whatever opinion may be formed respecting the authorship of the lines on the gravestone, there can scarcely be a reasonable doubt that they are a record of the poet's own wishes. The lineal descent from him having long since terminated, there can never be the entail of a Blenheim or a Strathfieldsaye to indicate a nation's gratitude, and a deference to those wishes would seem to be the only possible manner in which that gratitude can now be expressed. Neither would the exhumation answer the purpose intended by its projector, our respected colleague, Dr. Ingleby. If a skull were found in the grave, and its formation corresponded to the monumental bust, there would merely be a confirmation of our present knowledge. If, on the contrary, its formation did not so correspond, the inference would naturally be that it was not Shakespeare's, the evidence of the bust altogether outweighing that of a particular skull found in the grave. It must be recollected that we are almost destitute of information as to the extent to which the series of graves in the chancel has been tampered with during the 267 years which have now elapsed, it being only by the merest accident that we know for certain that one of the Shakespearian tombs was disturbed in the last century for the interment of a stranger. There is, however, a very interesting question, which might be easily determined without disregard, or rather with a regard, to the poet's last wishes. The slab which now covers his grave is a new one, belonging to the present century, but it is believed that the original stone was left under the present one. The restoration of the former, in however decayed a state, to the view of the public, could hardly fail to meet with universal approval.—Believe me, Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen, your faithful servant, J. O. HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS, Hollingbury Copse, Brighton, 1st September, 1883." The Corporation decided at once not to allow the proposed desecration.

The quaint and beautiful little church of the Early English period, pleasantly situated between York and Shipton, at the village of Skelton, was recently reopened by the Archbishop of York, after having undergone restoration at the hands of Mr. Ewan Christian. This well-known church, built in the style called Early English, was erected by Archbishop Walter de Grey, in the thirteenth century. It is one of the finest specimens existing in England of that style and age, and the roof only excepted, it stands now as it left the builder's hand. Its date is 1227. It is coeval with the oldest part of York Minster, *i.e.*, with the transepts. Its plan was conceived by the designers of the Minster, its works were executed by the same hands, and the surplus materials remaining

after the erection of the transepts were employed in its construction. The church was formerly connected with York, and was dedicated to All Saints, although it is sometimes called Little St. Peter's, which seems to suggest its connection with the cathedral. It is constructed of a light-coloured limestone. About seventy years ago it had lapsed into a semi-ruinous state, and underwent a careful restoration. The edifice is characterised by perfect harmony of parts, unity of design, and purity of style. The south doorway is its richest feature, and furnishes a fine example for study. No doubt is entertained that it is of a later style than the main building. The plan of the church includes nave, aisles, and chancel under one roof. The clustered pillars which divide the nave from the chancel support the bell gable; but these are in no way connected with or supported by external flank walls or buttresses, although the latter are placed opposite to them. There is reason to believe that the chancel and the eastern portions of the aisle parallel to it were formerly partitioned off by screens from the church, and appropriated as chantries or chapels. In the flank walls of each, next the altar, is a piscina on the south, and an aumbrie on the north, precisely similar to those in the chancel. There are traces of the existence of screens.

Sale by candle is a method of auction that was at one time common throughout England and Scotland, and that still survives in some places north of the Tweed. In a form slightly differing from that which used to be almost universal in this country, it may to this day be witnessed in Bremen, although the municipal authorities of that city have decided to abolish it at the end of the year. Every Friday afternoon, in a room in the old Exchange, a judge and his secretary take their seats, attended by a crier and a servant dressed in a flame-coloured coat, and supplied with a box of tiny candles, each of which is intended to burn for one minute. At a given signal a candle is lighted, and the bidding for whatever happens to be on sale begins. At each offer from a would-be purchaser the burning candle is extinguished and a new one is lighted; and the property is only disposed of when a candle burns itself out ere a fresh bid has been announced by the crier. This custom dates from mediæval times, and it is said in Bremen that for five hundred years sales have been held and candles have been burned every Friday without interruption.

There is evidence of a philological and scriptural character which proves the forged origin of the Shapira manuscript; and it arises from a comparison of the latter with the synagogue rolls in vogue among the Jews. In the construction of these rolls it was the custom to observe very stringent rules as to the width of margin which they preserved, and to other details of precision. An examination of the Shapira fragments shows that although the text is manifestly written on the model of a Hebrew synagogue scroll, yet these rules have been regarded in some cases, but violated in others, as if through ignorance of the great importance and value attached to their observance. It now appears that instead of the central fold and sewn edge succeeding each other in regular order, the folds are uneven, and have in some cases been cut with a clean

sharp severance. It moreover appears that all *scripta plena*, even in the case of plural forms, are omitted; a discrepancy which is in some respects in excess of that of the Moabite stone in the disregard of grammatical proprieties.

A statement has been prepared, we hear, by Mr. Beresford-Hope, the chairman of the committee, respecting Mr. Wood's proceedings at Ephesus during the past year. In March of the present year, the sanction of the trustees of the British Museum having been obtained, Mr. Wood was authorised by the committee to proceed to Ephesus and resume the excavations which had been so long in abeyance for want of funds. The freehold of the site of the temple had been purchased by the trustees of the British Museum during the time of the former excavations. Their right to resume the works seemed accordingly to be clear, although the question of the privilege of removing the sculptures which might be found was more disputed. Mr. Wood, however, had not long resumed his work when the Mudir of the district visited the spot and reported their recommencement to the Kaimachan of Scala Nova, who in his turn reported the same to the Governor of Smyrna, and in due time the Mudir received his written instructions to stop the excavations. In obedience then to the intimation of the Mudir, Mr. Wood suspended the work, which he had then carried on for eleven days, and took the first boat for Constantinople to obtain a fresh permit from the Ottoman Government. This interruption delayed operations for several weeks, but happily the required document was eventually obtained through the effectual good offices of Lord Granville and of the Embassy at Constantinople, and in three days from the time when the request was submitted to the Sultan, the permit was handed to Mr. Wood by the Minister of Public Instruction. Mr. Wood then returned without delay and resumed the excavations. By this time the cool weather had passed away, and the hot season had set in, but as he was anxious to make some important discovery before abandoning the work till the autumn, Mr. Wood persevered until June 15th, when he was forced to stop. Several interesting inscriptions and fragments of sculptures were, however, secured. The latter evidently belonged to the pediment at the east end of the temple. The most interesting of these was the leg of a male figure in high relief, somewhat larger than life. At a committee meeting held on July 24th, it was decided to authorise Mr. Wood to return to Ephesus in September and resume the excavations. It is most desirable that the archaeological public should subscribe liberally, if they desire the success of this most interesting exploration. If it is carried on as it ought to be to the extent proposed—namely, to the outer face of the colonnade which surrounded the temple—the result will probably be the unearthing both of beautiful sculptures and inscriptions possessing historical value. The discoveries which reach England will be placed in the gallery which is to be devoted at the British Museum to the Ephesian antiquities, and will be a great addition of permanent value to the national art treasures.

One more relic of old London is in course of disappearance. The demolition of Bootle's houses bids fair to rob Chancery-lane of one of the last fragments

of sentiment still clinging to that extremely practical locality. At No. 9, Southampton-buildings, which must soon disappear, William Hazlitt lodged, and duly fell in love with his landlord's daughter, the "Madonna-like" Sarah Walker, whom he celebrates in that wild volume, *Liber Amoris*. But in this building also he did some of his best work,—the *Sketches of English Picture Galleries* and the *Dramatic Criticism and Table Talk*. Hazlitt is, however, not the only famous name which haunts the pile on which the mason's labourers are at present busy. For in Southampton-buildings Charles Lamb came to live after he moved from Pentonville, and before he took up his quarters in Mitre-court, and here also, in the house of a relative, Ludlow, the Parliamentary General, was concealed at the Restoration. "Jacob, the Jew," is not quite so eminent a personage. But if not a wit himself, he afforded a temporary home to plenty of them, since here, in 1670, he opened the coffee-house which for a time was much frequented by Templars who liked to play the man of fashion, and by swash-bucklers who could venture out of the neighbouring Alsatia.

In an article on the operations of the Metropolitan Board of Works in Gray's-inn-road, formerly Gray's-inn-lane, the *Daily Telegraph* says Hampden and Pym lived in Gray's-inn-lane, and here they held their consultations over the matter of the Ship Money prior to the case being argued before the Courts of Law. Shirley, the poet and dramatist of the Restoration, kept a school in the "lane;" John Ogilby, author, translator, cosmographer, and geographic printer to Charles II., was apprenticed to a dancing master in Gray's-inn-lane, and attained great eminence in his profession until one day, while cutting capers before the Duke of Buckingham, he sprained the sinews of his legs so severely as to be forced for the future to depend on his brains instead of his heels for a livelihood. The favourite haunt of Langhorne, the translator of Plutarch and the author of the once universally popular lines "To a Redbreast," was the Peacock Tavern in Gray's-inn-lane, and, there, to console himself for a double state of widowhood, he drank a good deal more Burton ale than was good for him. To complete the poetic memories of the "lane" it may be mentioned that in Fox-court, the first turning to the right from Holborn, was born in 1697 the singular character who, the day after his birth, was baptized at St. Andrew's, Holborn, as "Richard, son of John and Mary Smith," but who afterwards took the name of Savage, and persisted that he was the illegitimate son of Richard, Lord Rivers, and Anne, Countess of Macclesfield.

Another relic of olden times has been permanently secured for the gratification of the tourist and the antiquary. Rochester Castle and its grounds have long been leased by the corporation of the city from the Earl of Jersey, but the municipal body have now arranged for the purchase of the fee-simple. The price which the reversioner will receive for his interest in the structure and the garden alone is stated to be £8,000, and it is stipulated that the castle shall remain a ruin, as nearly as possible in its present state, and that the grounds shall be for the use of the public. There are not many more interesting monuments

historiques in England than Rochester Cathedral and the Castle beside it, and it is satisfactory to learn that both will be preserved for ages yet to come.

The Sixth International Congress of Orientalists opened at Leyden on September 10th. Nearly two hundred members were present. Herr Heemserk, the Minister for Home Affairs, who is the Honorary President of the Committee of Organisation, welcoming the members at the opening general meeting, said the Government appreciated the important influence which the deliberations of so learned and representative a gathering must exercise. He then proceeded to refer to the history of the University of Leyden in connection with Oriental research. Professor Kuenen, President of the Executive Committee, delivered a speech, in which he alluded with regret to the death of Professor Dozy, the great Dutch Orientalist, which occurred this year. At the mention of the departed Professor's name the members rose in their places in testimony of their respect. Professor Kuenen thanked the Congress for again choosing Leyden as their place of meeting, and said he regarded it as a token of their esteem for what the University had accomplished in the furtherance of Oriental studies. Professor de Goeje, Secretary to the Executive Committee, moved a resolution expressing the wish of the Congress that the authorities of the British Museum might allow Orientalists to borrow manuscripts from their collection, and not merely to confine their inspection to the limits of the building. This resolution, after being adopted, was ordered to be communicated to the Trustees of the Museum, and the assistance of the British Government will be invoked to secure the required permission. During the sittings of the Congress a small Oriental Exhibition will be held at Leyden.

Among the statues now in the Louvre, which were discovered by M. de Sarze, is one of King Gudea in his office of chief architect. This remarkable figure, cut out of hard diorite, with all the ornaments of the richly-embroidered robe and the fringes cut with the greatest care and attention to detail, with inscriptions as clear and sharp as the day they were graven, may be regarded as the earliest statue of an architect. This we may now certainly regard as the most ancient plan of an edifice which is preserved in the annals of architecture. The King-architect Gudea ("the Prophet") is represented as seated on his throne, clad in a long striped robe, and holding on his knees the tablet on which he has drawn the plan of the temple. This remarkable drawing, which cannot be placed later than thirty-seven centuries before the Christian era, shows the very conservative nature of the architectural profession in Babylonia, for the plan is exactly similar to that of the buildings at Abou Hubba, or Sippara, or at Babylon, erected by Nebuchadnezzar or Nabonidus. It would appear that the plan was drawn to scale, and that such scale was preserved in the divided rule which lies on the edge of the tablet.

At Seitendorf, near Neutitschein in Moravia, there is a wooden church, which dates from the 15th century. The *Brunner Zeitung* informs us that during some repairs which were being carried on a fortnight ago, some very old Gothic pictures were

discovered hidden away under double folds of linen cloths. The Governor of Moravia has directed the Royal Conservator of Antiquities and Historical Objects to take these pictures under his protection.

An altar, says Mr. W. Thompson Watkin, has just been found at Hale (*vel* Haile), in West Cumberland. It is inscribed

DIBVS
HERCVLI
E·T
SILVANO
F·E
PRIMVS·CVAR·
PRO·SE·ET
VEXILATIONE
V·S·L·M·

"The only difficulty," says Mr. Watkin, is in CVAR at the end of the sixth line. I have suggested QVAR as the correct reading (and those who have seen the stone inform me that it seems warranted); and I think it refers to the nationality of the dedicator, who has been of the tribe of the Quariates, a people of Gallia Narbonensis. If it is CVAR the C is ligulate with the V. The inscription, with this exception, I would expand *Dibus Herculi et Silvano Felicius Primus pro se et vexillatione, v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*, or, translated, 'To the gods Hercules and Silvanus, Felicius Primus . . . for himself and the vexillation, performs his vow willingly to a deserving object.' The stops in the centre of the third and fifth lines are singular."

Diddlebury Church has been restored. Diddlebury is about seven and a half miles from Ludlow. The church is dedicated to St. Peter, and consists of a nave, chancel, and south aisle, while at the west end is a square tower, with a peal of bells. In the church are one or two Norman arches, and there is a remarkable specimen of herringbone masonry in the north wall of the nave.

An archaeological discovery of some importance has been made by M. Morel in the environs of Nyon, in the Department of the Drôme. In a field which he has had dug up there has been found a Roman apartment, containing a number of antiquities. The apartment is about two yards beneath the level of the ground, and is covered with tiles, all of which, with the exception of one, are broken. Among the other articles discovered are fragments of columns, chapiters, and other pieces of architectural work, innumerable vases in black and red ware, pieces of bronze, some nails, boxwood hairpins, and broken millstones of very fine stone, like that of razor hones.

A remarkable fresco has been found in the church of St. Maria della Rotunda at Albano. The painting dates from the fourteenth century, and is an altar-piece representing St. Anne on a throne, receiving the Madonna with the child Christ, and St. John the Baptist. In the background stands St. Pancras, the patron saint of Albano. The colouring of the fresco is wonderfully fresh, considering that it has been walled up in a damp recess for centuries.

The Rev. Roland C. Billington writes from Chalbery Rectory, Wimborne, to the *Hampshire Advertiser*,

Sept. 3rd: "It may interest some of your readers to learn that a man working in a gravel pit near Witchampton last week disinterred a human skeleton and some Roman pottery. The skeleton was in perfect preservation, and all the teeth remained in the jaw. There were two urns of large size, which were also perfect when first seen, but crumbled to pieces on attempting to move them. They were placed one above and one below the skull, having evidently been so placed as a support for the head. The whole was buried quite three feet below the surface. This gravel pit is about three miles distant from the large Roman encampment of Badbury Rings, and I should venture to think that these antiquities are contemporaneous with the Roman occupation of that spot."

The Naples Correspondent of the *Daily News* writes:—"The excavations instituted in Rome by the Collegio Romano have proved rich in Egyptian treasures. The obelisk now removed to the Piazza del Collegio Romano is in a state of wonderful preservation, and covered from top to bottom with splendid hieroglyphics. It is the very counterpart of the one standing in the Piazza of the Pantheon, and the two must have stood together in front of the Temple of Isis, where the one last excavated was found. From this and other circumstances it has been found possible to draw conclusions as to the destruction of the Temple of Isis. The attempt of Nichomachus Flavianus, in the year 394 B.C., to revive the worship of Isis was met by a strong reaction, which resulted in the wholesale mutilation and destruction of the Egyptian idols. The area of the temple is covered with fragments of statues, etc. The lately-found obelisk, however, stood erect for a longer period, and only fell after the destruction of the temple, as is proved by its being found imbedded in soft rubbish five feet thick, a circumstance to which its good preservation is due. Its marble base was found broken up for use, for all marble statues and sculptures were always burnt for lime in ancient times, while objects in granite or porphyry remained untouched. Among other things found during the recent excavations were a cynocephalus of black granite, with excellently-executed hieroglyphics, an altar with bas-reliefs on three sides, pieces of the reliefs that covered all the walls of the temple, and other fragments." (See *ante*, p. 134.)

As we are going to press we regret to hear of the death of the veteran Mr. Payne Collier, at the age of 94. We are compelled to reserve our obituary notice until next month.



Correspondence.

"IRELAND IN 1600."

(viii. 106.)

The interesting paper on this subject is but a summary of Spenser's *View of the Present State of Ireland*. This summary was probably written by "one Haynes" from notes made during his hasty perusal of a MS. copy of the "View," which (Professor Hales says),

"though not printed till 1633, seems to have enjoyed a considerable circulation in a MS. form." Will Mr. Bent kindly state the probable date of Haynes' MS.?

H. B. WATERFIELD.

P.S.—When will Mr. Walford Selby give us his observations on Feltham's (?) *Three Months in the Low Countries*, promised by him in *THE ANTIQUARY* of April 1882?

COLLYNGTON.

(p. 27.)

Sir Henry Spelman, in *Villare Anglicum*, 1676-7, mentions Collington, co. Hereford, Broxash hund., but this could scarcely be denominated a "haven," so probably Sir Henry Dryden is right in his conjecture as to the place mentioned:—

It is not, I believe, unusual to find in old churchwardens' accounts entries relating to collections made for the relief of distress in other towns, and I imagine that such was the case in the Northamptonshire village with regard to Collington Haven.

Is Sir H. Dryden quite sure the word "fro" in the first item is correctly transcribed? If it were "for" the meaning would be clearer.

The following item from the accounts of the churchwardens of St. Michael's, Bps. Stortford, although evidently relating to the same collection, throws no light upon the purpose for which it was made.

"1578. P^d for y^e making of ij bylls Indented one for Collington haven, and j for Thomas Browne—viii^d."

J. L. GLASSCOCK, Jr.

AN HERALDIC PROBLEM.

I was lately shown a coat-of-arms painted on an old oak panel, and blazoned as follows:—

Gules.—3 Marquisal coronets—*argent* 2 & 1. On a chief *argent* 3 Fleurs-de-lis—*gules*. No motto. Crest, out of a marquisal coronet, or—resting on a wreath *argent* and *gules*—a dexter arm in armour, embossed *proper*, and couped at the shoulder; wielding a spear.

What makes this blazon almost unique are the three crowns on the field, as very few examples of this can be found. These have some affinity to the "Crown of Lorraine," but more to the coronet of an English marquis—as which I have blazoned them—though they are exactly like neither. I think it probable that some of the tinctures are incorrect, though the coat has every indication of authenticity.

The owner believes the arms appertained to her maternal ancestors who left France on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, but a tracing having been submitted to a high French authority, he affirms that it does not belong to any of the Huguenots, and has failed to trace it in French heraldry.

Can any of your readers elucidate the puzzle?
Lathom, Ormskirk.

JAMES BROMLEY.

A BOOK QUERY.

CAN any reader of *THE ANTIQUARY* give me any information about R. Robinson's *The Way to Thrift*, 1597? I cannot find it in Hazlitt, Payne, Collier, Huth, or the bibliographical dictionaries, nor can I

find it mentioned in the Stationers' Companies Registers. About 1597 there were Ralph Robinson and Richard Robinson writing. G. L. GOMME.

SUCCESSION THROUGH FEMALES.

Mr. Gomme, in his interesting and suggestive paper on the rebellion in favour of Stephen of Blois (vii. 247), appears to claim Mr. Freeman as an ally, on the ground that he has "pointed out a still further doctrine of primitive politics which went in support of Stephen's claim" (vii. 248). Now I do not presume to pronounce on this important question, and, in a matter of "primitive politics," Mr. Gomme is pretty sure to be right. It is, however, needful to point out that his view is not that held by Mr. Freeman, and, indeed, directly contradicts it. Mr. Gomme contends that succession through females (whether of the grandson or the nephew) was a continuous survival from primitive politics. Mr. Freeman, on the contrary, held that it was unknown in Old English times, and was a distinct and gradual innovation, subsequent to the Norman Conquest. We should notice that the passage quoted by Mr. Gomme is immediately thus qualified by Mr. Freeman:—

"But however sacred was the relation between a man and his sister's son, it was not one which by the law of England conferred any right to the royal succession. The preference attaching to kingly blood was confined to those who were of kingly blood by direct male descent; it does not appear that the son of a king's daughter had any sort of claim to be considered in a royal election more than any other man in the realm."*

It will be perceived that this dictum, whether right or wrong, directly traverses Mr. Gomme's contention. It will also be seen, from the following passage, that Mr. Freeman, as I have said, viewed the doctrine as an innovation subsequent to the Norman Conquest. The case in point has a direct bearing on the question raised by Mr. Gomme:—

"Gospatric . . . by female descent at least, sprang of the noblest blood of Northumberland . . . and the words of our chief Northumbrian guide seem to imply that this descent gave him some kind of preference to the earldom. This is . . . remarkable as showing that the notion of succession through females was already beginning to be entertained. We cannot suppose that it would have come into any man's head to propose a woman as a candidate for an earldom; but men were clearly beginning to think that the son of an earl's daughter had a better right to his grandfather's dignity than an utter stranger to his blood."† While showing that the views of Mr. Gomme and Mr. Freeman are, in truth, diametrically opposed, I would not, as I have said, presume to offer an opinion as to which of them is right. Least of all, I need hardly add, would I assert Mr. Freeman's infallibility.

Brighton,

J. H. ROUND.

FONT OR PISCINA.

Some time back, while taking a short holiday in Yorkshire, I came across a curious font or piscina; and

* *Norman Conquest* (1st Ed.), ii. 367.

† *Ibid.*, iv. 134.

some outline drawings were done from measurements I made myself, and a pencil sketch was done for me by the owner. It was found in the cellar (buried) of the old Manor House, Tadcaster West, in Yorkshire. The Manor House is close to the church; and my own impression is that at some time or other it was in the parish church, possibly was the piscina to a private chapel belonging to the owner of the Manor, and in the time of Cromwell was perhaps brought from the church and buried where it was found. If it is of interest to the readers of *THE ANTIQUARY* you are at liberty to make what use you like of it.

ED. DURRANT.

[We hope Mr. Durrant will give us a fuller description of these curious monuments.—ED.]

CURE'S ALMS HOUSES.

Can you give me any information respecting Cure's College, Southwark? It stood on part of the burying ground of St. Margaret's, Southwark. I believe it was pulled down some fifty years ago. Are there any prints, plans, and works upon the subject to be obtained?

A. B.

[Thomas Cure founded his Alms Houses in Deadman's Place in 1584. These were rebuilt in 1831 in the College Yard, Park Street, Southwark. See *Old Southwark and its People*, by W. Rendle, 1878, pp. 184-5. There are two water-colour drawings by T. H. Shepherd in the Crace Collection, British Museum.—ED.]

JOHN GASCOIGN.

I have been seeking for information as to the name of the parish, somewhere in England, from the parish registers of which in 1877 (or 1878, perhaps,) the clergyman furnished the baptism of a John Gascoign (or *Gaskin*) in May 1602.* The information ought, I think, to be forthcoming, because when the clergyman sent subsequently the marriage of the man's father and mother, he stated that he had been enabled to do so because he possessed a good index to his register from the commencement up to 1800 and odd. From this I gather that the register is of some insignificant parish (possibly only one, or a couple of volumes), consequently not a lengthy register, and therefore no very difficult task to index; also that this index is probably a purely private one of the clergyman's, made at some period for convenience of reference, or as a curiosity.

I am told that perhaps the Index Society has a list of those parish registers that are known to be indexed, or that possibly some of the members of that society, known to Mr. Wheatley, and living in different districts, might be able to assist me, each for his own particular district.

J. H. GREENSTREET.

CORRECTION.

In *THE ANTIQUARY* for August, p. 87, for "bottom was 2 in. X 2 in. below," read "bottom was 2 ft. 2 in. below"; for "Alexander" read "Menander."

* He was buried at Chiswick in "1682, aged eighty."

The Antiquary Exchange.

—o—

Enclose 4d. for the First 12 Words, and 1d. for each Additional Three Words. All replies to a number should be enclosed in a blank envelope, with a loose Stamp, and sent to the Manager.

NOTE.—All Advertisements to reach the office by the 15th of the month, and to be addressed—The Manager, EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT, THE ANTIQUARY OFFICE, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

FOR SALE.

The Athenaeum, July, 1879, to June, 1883, eight vols., in numbers as issued, clean and perfect, £2.—*Cassell's Magazine of Art*, vols. 1 to 3, in half morocco, new, and vols. 1 and 2 New Series, half roan, new, £3 the set.—The Hamilton Palace Collection, illustrated priced catalogue, printed on handmade paper, 1882, cloth new, published at £2 2s., 21s.—*The Theatre*, vols. 1 to 3, first series, in half morocco (containing the portraits of Henry Irving, Ellen Terry, H. J. Byron, F. C. Burnand, and many others, price 30s.—Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, by T. Hall Caine (large paper edition, fifty copies only printed), with portrait, 20s.—Our Ancient Monuments, and the Lands around them, by Jackson. Introduction by Sir John Lubbock, M.P. (large paper, 250 copies printed), 10s. 6d.—Shakspeare, *The Plays of*, complete in 8 volumes, allegorical and other illustrations, copper-plate, very clean and perfect. London: printed for Bellamy and Roberts, No. 138, Fleet Street, and at 4, Peterborough Court, Fleet Street, 1791, whole calf, 20s.—Thackeray's Works, 24 volumes, very little used, bound in half calf, marble edges, clean and perfect, £5.—Dickens' "Our Mutual Friend," first edition, in original wrapper, 12s. 6d.—Ashton's Chap Books of the XIX. Century, published at 7s. 6d., 4s.—Luxurious Bathing, small oblong folio, second edition, *remarque proofs*, etched by Tristram Ellis, only six printed, £3 3s.—A number of Book Plates (*Ex Libris*), from 2s. per dozen.—Sharpe's British Theatre, eighteen vols., 32mo, calf, covers of one vol. damaged. London: printed by C. Whittingham, Dean Street, for John Sharpe, opposite York House, Piccadilly, 1804-5. Very fine engraved title page to each vol., and portrait of W. H. W. Betty as Douglas. Book plate of Francis Hartwell in each vol., 20s.—Caxton's Game and Playe of The Chesse, 1474: a verbatim reprint of the first edition, with an introduction by William E. A. Axon, M.R.S.L. Forming part of the first issue of *The Antiquary's Library*, 10s. 6d.—W. E. Morden, 5, Longley Terrace, Lower Tooting, S.W.

Several Poesy, Intaglio, and curious Rings for sale, cheap.—Particulars, 220, care of Manager.

Giotto and his Works in Padua, 20s.—Ruskin's Lectures on Architecture and Painting, 36s.; Two Paths (with Plates), 30s.; Elements of Drawing, 30s.; Modern Painters, in fine condition, £30: all first editions, original bindings; two *Quarterly Reviews* with Ruskin's articles on Lord Lindsay and Eastlake, 16s.—Milton's *Paradise Lost*, 1st edition, 1668, splendid copy, £10; and 4th edition, folio plates and

portrait, 1692, 25s.—Sir T. Browne's Complete Works, folio, 1686, 15s.—"Tryal of Dr. Sacheverell," 1710, 3s. 6d.—Joseph Lucas, Claremont House, Cawley Road, Hackney.

Curious old tracts and broadsides,—List of British Merchant Ships taken or plundered by the Spaniards, 5s.—An Answer to King James's Last Declaration 1693, 3s.—The Case of the Vicar of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, 7s. 6d.—A Whip for Smugglers, 2s. 6d.—An Answer to the Lightermen's Account of a Coal Voyage to Newcastle, 7s. 6d.—D. G. G., Buildwas, Ironbridge, Salop.

A Private Collector has for sale the following copper coins, viz., Roman, Romano Egyptian, Bactrian, Byzantine, Greek, English and foreign: also few Tokens. State requirements to Edward W. Drury, 51, High St., Hull.

A Collection of over 6,000 Book-plates to be sold. Apply for owner's name and address to Briggs & Morden, 5, Longley Terrace, Lower Tooting, S.W.

Several pieces of ancient English armour, being portions of suits, suitable for decorative purposes or as relics; also a few swords.—Address, 235, care of Manager.

The Bible, with engravings from pictures and designs by the most eminent Artists, London 1800, folio, 8 vols. *Macklin's splendid edition*, published in 70 numbers at 21s. each, a very fine copy. For particulars address by letter, B., 5, Longley Terrace, Lower Tooting, S.W.

The Manager wishes to draw attention to the fact that he cannot undertake to forward POST CARDS, or letters, unless a stamp be sent to cover postage of same to advertiser.

WANTED TO PURCHASE.

Armorial Book Plates purchased or exchanged.—Dr. Howard, Dartmouth Road, Blackheath.

Dorsetshire Seventeenth Century Tokens.—Also Topographical Works, Cuttings or Scraps connected with the county.—J. S. Udall, 4, Harcourt Buildings, Temple.

Swift's Works, 19 vols., 1824; Walpole's Letters, edited by Cunningham, 9 vols.; Books published by Pickering, *ante* 1855; Hervey's Memoirs of George II., 2 vols., 1848; Doran's Their Majestie's Servants, 2 vols., 1864. Good prices for good copies.—Biblios, 20, King Edward Street, Lambeth Road, London.

Wanted, Poll Books, for County Elections in Essex, Herts, and Cambridgeshire.—Thomas Bird, Romford.

Old works on Craft Freemasonry.—Briggs & Morden, 5, Longley Terrace, Lower Tooting, S.W.

Old engravings connected with Colchester, Dovercourt, and Harwich, Essex Book Plates.—Rev. J. Hamblin-Smith, 7, Westgate, Grantham.

Wanted to purchase for high cash prices fine English and American gold, silver, and copper coins in any quantity. Any coins bought, sold, exchanged, or valued.—J. R. Thomas, New St., Birmingham.

Wanted, all kinds of coins and curiosities.—Address, 125, Coltman Street, Hull.

ANTIQUARY for 1880 in parts.—J. B. Hodgson, Brampton, Cumberland.



The Antiquary.



NOVEMBER, 1883.

The Accuracy of the Colouring of Illuminated MSS.

BY CLAPTON ROLFE.

THE theory has been advanced by some that the colouring of our old illuminated MSS. is not to be relied upon with reference to the use of coloured vestments in vogue at the time the illuminations were drawn. A study of the subject extending over some years leads me to the conclusion that this is an erroneous theory; that there is, on the contrary, an extreme accuracy of detail in the colouring of our best illuminated MSS.; and that, as a general rule, the higher the artistic merit of the work, the more accurate and truthful it is in its colouring.

To prove this I must first briefly allude to the ancient traditional use of the Catholic Church in the matter of coloured vestments.

In the ancient system of the Catholic Church, the traditions of the Levitical Church, or in other words the traditions of the law, had more hold upon the minds of men than many Churchmen nowadays are willing to admit. The ritual worship of the Christian Church in the early ages of Christianity was in harmony with that of the more ancient system of the Church of God. Those ritual uses of the Levitical Church *which were compatible with Christianity* were retained, as we learn from the authority of Philo Judæus and other ancient writers.

Among other ritual uses, that the five ancient colours of the Levitical Church—gold, blue, purple, red, and white—were retained and in use in the ritual worship

VOL. VIII.

of the ancient Christian Church there is the clearest possible evidence; and that this usage prevailed at a very early period, in Eastern if not in Western Christendom, there can be very little doubt. We know, for instance, that St. John the Divine wore the ancient priestly vesture, as we learn upon the authority of Eusebius (lib. v., chap. xxii.); and that St. James, Bishop of Jerusalem, "exercised priestly office after the manner of the ancient priesthood," as we learn upon the authority of Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis. (Adv. Hæc., lib. i., chap. xxix.)

To what extent these traditions of the law influenced the ritual of the Catholic Church, may be gathered from the testimony of St. Gregory the Great. He writes with reference to the colour of the vestment wherewith "the priest is vested upon either shoulder"—

Quod recte superhumerales ex auro, hyacintho, purpura, bis tincto cocco, et tota fieri bysso, præcipitur, ut quanta sacerdos clarescere virtutum diversitate debeat, demonstratur. In sacerdotis quippe habitu ante omnia aurum fulget, ut in eo intellectus sapientiæ principaliter emicet. (*Divus Gregorius Papa. Pastoralis Cura*, pars ii., cap. iii., p. 1187.)

Until the time of the Reformation, the Church of England was ever faithful to this ancient and venerable tradition. These five colours were her chief liturgical colours throughout the Ancient British, the Anglo-Saxon, and the Mediæval periods. It is true that the teaching of Pope Innocent III.—the first ecclesiastical sanction (so to speak) of that development in Western Christendom which is now designated "the Roman sequence"—tended to extend and develop this ancient usage of the Church of England, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, by the addition of two other ritual colours, green and black. But even then, and in the fifteenth century, the ritual use of these two colours was altogether subordinate in the Church of England to that of the five ancient ones; marking a distinctive trait of the mediæval Church of England system in contradistinction to that of the coeval Church of Rome and Italy; and indicating how much more orthodox and more upon the good old lines the former was than the latter.

I will now proceed to prove the extreme accuracy of the colouring of our old illuminated MSS., which throw a good deal of light

upon the liturgical usage that prevailed in the Church of England at different periods. One example of the Anglo-Saxon period will suffice to demonstrate it,—the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold, one of the finest specimens of Anglo-Saxon art we possess, now in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire.

This old benedictional was written and illuminated in the tenth century by the monk Godemann for St. Æthelwold, Abbot of Abingdon, and afterwards Bishop of Winchester. We know from evidence derived from other sources that at the time it was written the five ancient colours—gold, blue, purple, red, and white,—and these five colours only, were in liturgical use in the Anglo-Saxon Church. The white, yellow (probably cloth of gold), and red chasubles bequeathed by Theodore, Bishop of London, to different friends, *circa* A.D. 962; and the magnificent purple chasuble which St. Oswald, Archbishop of York, left behind him, *circa* A.D. 992, which was preserved for some centuries in the Beverley Minster; also the red mitre of wonderful workmanship, together with other rich vestments of (*i.e.*, richly embroidered with) gold which Leoffin, one of the tenth century Abbots of Ely, gave to his church,—prove clearly enough the liturgical usage that prevailed in the Church of England at this period. Let me now point out how exactly the colouring of the liturgical vestments which are drawn in the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold agrees therewith.

Upon folio 1 there is a group of confessors in chasubles. This first page has had more wear than the rest of the MS., so that the colours in this illumination are not quite so distinct as they once were, owing to the wear of centuries. There is, however, enough of the old colouring left to show that gold, blue, purple, scarlet, and white, were the colours of the liturgical vesture of this group.

From folios 1 to 18 no other liturgical vestments are drawn. Upon folio 18 is represented a vigorous drawing of St. Stephen the deacon. His dress consists of a scarlet tunic, and a blue supervestment. Scarlet and blue are the only colours of the deacon's vesture.

Upon folio 70 is a representation of our Lord, as the Great High-Priest in Heaven. His tunic is coloured gold, and His super-

vestment blue, while upon His head is the mitre or band of gold worn by the bishops of the Anglo-Saxon Church. The only colours of this drawing are gold and blue.

Upon folio 98 we have a full-page figure of an Anglo-Saxon priest in his mass-vestments. His chasuble is coloured blue, with gold orphrey; and his alb, stole, and maniple, gold only (to indicate cloth of gold). These are the only colours of his liturgical vesture.

Upon folio 100 is another full-page figure of a bishop or abbot (probably intended for St. Æthelwold himself, who was both) in liturgical vesture. His head is encircled with the episcopal mitre of gold; his chasuble is coloured purple; his dalmatic cloth of gold; his alb white, with red lines to the cuffs of the sleeves, indicating red embroidery; and his sandals blue and gold. In his hand he holds an abbot's mitre (coloured purple and gold), as if in the act of laying it aside. The five ancient colours, and none other, are shown in his vesture. The drawing tallies in an unmistakable manner with the written testimony of St. Gregory the Great; as it does also with that of St. Jerome, who says, speaking of the vesture of a Christian bishop—

For without the bells, and the different colours, and the gems, and the flowers of virtue, *he neither can enter the Sanctuary, nor assume to himself the name of Bishop.* (S. Hieron. Epist. ad Fabiolam.)

There is one other drawing in this old illuminated MS. I must allude to. Upon folio 118 there is another Anglo-Saxon priest depicted in his mass-vestments, celebrating the Eucharist. His chasuble is blue ornamented with gold; his alb white with gold apparels; and his stole and maniple gold. Gold, blue, and white, are the only colours of his vesture.

These drawings of the Benedictional, to which I have alluded, are the only ones in the MS. in which any *liturgical* vestments are shown. But to prove the extreme accuracy of the colouring throughout the MS., I would point out that in some of the other illuminations where figures are depicted in ordinary garb (as, *e.g.*, in the garb of the scribe upon folio 20 coloured some neutral tint), other colours are freely introduced. In this again, in the discrimination shown by the limner in the colouring of the two kinds of garb—the ordinary ecclesiastical every-day

garb, and the liturgical—we may perceive the orthodoxy of the age, and the extreme accuracy of this work of art.

We pass on now to the liturgical use of the Church of England in the twelfth century. It was about this period that the two additional colours, green and black, first came into liturgical use in the Church of England system. Notwithstanding, the five ancient colours of the law were still looked upon in the Church of England (though not so much in the Church of Rome) as those of pre-eminent importance and orthodoxy.

The following descriptions of old vestments (culled from that admirable antiquarian work Chambers's *Divine Worship in England*) prove the liturgical colours in use at this particular period, the twelfth century, in the ancient Church of England:—

Bishop Bartholomew (of Exeter), in 1161, had given two (chasubles) of azure (*i.e.* sky-blue) colour, one with new moons and stars, another with jewels and pearls, with several others of a purple colour.

Hugh Pudsey (one of the Bishops of Durham in the twelfth century) had nine chasubles, one of which was of red samit embroidered with golden plaques and besants, and a great many pearls and precious stones.

Matthew Paris speaks of five belonging to Abbot Galfrid, A.D. 1119, entirely of gold, with broad orfrays of gold before and behind, jewelled, and with lappets shot with red.

Bishop Bartholomew (1181) gave to Exeter Cathedral two Albes of Indian (*i.e.* indigo or sky-blue) colour embroidered, one with archers, the other with moons and stars, with one Amice of the same.

William the Sacrist gave to Shirburne Abbey (*circa* 1150) twelve Albes, one of diaper embroidered with gold, another of pure silk, another of buckram (fine linen).

Bishop Galfrid (1140) gave ten embroidered Albes (to Durham), two of samit, one red, another black, one indigo (or rather sky-blue) with large gilded orarais.

The stole of St. Thomas of Canterbury, at Sens, is about nine feet ten inches long. It is of tissue of gold, white, green, and purple silk.

Thus much with regard to the vestments themselves. Those depicted in our old twelfth-century illuminated MSS. exactly agree in point of colour:—*e.g.*,

In the British Museum there is a twelfth-century illuminated MS. (Calig. A. xiv.), which was probably written very shortly after St. Osmund had compiled his famous rite—the Sarum Use. Unfortunately there is no figure of either bishop or priest in the MS.; but upon one of its folios there is a very good

drawing of a deacon in his mass-vestments. He is drawn vested in a red dalmatic richly ornamented with gold, bound about the waist with a girdle of the same mystic colours, red and gold. There is also a white alb indicated; a red stole, ornamented with gold and white; and a cloth of gold maniple fringed with red. The dalmatic is edged at the collar, and at its sleeves and lower edge, with a broad band of gold, indicating how richly embroidered with gold were the red Sarum vestments of St. Osmund's age; while two similar broad bands of gold run down the front of the vestment and over the shoulders. It is not very clear whether the deacon's sandals in this drawing were originally purple or black, but, excepting the sandals, the only colours shown in his vesture are red (the distinctive colour), and gold, and white.

Another illuminated MS. in the British Museum (10 A. xiii.) of English work, and twelfth-century date, tends to throw further light upon the subject. It has, as its title page, a magnificent illuminated figure of an Archbishop of Canterbury in the liturgical vesture in vogue in the Church of England at this period. This is the only illuminated figure in the MS., but it is one of great beauty. The archbishop is drawn in a blue chasuble, ornamented and enriched with gold; a red dalmatic, ornamented also with gold; a white alb; a white mitre with broad gold band; a golden appressed amice; and a white archiepiscopal pall. With the exception of the sandals, which are coloured black, there are no colours indicated in his vesture other than red, white, blue, and gold.

There is another MS. in the British Museum of twelfth-century work (Nero. c. iv.), to which I would also refer. From some of the illuminations of this psalter we may perceive that the colour green was *beginning* to come into liturgical use at this period in the Church of England. For example, upon folio 28 is a figure of our Lord depicted as the Great High Priest. His priestly vesture is coloured gold, and green, and red, and purple. So that we fail to perceive in the vesture of this figure the five ancient colours, and these only, as in the vesture of other illuminations of the Great High Priest by earlier Churchmen.

It is unnecessary to refer to any more

twelfth-century MSS. to prove the point. But I would invite careful attention to a comparison of the actual colours of the twelfth-century vestments first alluded to, with the colouring of the liturgical vestures of the illuminated MSS. It will be seen that the only colours mentioned with reference to the vestments themselves are—gold, blue, purple, red, and white (the five ancient colours); also black and green; but these two latter subordinately, as it were. So much with regard to the actual colours of the actual vestments which we know were then in use. By referring back to the illuminations, it will also be seen that the only colours of the liturgical vestments therein depicted are—gold, blue, purple, red, and white; and also black and green: though these two latter colours, as the drawings themselves and my description of them imply, are depicted as in some degree subordinate to the other five. It shows the *extreme* accuracy of the colouring of old illuminated MSS. We may truly say their colouring tallies to a degree with that of old twelfth century vestments alluded to by antiquarian writers.

In the thirteenth century the use of liturgical colours in the Church of England remained much the same. The following descriptions of old thirteenth-century vestments are culled from the same antiquarian work—Chambers's *Divine Worship in England*.

At St. Paul's, Drayton the Treasurer gave, in 1275, a vestment with apparels of silk sewn on, embroidered with shields and nodules, partly of silk, partly embroidered; with stole and maniple woven of red silk, with nodules and flowers of gold thread interposed. The amice was sewn with silk, red and blue, the girdle of red silk. In Dart's *Canterbury* (App. ix.) the vestimentum of R. de Winchelsey, Archbishop, was of red samit embroidered with golden trees, viz., chasuble, cope, two tunics, two dalmatics, worked with gold thread and pearls. There was one great diapered vestment, chasuble, tunic, dalmatic, albe with apparels, with amice, stole, and maniple. A complete vestment of W. de Ledebar was a chasuble of Tharse (Tarsus), green, and diapered with vine leaves, with albe and amice embroidered with golden eagles and red roses, stole and maniple of velvet embroidered with golden roses.

At Canterbury the "vestment" of Peckham, Archbishop, was a chasuble, one tunic, one dalmatic of cloth of gold: the "vestment" of Winchelsey, Archbishop, one chasuble, one cope, one tunic, one dalmatic, diapered with gold, etc.

At Exeter, Simon, Bishop 1204, gave a pair of vestments of white samit, whose albe is of silk;

another pair of red samit; a third of red samit, without a chasuble.

At Salisbury, in 1222, were three tunics and three embroidered dalmatics, two of which were of blue silk, and a pair of red silk; a white tunic and dalmatic, the dalmatic embroidered with flowers.

At St. Paul's, in 1295, was an albe with apparel sewn on with nodules, and crosses between them of black silk; stole, maniple, and the apparel of the amice of the same suit, for the soul of Eleanor, Queen. At Exeter, in 1327 (*Oliver*, 298), given by Bishop Brewer in 1224, was a chasuble with dalmatic and tunic of white diaper, with an albe of silk, stole and maniple of purple colour, with gilt eagles and other animals, and an amice of the same colour.

These descriptions of old vestments prove beyond all doubt that the liturgical colours still in use in the Church of England in the thirteenth century were—gold, blue, purple, red, and white; and also green and black. The meagre allusion to the two latter colours in comparison to the others, each being named only once, indicates clearly enough the pre-eminence still given at this period in the system of the Church of England to the five mystic colours of the law.

With regard to the testimony of thirteenth century illuminated MSS.—in the British Museum there is a Psalter (Vesp. A. i.) in which is a very fine illuminated figure of our Blessed Lord of thirteenth century work by an English hand. He is drawn as the Great High Priest, in the act of blessing. The alb is white, edged at the sleeves with gold; the tunic purple (or the colour which in some illuminations is used to indicate purple), edged also with broad bands of gold; and the toga, or loose upper vestment, blue lined with scarlet. The purple tunic is shown to be lined with green, for a little bit of green lining appears visible where the arm is upraised in the act of blessing. The only colours indicated are—gold, blue, purple, red, and white, superadded to which is the green, which is just visible in the lining of the purple vestment.

Another fine illuminated MS. in the British Museum, which is known as "Queen Mary's Psalter," and dates from the last quarter of the thirteenth century, is equally accurate in its colouring. Upon folio 300 there is a drawing of a Bishop in liturgical vesture. He is depicted in a blue chasuble lined with scarlet, a purple dalmatic, a white alb with green apparel, and a scarlet amice.

Upon folio 304 is another rich illumination of a group of kneeling Bishops. The foremost figure is represented in a cloth of gold cope lined with scarlet, and a purple or white alb (from the shading it is not quite clear which colour is intended). Beside him is another Bishop in white mitre, with blue cope and scarlet amice—the only colours visible in his vesture. In the background is the figure of another Bishop, but his white mitre only is visible.

Upon folio 308 there is another rich illumination, showing a group of Bishops. There are five Bishops in chasubles, and one in a cloth of gold cope. Of the five Bishops, three have blue chasubles, and the other two cloth of gold ones lined with scarlet. In this group there is no green or black colour shown in the vesture of any one of the five Bishops, or any other colour than gold, blue, purple, red, and white. It tends to prove the still prevailing orthodoxy of the Church of England at the latter end of the thirteenth century.

The comparison I have drawn attention to, between the descriptions of actual vestments and the colouring of illuminated MSS., entirely disposes of the assertion that these old examples of the limner's art in the Middle Ages are not reliable evidence of the colour of the liturgical vestments which were in vogue in the Church of England at the period the illuminations were drawn.



Primitive Agricultural Implements.

PART II.

BY G. LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A.



WE now pass on to the bronze age. It will at once be recognized what an enormous advance man had made when he began to utilize bronze for weapon and tool. It is to be measured by a few significant facts, which have been ascertained about the history of the bronze age culture. Like the stone age, it came from the East; but, unlike the stone-age man, the bronze-age man, with his

superior weapons and tools, ignored the old trackways by the great rivers and sea coasts, and was able at once to force his way through the interior of the countries without receiving, says Worsaae, any serious check from the primitive forests, the marshes, or similar natural obstacles.*

Dr. Evans observes, that sickles are the only undoubtedly agricultural implements in bronze with which we are acquainted in this country.† Professor Boyd Dawkins, figuring such an one in his *Early Man in Britain* (p. 360), says the harvest was gathered in with reaping hooks of the small kind, used for cutting off the ears after the manner universal among the Greeks and Romans. Traditions of the use of bronze sickles survived, says Dr. Evans, to a comparatively late date in Greece and Italy, and he quotes some passages from Sophocles, Ovid, and Virgil in support of this assertion.† On this rather interesting subject, Mr. Elton has said something, in his *Origins of English History* (pp. 32-3). Posidonius visited Britain and describes a harvest—

Where the people have mean habitations constructed for the most part of rushes or sticks, and their harvest consists in cutting off the ears of corn and storing them in pits underground.

Dickson, in his *Husbandry of the Ancients*, collects together some curious passages bearing on ancient agricultural implements, and I will summarize them next.

Varro describes three different ways of reaping:—

There is one way, says he, as in Umbria, where they cut the straw close to the ground with a hook, and lay down each handful as it is cut; when many of these are laid down they go over them again, and strip the ears from the stalks, they throw the ears into baskets and carry them to the threshing floor; they leave the straw on the field, from whence it is taken and stacked up. They reap after another manner, as in Picenum, where they have a curved wooden batillum, upon the extremity of which there is a little iron saw; this, when it comprehends a bunch of ears, cuts them, and leaves the straw standing in the field to be cut afterwards. There is a third manner of reaping, as in the environs of Rome and many other places, where they cut the stalks in the middle, the upper part of which they take in their left hands: from which middle, I am of opinion,

* See Worsaae's admirable summary in his *Industrial Arts of Denmark*, pp. 41-43.

† *Ancient Bronze Implements*, p. 194.

the word *mersis* is derived. The straw below the hand, which remains fixed to the ground, is afterwards cut; but that which is fixed to the ear is carried in baskets to the threshing-floor.—Var., lib. 1, chap. 1.

The last of the ways of reaping here mentioned, is the same with that commonly used in Britain. . . . In the second way of reaping, the instrument used is called a *batillum*. This instrument appears to be a kind of shovel . . . but curved in such a manner as to turn the sharp edge of it to the side; upon this edge, the iron saw seems to have been fixed, which comprehended the stalks between the teeth, and these being sharp, cut off the ears; the ears when cut off fall into the bottom of the *batillum*. It is probable that it was used with the right hand as a

Columella; he says that the inhabitants of Gaul reaped the millet and panic with a pecten. "*Panicum et milium singulatim pectine manuali legunt Galliæ!*"* He calls it "*pecten manuale*," to distinguish it from an instrument used for the same purpose, which was pushed forward by an ox. This word is derived from the verb "*pectere*."†

Speaking of reaping corn, Pliny says:—

There are different modes of reaping. In the vast plains of Gaul very large wooden machines, armed with teeth on their edges, and mounted on two wheels, are forced through the standing corn by an animal propelling them from behind; thus, as the ears are cut off, they fall into the machines.

Palladius, in his *De re Rusticâ*, says:—

The more level parts of Gaul use the following expeditious method for reaping, and dispensing with

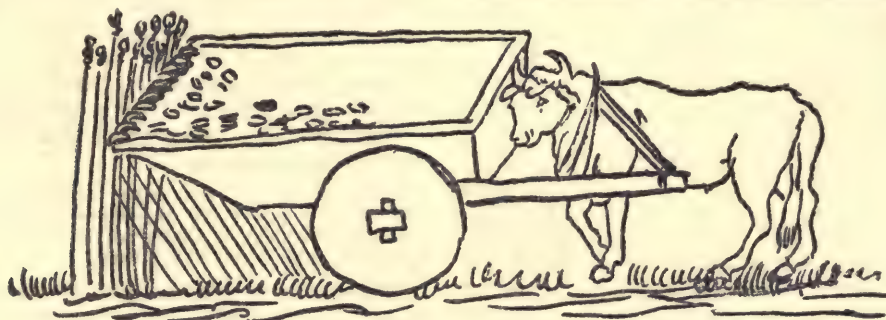


FIG. I.

small scythe, and that the reaper at every stroke emptied it into a basket.*

Columella likewise mentions different ways of reaping, and different instruments used for this purpose:—

There are, says he, several ways of reaping; many cut the stalks by the middle, with drag-hooks, and these either beaked or toothed. Many gather the ears with mergas, and others with combs; this method does very well when the crop is thin, but it is very troublesome when the corn is thick. If, in reaping with hooks, a part of the straw is cut off with the ears, it is immediately gathered into a heap, or into the nubilium, and after being dried, by being exposed to the sun, is threshed; but if the ears only are cut off, they are carried directly to the granary and threshed during the winter.—Col., lib. ii. cap. xxi.

The pecten was an instrument that cut off the ears of corn in the same manner as the merga. It is mentioned by Pliny as well as

the labour of men, with a single ox complete the whole extent of the harvest. For this purpose a vehicle is made, carried upon two low wheels. Its surface is square and bordered by planks, which, sloping outwards, make the inside wider at top than bottom. On the fore part of the carriage the planks are not so high as at the sides, and here are planted in a row numerous small teeth, set at distances according to the size of the wheat ears, and all curving upwards (at the same elevation as Mongez'). From the rear of the aforesaid vehicle a couple of small poles are arranged just like the poles used in carrying litters (sedan-poles), into which the ox is fastened, his head towards the carriage, by means of a yoke and straps. He must, however, be a quiet beast, so as not to go beyond the direction of his driver (the pace required). When the latter begins to drive the machine through the standing corn, all the ears that are seized by the teeth are carried in a heap into the vehicle, the straw being torn off and left standing; the ox-driver following behind, regulating the eleva-

* Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, lib. xviii., cap. xxx.

† Dickson's *Husbandry of the Ancients*, vol. ii., pp. 355-359.

* Dickson's *Husbandry of the Ancients*, vol. ii., pp. 353-356.

tion or depression of the machine occasionally, and thus in a few goings forward and returnings, in the short space of a few hours the whole harvest is carried (or completed). This plan is suitable for plains and level ground, and where the straw is not considered a thing of importance.*

The instrument thus described is figured in Plate IV. of vol. iii. (1818) of the *Mémoires de l'Institut* of France in illustration of an article by M. Mongez entitled "Mémoire sur les Instruments d'Agriculture employés par les Anciens," and it is so curious that I have reproduced the drawing in these pages (fig. 1). There are nine plates in illustration of this very valuable article, and one of these may be specially mentioned here as figuring the reaper cutting with a short hand-sickle the ears of corn short off from the top of the

month of the year in Anglo-Saxon times, which are drawn in outline by the pen in the Harleian MS., No. 603. The subjects of the Anglo-Saxon series are:—In January, ploughing with oxen; February, pruning trees; March, digging and sowing; April, feasting; May, shepherds attending their flocks; June, cutting down timber and carting it; July, mowing; August, reaping; September, hunting and leading the pigs to the wood to feed; October, hawking; November, bonfires; December, winnowing. It will be seen at once what a very remarkable picture of early agricultural life is here represented. That relating to August reaping is figured by Mr. Wright and re-produced here (fig. 2).

The activity of the reapers, says Mr. Wright, is well represented. The corn appears at this



FIG. 2.

stalk (fig. 34, Plate V.)—an ancient practice which has been already noticed.

We have now obtained sufficient information, meagre and incomplete, it is true, but still distinct enough to shed a light upon these distant ages. It now becomes necessary to turn to some further evidence, which will give us not so much a definite classification into stone-age or iron-age culture as it will supply us with a general notion of the strong element of survival from primitive times in many of the most important methods of performing agricultural labour. Anglo-Saxon methods of reaping were very different from that just mentioned as obtaining amongst the ancient Gauls. Mr. Wright has published in his *Archæological Album* some remarkable illustrations of the calendar representing the occupations peculiar to each

period not to have been sheaved in the field, but to have been carried directly away. The warrior with his spear and horn appears to be guardian of the field, whose duty it was to watch against sudden attacks on the harvest in those unsettled times.* The corn is evidently grown in narrow strips, the balks being plainly depicted, and the sickle used appears to be identical with the hand-sickle still in use.

In Eccleston's *Introduction to English Antiquities*, p. 66, is figured from the Harleian MSS. some most spirited drawings of ploughing, sowing, mowing, gleaning, measuring corn, and harvest supper; and, says the author, the ploughs, picks, spades, scythes, reaping-hooks, flails, and axes of the husbandman, as drawn in old MSS., are of very good shape, and must have required a considerable quantity of iron in their manufacture.

In Scotland there are many peculiarities

* *Norfolk and Norwich Arch. Soc. Trans.* (On Some Reaping Machines of the Ancient Gauls), vol. vii., pp. 103-104.

* Wright's *Archæological Album*, p. 64.

in agricultural implements which, in addition to those already mentioned, are wonderfully significant of primitive usages. The old Scots plough is one of the most curious examples of a constant use of the same implement throughout a long series of years. It is thus described in Dickson's *Treatise of Agriculture* :—

The several parts of the old Scots plough are the head, the beam, the sheath, the wrest, the mold-board, the two handles, and the two rungs; these are of timber, and there are of iron, the sock and coulter. The head and sock are for opening the land below; the coulter for cutting anything hard that is on the surface; the wrest and mold-board for raising the earth and turning it over; the beam for fixing the draught to.*

In Caithness, about a century ago, the only plough known or used was called the thrapple plough. It had only one stilt and two mould-boards, one on each side, and the ploughman held his plough steady in the furrow by holding the stilt with both his hands close to his right side, which he covered with a sheep's skin to preserve his clothes.† Dr. Mitchell has noticed the use of the one-stilt plough, and has figured it in his *Past in the Present*, p. 95. It was in use in Shetland and in Orkney.‡ In the Isle of Man the plough generally used until a century after the Act of Settlement resembled the old Scottish pleech. It was drawn by four oxen yoked abreast; the assistance of two men was also required, one to hold the plough, and the other provided with a fork, to assist in regulating the depth of the furrow.§

The Highland harrow (fig. 3) is almost equally simple with the spade. It is composed of three bulls 2' 3" long, 2 inches broad, 1½" deep; the intervals between the bulls is 4 inches. Each bull has seven teeth of wood. The three bars which cross the bulls have each of them five teeth; the whole length of the harrow is 2' 3", and breadth 1' 2", containing twenty-seven teeth. Each end is furnished with a handle, which is bent like a hoop, and is wrought with the hand chiefly by women.||

* Dickson's *Treatise of Agriculture*, 1770, pp. 159, 160. See also *Stat. Account of Scotland*, i., p. 391; v., p. 18.

† Marshall's *Agriculture of the Highlands*, p. 204.

‡ Barry's *Hist. of Orkney*, 1868, p. 353; *Stat. Account of Scotland*, v. 226.

§ Train's *Hist. of the Isle of Man*, ii. 241.

|| Ure's *Agriculture of Dumbarton*, p. 40; also Barry's *History of Orkney*, p. 353.

In the Isle of Man the teeth were made of wood hardened over the fire, and were sharpened every morning before yoking.*

There is one other object connected with this most interesting subject which must be mentioned, and that is the means of transport used in the primitive farmyard. It is difficult to conceive a time before the age of railways, but it is much more difficult to conceive that our own land supplies evidence of the age before wheeled carts. Dr. Mitchell has touched upon this topic, and has figured three examples of the kind of sledge-cart used in the Highlands; † but the evidence is far more extensive than would at first thought be imagined. Mr. Lucas, in his *Studies in Nidderdale*, pp. 214-5, observes that wheeled conveyances are of very recent introduction in the upper part of the dale, and he gives an account of the first pair of wheels seen.

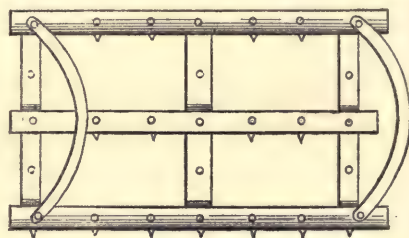


FIG. 3.

They were all of one piece, and quite solid, being cut out of a single piece of wood, and before this the vehicle used for the conveyance of the dead was a kind of litter drawn by two horses, one before and one behind. In Rosshire the farmers collected their manure into dunghills, and spread it on their fields by means of a kind of cart called *kellachies*. They consist of small solid wheels on which a frame is placed, and in an opening a conical coarse wicker basket is set wherein the dung is carried.‡ In Dumbarton sledges were used to a considerable extent,§ and the same was the case all over Stirlingshire.|| In Caithness there were no carts made use of. The farmers carried their

* Train's *Hist. of the Isle of Man*, ii. 241.

† *Past in the Present*, p. 97.

‡ Sinclair's *Stat. Acc. of Scotland*, iii. p. 11; Donaldson's *Agriculture of Elgin*, p. 22.

§ Ure's *Agriculture of Dumbarton*, p. 43.

|| Belsche's *Agriculture of Stirling*, p. 41.

manure to the land and their corn from it in creels upon the backs of horses,* and in Galloway the same kind of contrivance was used, persons being employed on each side with forks to keep the basket in a proper poise.†

I think there is sufficient evidence here to show that the development in agricultural matters has been remarkably slow. Many writers have proved this from the old customs and methods of land-tenure; but the correlative evidence to be derived from the implements in use has not yet been attempted. That what has been done in this article is inadequate I well-know, but as an instalment towards a most interesting investigation, I think it will be found acceptable, or at all events it will serve to show how much there is to the reflective antiquary in the by-ways of our own land for study and information.



St. Christopher as portrayed in England during the Middle Ages.

BY C. E. KEYSER, M.A., F.S.A.

“Xp̄ 'oferi sancti speciem quicunque tuetur
Illo nempe die nullo langore gravetur.”

IT will appear rash to undertake to write an essay upon a subject so well known as that of St. Christopher, and hopeless to endeavour to bring forward anything new, or to throw any fresh light, on a legend which has already been so often and so thoroughly described. It is not therefore my intention to investigate the allegory of St. Christopher, as this has already been fully worked out; but it will be my aim to point out the usual treatment of this subject in mural paintings, etc., in our English churches, and to direct attention to any peculiarities of treatment in the various instances which have come under my notice.

The legend of St. Christopher seems to have been introduced into England at a comparatively late period, and there are very few existing or recorded representations of the saint prior to the year 1400. During the

reign of Henry III., very great encouragement was accorded to the art of painting, and many of the most interesting wall paintings surviving to our time belong to this period. It was doubtless during this reign, and possibly in consequence of the many foreign artists who were attracted to England, that pictures of St. Christopher were first delineated. Various entries occur in the Court Rolls and elsewhere of orders being given, and payments made, for the execution of those series of paintings, with which the secular as well as the religious buildings were invariably adorned; and perhaps the earliest reference to St. Christopher was the commission for a painting to be depicted in the chapel of St. Peter within the Tower of London in 1248. About the same time a picture in glass of the saint was ordered for the Queen's Chapel at Winchester. At West Chilmington Church, Sussex, a very interesting series of New Testament subjects has recently been discovered. Amongst these has been introduced a painting of St. Christopher, which, if coeval with the other pictures, as it appears to be, is a work of the latter part of the thirteenth century. At Headington Church, Oxon, amongst a series of New Testament subjects, a figure of St. Christopher also occurs. All the paintings are stated (*Society of Antiquaries' Proceedings*, 2nd series, ii. 316) to be of the latter part of the thirteenth century. At Winterbourne Dauntsey Church, Wiltshire, a similar series of paintings of thirteenth century date was found on the walls of the nave and destroyed. St. Christopher was included amongst them, but it is alleged to have been of later date than the remainder of the series. At St. Albans Cathedral on the north nave piers are four large paintings, one portraying St. Christopher. These are supposed to have been executed during the abbacy of Thomas Delamere in the second half of the fourteenth century. Examples have been found at Witton (Norfolk), Croydon (Surrey), and Shorwell (Isle of Wight), which are attributed to the fourteenth century; but the great majority of the wall paintings of this subject which have been brought to light are either of late fifteenth or early sixteenth century execution. It is uncertain how St. Christopher came to obtain the very great popularity

* Marshall's *Agriculture of the Highlands*, p. 204.

† Webster's *Agriculture of Galloway*, p. 12.

which was certainly accorded to him throughout the fifteenth century, but there can be no doubt of the fact, of which the number of pictures of him in our churches affords the clearest evidence. Before commencing a description of these various paintings, I will refer those who are anxious to obtain all particulars as to the legend of St. Christopher to the following authorities, viz.: *Legenda Aurea*, of which an edition was printed by Caxton towards the end of the fifteenth century; *Collections of the Surrey Archaeological Society*, vi. 57; *British Archaeological Association Journal*, iii. 85; *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, iv. 1-19; *Journal of the Royal Institute of Cornwall*, April 1872, p. 53; Duke, *Prolusiones Historiæ*, Appendix note; *An Essay upon a figure of St. Christopher at Fordholme Church*; and the second volume of Mrs. Jameson's *Poetry of Sacred and Legendary Art*.

As may be gleaned from these several authorities, the reason for the representation of this saint is at once apparent. According to the legend as imported into England, it was popularly supposed that all persons who looked on his portrait would for that day be protected by him from a violent death. Hence the conspicuous situation which he almost invariably occupies in our English churches. In foreign countries the more rational portion of the legend was also retained, and on many houses near the fords of rivers, gigantic representations of the saint were depicted and are still to be seen.

There can be no doubt that, though in later times St. Christopher came to be venerated as an individual personage, at first he was more appropriately regarded as one of the legendary moralities, and his story was intended to inculcate generally an instructive and admirable doctrine. Thus it may well be classed with such popular representations as "The Dance of Death," "Les trois rois morts et les trois rois vifs," "The Purging of the Seven Deadly Sins," "The Wheel of Fortune," but above all with that mythical hero "St. George," who also in the fifteenth century attained to a degree of popularity, not inferior even to that of St. Christopher himself. With all of these subjects St. Christopher is constantly found associated on the walls of churches, and especially with that

of "St. George and the Dragon." Saints Christopher and George are usually portrayed side by side,* and the association between them is well described in the *Archæological Journal*, xxxiv., 238, where we find it stated that "as St. Christopher was addressed mostly to the common mind as potent to aid in all the instant maladies and evils of this life, saving from fatigue or sudden death, so St. George appealed to the knight or soldier, who was to succour the distressed and be the scourge of evil. Such was the theory of chivalry."

As has already been stated, the popularity of St. Christopher in England has been abundantly proved, by the numerous pictures which have been discovered in our churches during the restorations which have so universally prevailed during the past few years, unfortunately in most instances only brought to light to be again whitewashed over, or completely destroyed. It may safely be alleged that during the fifteenth century a figure of St. Christopher occupied a prominent situation in the majority of, if not in all, the churches in England, though very few examples of mural representations of this legend have been recorded as having been found in the northern counties. A very large number have been noted in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Devonshire, the three counties which specially exhibit in their church architecture, screen work, etc., a foreign religious influence, either imported through intercourse with other countries in the course

* The instances where Saints George and Christopher are portrayed in the same Church are comparatively numerous, and a list is here appended. They are sometimes depicted on opposite walls, but more generally close together, and very often side by side; those which are thus represented being distinguished by an asterisk. Pickering,* Yorkshire; Gawsworth, Cheshire; Slapton, Raunds, Hargrave, Northants; Houghton Conquest, Bedfordshire; Eversden, Cambridgeshire; Witton,* Drayton,* Fritton,* Norfolk; Preston, Troston, Sproughton,* Chellesworth, Bradfield Combust,* Suffolk; Croydon, Surrey; Stedham, Sussex; Devizes, St. Mary's,* Wilsford,* Wiltshire; and Whimple,* Devon. At Bradninch, Devon, they both appear on the roodscreen, while at Horsham St. Faith's, Norfolk, St. George is painted on the screen and St. Christopher on the pulpit. At Randworth, Norfolk, and Winchester Cathedral are wall paintings of St. Christopher and paintings on panel of St. George. In stained glass they appear side by side at Aldwinkle St. Peter's, Northants.

of trade, or by the settlement of foreign communities in England.

In the case of the wall paintings, the subject of St. Christopher is almost invariably found in the nave, and usually on the wall opposite the main entrance, and is so represented as to be visible to people even passing by the church. Several instances have occurred where his portraiture has been painted over other earlier subjects, which had previously occupied the coveted position, as at Stow Bardolph, Norfolk, where an early representation was found depicted over what had formerly been the most popular legend in the eastern counties, namely, the "Martyrdom of St. Edmund," above the south doorway. In this church a second portrait of the saint was found over the north doorway, of later date than that previously mentioned. The present south door is now the principal entrance to the church, and it may be assumed that the example over the north door was painted because it was considered that the picture of the saint previously existing did not occupy a sufficiently prominent situation. The facts may possibly suggest that up to the fifteenth century the north entrance had been the principal one, but that owing to some change in the nucleus of the village or for some other cause, the south entrance became the main doorway to the church, and that it was consequent on this change that the second painting was executed. At Brisley, Norfolk, unless there is some confusion amongst the several authorities upon the subject, a portrait of St. Christopher was likewise found both on the north and south walls. At Burnham Overy, also in Norfolk, a painting of the saint is recorded as existing both in the nave and chancel. Neither is now visible, but if the latter ever did exist, it is the only instance which has been recorded as having been found on the walls of the chancel. A few cases have been noticed, where the portrait of the saint had been repainted, as at Slapton, Northants, and Wilsford, Wiltshire, where beneath a late example of this subject was found an earlier one of far greater artistic merit. At Wedmore, Somersetshire, during recent restorations (see *ante*, vol. iv., p. 29), no less than three distinct representations of this legend were found on the wall behind the pulpit.

As the south doorway is almost always the principal entrance of the ordinary parish church, we usually find the representation of the saint either over the north door or on the north wall of the nave directly facing the entrance. Several instances have been brought to light on the south wall, as at Bunbury, Cheshire; Chesham, Bucks; Eversden and Bartlow, Cambs; Wells, Randworth, Wimbotsham, and Sedgford, Norfolk; Hesselsett, Chellesworth, and Wangford, Suffolk; Croydon, Surrey; St. John's and St. Lawrence, Winchester; Winfrith Newburgh, Dorset; Homington and Idmiston, Wilts, etc. At the old church of St. Mary Major, Exeter, an example was discovered on the south wall of the tower. At Witton, Norfolk, and Overton Longueville, Hunts, this subject occurs on the wall at the side of the door. It is also sometimes found on the nave piers, as at St. Albans Cathedral and Watford, Herts; South Bersted, Sussex; Upavon, Wilts; and Poyntington, Somerset. At South Elmham, St. James's, Suffolk, St. Christopher appears on one splay, while his attendant hermit occupies the opposite splay of a window. At Ufford, Suffolk, the figure of the saint occurs on the north wall quite at the east end of the nave without any apparent motive for its unusual situation. The example already referred to at West Chilton is similarly placed.

There are very few examples where the portraiture of the saint is delineated elsewhere than in the nave. At Winchester Cathedral a colossal painting till recently existed in the north transept; and another large subject, supposed to be a St. Christopher, has lately been found in the transept of Irthlingborough Church, Northants. At Spalding, Lincolnshire, a portion of this subject is still visible on the north-east pier of the south transept. The example at Burnham Overy has already been referred to as an unique instance of a mural painting of St. Christopher in the chancel.* On the beautiful

* In Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, mention is made of numerous images of St. Christopher as formerly existing in the parochial churches, and especially at Norwich. Many of these were probably statuettes richly painted and gilded. At the South Kensington Museum are some highly illuminated effigies of the saint brought from churches in the Tyrol.

altar-screen formerly in the church of Welington, Somerset, and now in the Taunton Museum, St. Christopher appears in conjunction with SS. Catherine, Margaret, and other saints. At Canterbury Cathedral until recently a painting of this subject was visible on the walls of Becket's crown at the east end of the building. This was a very late example, and formed a portion of the decorations carried out at the expense of Cardinal Pole, the last Roman Catholic prelate, who was interred in the Cathedral. Other mural representations have been recorded as existing in the Hungerford Chapel, Salisbury Cathedral, destroyed by Wyatt, in the Warwick Chapel at Tewkesbury Abbey, in St. Catherine's Chapel at Cirencester Church, Gloucestershire, and in the chantry of Peter Arderne in Latton Church, Essex; and a portion of another is still visible, facing the entrance, in a chantry chapel to the south of the chancel of Stoke Dry Church, Rutlandshire, painted over a thirteenth century representation of the Virgin and Child.

Very few panel paintings of this saint have been recorded as being still, or till recently, in existence; and he rarely occurs amongst the large series of saints portrayed on the panels of the roodscreens, doubtless because his picture already occupied a more prominent place in the Church. The only recorded instances are four in number, viz., three on the roodscreens at Binham Abbey, Norfolk; Roxton, Bedfordshire; and Bradninch, Devonshire; and one on the pulpit at Horsham, St. Faith's, Norfolk; all these are late fifteenth or early sixteenth century work.

In painted glass the list of examples I have been enabled to collect is somewhat meagre. Perhaps the earliest which I have seen is in the Church of Corby, Northants, where a small portrait of the saint in dark glass occupies the quatrefoil in the head of a fine Decorated window of date about the end of the thirteenth century. Another very interesting example may be seen at York Minster in the central light of the west window on the south side of south aisle. The figure is almost full size, the date of the first half of the fourteenth century. Later examples may still be seen at King's College Chapel, Cambridge; Aldwinkle St. Peter's, North-

amptonshire; Stockerston, Leicestershire; Yarnton, Oxon, etc., and full descriptions of others may be found in various authorities, viz. (i) at Durham Cathedral (Ornsby, *Sketches of Durham*, p. 30); (ii) at Ludlow, Shropshire (Irvine, *History of Ludlow*, p. 28); (iii) at West Wickham, Kent (*Weale's Quarterly Papers*, vol. iv.), etc. Representations in glass of this saint seem to have been not uncommon in domestic buildings; and examples have till recently existed at Salisbury and Leicester, the former being still preserved in the Salisbury museum. A list of examples still, or till recently, in existence, will be appended at the end of this article.

A very few brasses remain with effigies of St. Christopher represented on them. On the well-known example at Wyke, near Winchester, the figure of the saint occupies the position usually filled by the portrait of the deceased. In the series of saints ranged round* the fine brasses at Tattershall, Lincolnshire, and Morley, Derbyshire, St. Christopher occurs; and it is perhaps surprising that he is not found more often, unless we may assume that he was looked upon as being more potent to protect the bodies of the living than to mediate on behalf of the souls of those who had completed their mortal career.

In sculpture very few examples can be cited. On the fine monuments at Beaumaris, Anglesey; Warrington, Lancashire; and Harewood, Yorkshire, St. Christopher is included in the number of the saints ranged within niches around the tombs. On the walls of an oratory at Norwich Castle a series of rude sculptures, which retain traces of early colouring, still exist, carved out of the wall, and St. Christopher here occurs in company with SS. Catherine, Margaret, etc. A somewhat similar and apparently very ancient sculpture of the saint exists in an oratory within the ruined keep of Guildford Castle, and a third in the curious cavern at Royston, Herts. On the font of Ware, Herts, of date about 1500, is an effigy of the saint, and other examples have been noted over the gateway of St. William's College, York; on a boss over the north doorway on the west side of the cloisters at Norwich Cathedral; at Coverham Abbey, Yorkshire; and at Wootton Courtenay, Somersetshire. A gigantic figure

of the saint still remains at Norton Priory, Cheshire, which was dedicated in his honour.

In the south transept of Hexham Abbey church, Northumberland, is preserved a statue of a man grasping a staff with both hands, and with portions of a figure on his shoulder. This is probably an effigy of St. Christopher.

Amongst the numerous inscriptions on the church bells of the pre-reformation period still existing, only one remains with an invocation to St. Christopher. This is at Willington, Bedfordshire, where upon the bell is inscribed "O Martir Xpofore Pro Nobis Semper Orate."* It appears to have been a common practice to wear a small figure of the saint as a charm against evil. A specimen in silver of the 15th century is preserved in the art collection of the South Kensington Museum.

It now remains for me briefly to describe the general method of delineating this subject in mural painting, and to point out the few instances where variations from, or elaborations of, the usual mode of treatment occur. The earlier specimens are, as usual, by far the best, executed with more colouring and animation than is found in the later examples, many of which, as for instance those recently discovered at Layer Marney, Essex, and North Tidworth, Wiltshire, are simply sketched out in outline.

Many of the paintings of St. Christopher have been illustrated in the journals of the various Archæological Societies and elsewhere, and the following instances can probably be most easily referred to:—

British Archæological Association Journal, iii. 85, for the example at Shorwell.

Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, vol. iii., for that at Cullompton; vol. iv., for that at Whimple.

Norfolk Archæological Soc., ii. 132, for that at Wimbotsham; ii. 352, for that at Crostwight; iii. 138, for those at Stow Bardolph; iv. 42, for that at Witton.

Suffolk Archæological Soc., ii. 43, for that at Bardwell.

Surrey Archæological Collections, vol. vi., for that at Newdigate.

* For this information I am indebted to Mr. Thomas North, F.S.A., the well-known authority on the subject of Church Bells.

Sussex Archæological Soc., vol. iv., for that at Stedham.

And Duke's *Prolusiones Historiæ*, p. 561, for that at Wilsford and Lake.

There are also numerous coloured drawings in the collection of sketches, etc., made by the late Mr. Dawson Turner, with a view to the publication of an illustrated edition of Blomefield's "History of Norfolk." These are now in the manuscript department of the British Museum, and are numbered 23,024 to 23,062.

The saint is always portrayed as a man of colossal height and Herculean proportions. He is usually but slightly clad, with a single garment reaching down to the knees. He is also generally bareheaded, though sometimes he wears a kind of turban. He is in the act of fording the stream, and though the water rarely comes above his ankles, this is owing to his gigantic height, and not to the shallowness of the ford, as indicated by the presence of ships in full sail upon, and large fish disporting themselves beneath, the surface of the stream. The saint is always represented with a mighty staff, and with the figure of the infant Saviour seated on or behind his shoulder, holding the orb surmounted by a cross in His left hand, while with the right He is delivering the benediction. St. Christopher is also usually depicted as staggering under his noble burden, and in the earlier of the two examples at Stow Bardolph, a scroll proceeds from his mouth, on which are the following words:

Parve puer, quis tu, graviorem non tolleravi.

To which the infant Saviour replies:—

Non mirans sis tu, nam sum qui cuncta creavi.

In a later example found at Horley Church, Oxon, a somewhat similar inscription in English occurred:

What art thou that art so hevy, bar I never so hevy a thyng.

Yep (? That) I be hevy no wunder nys, for I am the kyng of blys.

There seems to have been no special rule as to the shoulder on which the Saviour is seated, nor as to the side of the picture He occupies. St. Christopher usually grasps his staff in both hands. At Horley and Croydon, the staff has been broken by the weight

imposed on it. At Hallam, Nottinghamshire, is a representation of this subject in ancient glass. Here St. Christopher holds a spear in his left hand, with which he has just pierced a fish.

It is not uncommon to find a mermaid or siren with comb or mirror introduced into the picture, as at Slapton, Northants; Ditteridge, Wiltshire; and Melcombe Horsey, Dorset; Cullompton and Whimble, Devon; and besides the ships and fishes an angler is often seated on the bank, as at Horley, and Hayes, Middlesex. In the picture at Whimble two fishermen are introduced in their vessel hauling in their nets. In the instance at Cullompton a large fish has half swallowed another one not much smaller than itself. In an example discovered and destroyed at Ridlington in Rutlandshire, the artist portrayed some lobsters disporting themselves in the water; these, either through ignorance or a wilful perversion of the facts for the sake of the introduction of some additional colouring, were depicted a bright red. So again in the account of the painting at Witton, we read in *Norfolk Archaeological Soc.*, vi. 43 :

St. Christopher leaning on his staff treads in water which contains fish of various kinds, together with a lobster and a crab, whose lively contortions are hardly consistent with their sanguine hue.

On the bank of the stream, in all the more elaborate pictures, the cell or chapel of the hermit is introduced, generally with a cross on the gable. In the example at South Elmham "a cock is depicted perched in the window." The hermit himself stands on the bank, holding a lantern, and directing the saint across the ford. At Whimble, and at Gawsworth, Cheshire, a windmill is also represented.

In this painting at Gawsworth, a series of escutcheons—doubtless of the donor of the picture—formed a kind of border running round it. So again at Cullompton, the beginning of the inscription, "Orate pro animabus, etc.," occurs beneath the subject. At Whimble are kneeling figures of those at whose cost the painting was executed, and traces of similar figures are visible at Ridge, Hertfordshire. Below the example at Bibury, Gloucestershire, were the ordinary lines, quoted at the beginning of this article and alluding to the special potency of the saint.

One of the finest examples of this subject was the one discovered at Fritton, in Norfolk. Another very interesting one still exists at Raunds, Northants. This is on the north wall of the nave, above the main arcade, and occupies a position between the two finest examples of the kindred allegories of "The Purging of the Seven Deadly Sins," and "Les trois rois vifs et les trois rois morts." Another curious representation of the legend was found at Sedgford, Norfolk, where the infant Saviour is portrayed with three heads,—doubtless in allusion to the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity. In the "Dawson-Turner" collection are two original sketches of this painting, but only one distinctly indicates this peculiarity. The most complete representation of this legend is that at Shorwell, in the Isle of Wight, where we find not only the usual portrait of the saint crossing the stream, but also the history of his life, as recorded in the "Legenda Aurea," terminating with his martyrdom. In this scene he appears bound to a tree and transfixed with arrows; many of these, however, instead of striking him, have glanced upwards, and one has pierced the eye of the king, who has ordered, and is superintending, his execution. At Portisham, Dorset, the whole legend seems to have been similarly represented.

Having thus endeavoured to give a brief sketch of the usual mode of representation of this subject in our English churches, and to point out the various instances where the situation or treatment of the painting is uncommon, I may fitly conclude by appending a list of all the examples of St. Christopher, which have come under my notice, as being still or till recently in existence in England. As this list will doubtless be very incomplete, I shall be grateful for information as to any examples not included in it.

I. MURAL PAINTINGS OF ST. CHRISTOPHER.

Bedfordshire. — Gravenhurst (Lower), Houghton Conquest, Toddington.

Buckinghamshire. — Chesham, Chesham Bois, Ravenston.

Cambridgeshire. — Bartlow, Cambridge (St. John's College), Cherry Hinton, Eversden, Grantchester, Hardwick, Impington, Milton, Wilburton.

Cheshire.—Bunbury, Gawsworth.

Cornwall.—Ludgvan, Mylor, St. Clements.

Devonshire.—Cullompton, Exeter (St. Mary Major), Lypmstone, Ringmore, Talaton, Tawton (Bishop's), Whimpe, Woodleigh.

Dorsetshire.—Chickerell (West), Margaret Marsh, Melcombe Horsey, Portisham, Winfrith Newburgh.

Essex.—Canewdon, Chipping Ongar, Feering, Ingatestone, Latton, Layer Marney.

Gloucestershire.—Ampney Crucis, Baunton, Bibury, Cirencester, Fairford, Tewkesbury.

Hampshire and Isle of Wight.—Bramley, East Meon, Shorwell, Tichborne, Winchester Cathedral, Winchester (St. John's), Winchester (St. Lawrence).

Hertfordshire.—Ardeley, Kimpton, Long Marston, Ridge, St. Albans Cathedral, Watford.

Huntingdonshire.—Morborne, Overton Longueville.

Kent.—Canterbury Cathedral.

Leicestershire.—Loughborough.

Lincolnshire.—Barkston, Spalding.

Middlesex.—Hayes, Northolt.

Norfolk.—Alburgh, Aldborough, Arminghall, Babingley, Billingford, Brisley, Brooke, Burgh St. Peter, Burnham Overy, Crostwick, Crostwright, Drayton, Fakenham, Freethorpe, Fring, Fritton, Haddiscoe, Hardwick, Heigham, Potter, Hockering, Ilketshall St. Margaret, Limpenhoe, Norwich (St. Ethelred's), Norwich (St. Giles), Ranworth, Sedgford, Seething, Stokesby, Stow Bardolph, Wacton Magna, Walpole St. Peter's, Wells, Westfield, Wickhampton, Wimbotsham, Witton.

Northamptonshire.—Aston-le-Walls, Castor, Hargrave, Irthlingborough, Raunds, Slapton, Woodford Halse.

Nottinghamshire.—Nottingham St. Mary's.

Oxfordshire.—Bloxham, Burford, Headington, Horley.

Rutlandshire.—Ketton, Ridlington, Stoke Dry, Weston, Edith.

Somersetshire.—Henstridge, Loxton, Mells, Poyntington, Wedmore, Wellington.

Staffordshire.—Colton.

Suffolk.—Bardwell, Belton, Blundeston, Bradfield Combust, Burgh Castle, Chellesworth, Elmham, South, (St. James's), Fritton, Gorleston, Hawkedon, Hengrave, Hessett,

Ipswich (St. Margaret's), Preston, Rushmere near Lowestoft, Sproughton, Stowlangtoft, Troston, Ufford, Wangford.

Surrey.—Croydon, Newdigate, Warlingham.

Sussex.—Bersted (South), Chiltington, (West), Rogate, Stedham.

Warwickshire.—Shotteswell, Stoneleigh.

Wiltshire.—Devizes (St. Mary's), Ditteridge, Durrington, Enford, Homington, Idmiston, Salisbury Cathedral, Somerford Keynes, Stanton St. Quintin, Tidworth, North, Upavon, Westwood, Wilsford and Lake, Winterbourne Dauntsey, Winterbourne Earls.

Worcestershire.—Child's Wickham.

Yorkshire.—Bolton-on-Swale, Conisborough, Pickering.

II.—PAINTINGS ON PANEL.

Bedfordshire.—Roxton.

Devonshire.—Bradninch.

Norfolk.—Binham Abbey, Horsham St. Faith's.

III.—IN ANCIENT STAINED GLASS.

Cambridgeshire.—Cambridge (King's College Chapel).

Cornwall.—St. Neots.

Devonshire.—Doddiscombsleigh.

Durham.—Durham Cathedral.

Kent.—Gillingham, West Wickham.

Leicestershire.—Leicester, Stockerston.

Norfolk.—Cossey Hall, Denton, Garvestone, Halvergate, Ingworth, Langford, Norwich St. Stephen's, Poringland, Snetterton, Tilney All Saints'.

Northamptonshire.—Aldwinkle St. Peter's, Corby.

Nottinghamshire.—Halam.

Oxfordshire.—Yarnton.

Shropshire.—Ludlow, Shrewsbury (St. Mary's).

Somersetshire.—Luccombe.

Surrey.—Wimbledon.

Wiltshire.—Laycock Abbey, Salisbury.

Yorkshire.—Woolley, York Minster, York (All Saints, North-street), York (Holy Trinity, Goodramgate), York (St. Michael Le Belfry).

IV.—SCULPTURED REPRESENTATIONS.

Cheshire.—Norton Priory.

Hertfordshire.—Royston, Ware.

Lancashire.—Warrington.

Norfolk.—Norwich Castle, Norwich Cathedral.

Northumberland.—Hexham.

Somersetshire.—Wootton Courtenay.

Surrey.—Guildford Castle.

Wales.—Beaumaris.

Yorkshire.—Coverham Abbey, Harewood, York (St. William's College.)

V.—ON BRASSES.

Derbyshire.—Morley.

Hampshire.—Wyke or Week.

Lincolnshire.—Tattershall.



Measure for Measure.

ACT III., SC. I.



WHEN Isabella visits her brother in prison, the cowardly Claudio breaks forth in complaint, and paints a vivid picture of the horrors of the damned:—

Ay, but to die and go we know not where;
To lie in cold obstruction, and to rot;
This sensible warm motion to become
A kneaded clod; and the *delighted spirit*
To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
In thrilling region of thick-ribbed ice;
To be imprisoned in the viewless winds,
And blown with restless violence round about
The pendent world; or to be worse than worst
Of those that lawless and uncertain thoughts
Imagine howling!—'tis too horrible!
The weariest and most loathed worldly life
That age, ache, penury, and imprisonment
Can lay on nature, is a paradise
To what we fear of death.

We have here in the expression "delighted spirit," a difficulty which none of the commentators have as yet been able to explain. Warburton said that the adjective meant "accustomed to ease and delights," but this was not a very successful guess, although Steevens adopted it. There is certainly a passage in Sir Thomas Herbert's *Travels in Asia and Afrique*, 1634, p. 104, which shows that the word *delighted* had a meaning in the seventeenth century which it has not at present. The passage is as follows: Mirza, son to Shah Abbas, "gave a period to his miseries in this world by supping a *delighted* cup of extreame poyson." This was communicated to Steevens by Ritson, but I find that in the

edition of 1638 the passage reads, "quaffing a cup of deadly poison" (p. 176). The Oxford editor (Sir Thomas Hanmer), altered the word in the text to *dilated*, and Dr. Johnson mentions two suggested emendations. One of these is *benighted*, and the other *delinquent*, which latter word was suggested by Thirlby in his MSS.

A loving student of our great poet has just suggested to the writer of this article a very happy reading which makes the passage clear, and he has further supported his opinion by reference to passages that certainly make the suggestion highly probable.

He proposes to read *deleted* for *delighted*, by which means we obtain a definite description of spirits destroyed or blotted out of the book of life. The word is common in the printing office, and, as Mr. Blades has shown, Shakespeare was well acquainted with the language of the press; but it is also used in literature; for instance, the following passage quoted from Bates's *Eternal Judgment* by Richardson in his English Dictionary is very apposite:—

And at the last day as many as have sinned without the law, as delivered to the Jews, shall be judged and perish, not according to the law of Moses, Rom. ii., but the law of nature that obliged them to do good, and restrain themselves from evil; of which the counterpart was not totally *deleted* in their hearts.

Thomas Fuller uses the word in his *Worthies of England*:—

I stand ready with a pencil in one hand and a sponge in the other, to add, alter, insert, expunge, enlarge, and *delete*.

Sir Francis Palgrave, in his *Normandy and England*, 1851, vol. ii., p. 261, writes:—

All the schools of piety, of discipline, and of learning had been *deleted* from the face of the country.

If we think merely of the recognised spelling of the word *delighted* we shall find that there are three letters to alter, but if we take the older spelling *delited* the change is easily made; and in a time when carelessness was common in the printing of books and little revision was given to the proofs as they were printed off, the archaic spelling might easily have been allowed to pass. In Holinshed's Chronicle (ed. 1807, vol. ii., p. 8, 37) this spelling will be found thus:—

And within a while they came forth againe all together unto the base Court, where the King

[Richard II.] was *deliting* with the Duchesse [of Gloucester] in pleasant talke whom he willed now to returne to his lodging againe, for he might staie no longer.

Again, in Tyndall's Works (p. 154), we read, "Thus in the deede *deliteth* God."

Still another suggestion may be made respecting the word, and that is that the word may have been intended for *delited*, with the same meaning as *deleted*; for besides the participle *deletus* the Latin *deleo* or *delino* makes also *delitus* with the same meaning, and Cicero has *litteræ delitæ*.

In Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* there is a very curious passage describing the spirits in hell, who leap from excess of heat to cutting cold, and there seems some probability that Shakespeare had Bede's description in his mind when he wrote this speech of Claudio's; if so, a clue to the use of the word "deleted" may be found in Bede's expression of "deformed spirits," or those who have been degraded from a form in a previous state of existence.

He that led me had a shining countenance and a bright garment, and we went on silently as I thought towards the north-east. Walking on we came to a vale of great breadth and depth, but of infinite length; on the left it appeared full of dreadful flames; the other side was no less horrid, for violent hail and cold snow was flying in all directions. Both places were full of men's souls, which seemed by turns to be tossed from one side to the other, as it were by a violent storm; for when the wretches could no longer endure the excess of heat, they leaped into the middle of the cutting cold; and finding no rest there, they leaped back again into the middle of the unquenchable flames. Now, whereas an innumerable multitude of *deformed spirits* were thus alternately tormented far and near, as far as could be seen without any intermission, I began to think that this perhaps might be hell, of whose intolerable flames I had often heard talk. My guide, who went before me, answered to my thought, saying, "Do not believe so, for this is not the hell you imagine."*

HENRY B. WHEATLEY.

* *Lucidus aspectu, et clarus erat indumento, qui me ducebat. Incedebamus autem tacentes, ut videbatur mihi, contra ortum solis solsticalem; cumque ambularem, devenimus ad vallem multæ latitudinis ac profunditatis, infinitæ autem longitudinis; quæ ad lævam nobis sita unum latus flammis ferventibus nimium terribile, alterum furenti grandine ac frigore nivium omnia perflante atque verrente non minus intolerabile præferebat. Utrumque autem erat animabus hominum plenum, quæ vicissim hinc inde videbantur quasi tempestatis impetu jactari. Cum enim vim fervoris immensi tolerare non possent, prosliebant miseræ in medium frigoris infesti et cum*

VOL. VIII.

An Ancient Register of the Parish of Ashley.

By T. P. MARSHALL.



HE parish registers of Ashley, near Market Drayton, date from the year 1551, and the oldest of them contains so many curious entries other than the ordinary records of births, marriages, and deaths, that it is worthy of special notice in the pages of THE ANTIQUARY. Before proceeding to deal with the book I propose to review, it will perhaps be as well to state that the parish of Ashley includes the village of that name and the hamlet of Hook Gate, and is situate on the borders of Staffordshire and Shropshire, near to Blore Heath, where the Lancastrian forces, under Lord Audley, were defeated by Lord Salisbury in September 1459. The parish church is said to owe its origin to a very romantic incident. An inhabitant of the village, David Kenrick by name, joined the army of the Black Prince during the time of the war that was being carried on against France. Before leaving his native place for "the tented field," the soldier stuck his spear into the ground, and made a vow that, if it pleased God to spare his life, and allow him to return home again, he would build on that very spot a temple to the Most High. Tradition says that Kenrick *was* spared, and that Ashley Church is a monument to the fact that he performed his vow.

The register under discussion owes much of its value to the fact that it covers the period during which Dr. Lightfoote, the great Hebrew scholar, was rector of the parish; indeed, the most interesting of the memoranda were made during the rectorship of that talented clergyman. The whole of the en-

neque ibi quippiam equiei invenire valerent, resiliebant rursus urendæ in medium flammarum inextinguibilem. Cumque hac infelici vicissitudine longe lateque, prout aspicere poteram, sine ulla quietis intercapidine innumabilis *spirituum deformium* multitudo torqueretur cogitare cœpi quod hic fortasse esset infernus, de cuius tormentis intolerabilibus narrare sæpius audivi. Respondit cogitationi meæ ductor qui me præcedebat: "Non hoc," inquit, "suspiceris; non enim hic infernus est ille quem putas. — *Bede Opera, ed. J. A. Giles, 1843, vol. iii., p. 202.*

tries, with the exception of the following note, on the first page, are in Latin:—

These registers & bookes of record were appoynted to be kept in the reign of Henry 8th, Anno Do. 1538.

Whether there was an older register than that in question I am not in a position to say, but it is evident, from the date of the first entry, that the one we are dealing with was not commenced until thirteen years after the passing of the law above alluded to.

The initial record, which is of the year 1551, is interesting because it deals with the marriage of a descendant of the pious soldier who built the church:—

Imprimis 20 Maii Matrimonium solemnizatum fuit inter Johannem Kendrick & Aliciam Lovat.

The bride belonged to a family of some prominence in the neighbouring parish of Norton-in-Hales, where more than one of her kinsmen had the honour of filling the office of churchwarden. The Kendricks still occupy a respectable position in the parish of Ashley.

With the exception of those relating to the noble family of Gerard, of Gerard's Bromley, none of the entries common to registers are possessed of more than a mere local interest. The Gerards were once considerable owners of property in Ashley and the neighbourhood, and their family seat at Bromley Hall was the centre of something wider than local influence. Bromley Hall is now only a better kind of farm house, and all that remains to perpetuate the memory of the once popular family is a beautiful alabaster table tomb in one of the side chapels in Ashley church. The first of the family who figures in the parish register is Sir Gilbert Gerard, knight, who died on the 4th of February, 1592, and was not buried until the 6th of March. Sir Gilbert was a man of more than average ability, and was in such high favour with royalty that he was made Keeper of the Rolls to Queen Elizabeth. These facts are duly recorded by Robert Freeman, who was then rector of Ashley, as follows:—

4^o die Februarii Mortuus est Gilbertus Gerard, miles et custos rotulorum serenissimæ Reginæ Elizabethæ et sepultus 6 die Martii sequentis.

In 1574, this Gilbert was "called upon to show his title to hold the third part of Ashley

Manor, Staffordshire, and certain messuages in London."* In 1614, Thomas, Lord Gerard, was owner of the family estates, and during his *regime*—i.e. in the year 1617—his ancestral mansion was honoured with a royal visit, for James I., who happened to be passing through Ashley, spent two days at Bromley Hall. Edward Shipton was then Rector of Ashley, and he regarded the monarchical visit as an event of so much importance that he made a note of it in the parish register:—

August 26th. Serenissimus Jacobus primus ejus nominus rex Angliæ Scotorum sextus hanc villa de Ashley transivit ad Gerardoni Bromelia ubi biduum sese recreavit.

No doubt Shipton was a guest at the Hall during the royal visit, and one can easily understand his feelings when he made a note of the death of the king in 1625:—

March 27th. Serenissimus et pacificus Magnæ Britanniæ rex Jacobus ex hac vita migravit et filius ejus insignissimus Carolus regno bonis auspiciis successit. Quem Deus nobis diu servet incolumem.

Had Shipton lived long enough he would have learned that his prayer was not to be answered, for twenty years later Charles with his army retreated from Market Drayton to Stone, and in his efforts to avoid the Parliamentarians hurried through Ashley and past Bromley Hall, where once his father was an honoured guest. Dr. Lightfoote's nephew, who was then acting as *locum tenens*, noted this incident in the parish register:—

1645. May 22nd. Serenissimus Rex Carolus per hanc villam de Ashley transiit ad Stone cum magno militum exercitu.

But to return to the Gerards. Another member of the family died in December 1667, and was buried in January of the following year, two facts to be gleaned from the register:—

December 28th. Obiit apud Londinum nobilissimus Carolus Dominus Gerard Baro de Gerardarum Bromeliæ.

1668. Jan. 25th. Sepultus fuit nobilissimus Carolus dominus Gerard Baro de Gerardorum Bromelia apud Ashley.

Lord Gerard had a faithful negro servant, Lawrence by name, who survived his master only a little more than three months, and

* Lee's *History of Market Drayton*, p. 102.

was so greatly honoured and respected by the family that his effigy was sculptured on their monument. His death is thus recorded :—

April 6th. Sepultus fuit Laurentius ignoti cognominis natione Africanus professionæ Christianus et Carolo domino Gerard defuncto servus.

It will perhaps not be out of place to note that the Baroness Gerard, who lived in 1650, was a benefactress to the neighbourhood. Finding that certain water at Willoughbridge, on her estate, was possessed of medicinal properties, she caused baths to be constructed, and apartments to be provided "for lodging the poorer sort of diseased and impotent people." Plott, the Staffordshire historian, writing of the spring says :—

The water carried with it the most rectified sulphur of any in England, not being, as usual, of a yellow colour, but clear as crystal.

No less than sixty copious springs of this water rose within a space of ten square yards; but the wells are not now resorted to.

The various episcopal and other visitations during the period covered by the register have been duly noted :—

1616. Aug. 26th. D. Ridley, Georg. Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi tenuit Metropolitanam visitationem.

1617. Sept. 13th. D. Johannes Overall Episcopus tenuit triennale visitationem apud Uttoxeter.

1620. Sept. 16th. Doctor Thomas Morton, Coven et Lich. episcopus tenuit visitationem prima apud Stafford.

1623. August 25. Doctor Morton, episcopus Coven et Lich. visitationem triennale tenuit apud Stafford. Concionavit Gulielmus Primrose. Gal. i. 2.

The William Primrose here alluded to was Rector of the parish of Norton-in-Hales, Shropshire.

Dr. Lightfoote was inducted to the rectory of Ashley in September 1630. The entry recording this important event is not very legible, but such of it as is reads as follows :—

September. Johannes Lightfoote inductus fuit in Rectoriam de Ashley per . . . Geoffrey Archidiaconum Salopie.

Dr. Lightfoote was a native of Stoke-on-Trent, where he was born in 1602, his father being a clergyman at that place. He was educated at a school near Congleton, in Cheshire, and afterwards became a student of Christ's College, Cambridge. After taking holy orders, he became chaplain to Sir Rowland Cotton, at Bellaport Hall, Norton-

in-Hales, and, for a short time, had charge of the parish in which he lived. Sir Rowland eventually presented him to the living of Ashley. He only resided in the parish twelve years, but held the rectory up to the time of his death. During the years he was absent from the parish, his nephew, Josias Lightfoote, acted as his *locum tenens*. In 1642 he went to London, and the Long Parliament made him a member of the Assembly of Divines. He filled several important offices, and took the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1652. He died at Much Munder in 1675. Dr. Lightfoote and Sir Rowland Cotton were bound by stronger ties than those of ordinary friendship; indeed, such was the affection existing between them, that the patron of the living expressed a wish that when he came to die he should spend his last moments in the arms of his friend. His desire was gratified, for he passed away reclining on Dr. Lightfoote's breast. This sad event was one of too great importance to be passed without comment by the erudite Rector of Ashley, and he therefore made a note of it in the Parish Register in the following magniloquent terms :—

1634, August 23rd. Lachrymas hic O Lector Obiit jam hujus secti fere decus et miraculum Hodie in Ecclesiâ de Norton subtus Hales in Comitatu de Salopie sepultus est nobilissimus Dus. Rolandus Cotton de Bellaport in eodem Comitatu Eques auratus ver sine exempto clarissimus et supra imitationem insignis. In quo doctrina mirabilis, valor invincibilis nobilitas immensa hospitalitas infanda, amor patriæ stupendus pretati vix æquandæ suavissime ancillabantur. Universum Clerum præsertim veram Johannem Lightfoote hujus Ecclesiæ de Ashley Rectorum amore plus quam paterno amplexabatur in cujus brachiorum reciprocis amplexibus mori cuperebat et moriebatur. Lachrymas hic jam tandem. O Lector Obiit oppidi hujus et Ecclesiæ de Ashley major ex parte dominus et patronus pauperum pater honestorum amicus.

The various clerical scribes who had charge of the parish during the period under review made use of the pages of the register for chronicling any meteorological or other phenomena which came under their observation. For instance, we are told that in the year 1614 the weather was very severe, and that it had been predicted this would be so :—

Feby. 28th. Predicta hiemalis intemperies a vicissimâ die Januarii ad decimam quartam Martii.

An entry in 1620 is rather vague :—

November 21st. Ab hoc tempore usque ad sequentem mensem magna vis . . . terram.

The following year (1621) was remarkable for its excessive rainfall; indeed, there was so much wet weather that farmers were very doubtful as to whether there would be any crops fit to reap :—

July 12th. Per tota "hanc æstate," ingens erat pluvia usque ad finem Augusti ut quid de messe statuerint homines incertum erat.

According to the Rector of Ashley at that time, the weather from May to the end of September, in 1632, was uncommonly inclement, there being so much wind and rain, and it being so cold, that it was difficult to believe it was summer; but, fortunately, brighter atmospheric influences prevailed in time to prevent the crops from being irretrievably spoiled. The entry detailing these facts is as follows :—

September. Hoc anno ab mense Maio ad exeun- tum Septembrem tarta fuit ventorum et pluviarum nubis frigoris intemperies ut nisi per longitudinum drum æstatem dignoscere nequies. Huic similem presens non vidit ætas. Illuxit tandem misericordia Dei cum sore et desperatas segestes sanavit. Huic sit gloria in sempiternum.

The clerical scribe also relates how that in 1634 many men perished with the cold, and that the corn had not at the end of October been gathered into barns. The 1st of January following heralded another period of disaster with what the chronicler calls an "omen," to wit, an earthquake at four o'clock in the morning.

Januarii primo fuit ingens terræ motus horâ circiter quartâ post mediam noctem. Omen hoc habuit initium hujus anni.

In January 1635 terrible snowstorms prevailed in the neighbourhood, roads were blocked up, and many men and cattle perished. The text of the original record may be interesting :—

January 22nd. Hoc mense ceciderunt nives horrendæ quas vehemens ventus una furens in tales montes congestit ut ocellus sint omnes viæ veteres et novæ . . . super repes et materias. Perit tum hominum tum pecorum numerus infandus. Stupuit novitate rei senissima senectus.

There are various notes bearing reference to the prevalence of the plague in different parts of the kingdom, and this terrible affliction seems to have approached as near as Stafford.

Under the head of 1651 there is the following entry :—

August 10. Draitonia in comitatu Salopiæ ique consumpta fuit.

The place here alluded to is the neighbouring town of Market Drayton in Shropshire. Strange to say, the local historian makes no mention whatever of this important event; indeed, the only printed notice of it I have ever been able to find was in a small pocket-book published by Messrs. Silvester, of Newport (Salop), at the close of the last century. If any of the readers of THE ANTIQUARY can furnish me with information on the subject, such as notices of collections on behalf of the sufferers—for I know that such collections were made in various parts of the country—I shall feel much obliged.

A friend has furnished me with the following list of rectors of Ashley :—

Robert de Asseleg (<i>temp.</i> Ed. III.)	
Andrew Bowyer	1574
Robert Freeman	1574 to 1607
Edward Shipton	1608 to 1628
Dr. Lightfoote	1630 to 1675
Josias Lightfoote	1675 to 1684
(Josias Lightfoote was nephew to Dr. Lightfoote, and was curate-in-charge at Ashley from 1644 to 1675, during his uncle's absence from the parish.)	
Charles Shaw	1684 to 1688
Henry Tomlinson	1688 to 1731
Daniel Gabriel Giberne	1731 to 1749
Walter Carless	1749 to 1757
Thomas Mould	1757 to 1793
William Anwyl	1793 to 1827
James Troughton	1827 to 1836
Thomas Hartshorne Harding	1836 to 1873
Arthur H. R. Hebden	1873 to 1879
Stirling Cooksley Voules	[Died Sept. 26th, 1883 1879



Archaic Land-Tenure in England.



ALTHOUGH Mr. Seebohm,* in his recently published book, has taken up a study that is by no means new to the antiquary, he has succeeded in throwing so much fresh light into the subject of land-tenure and its history in England that there can be no doubt

* *The English Village Community*, by Frederic Seebohm. London, 1883. (Longmans, Green, & Co.), 8vo, pp. xxi, 464.

but that he has made not only an effective study in the history of his particular object of research, but in the history of the early colonization of England. While on the one hand Mr. Freeman bids us believe that all Roman Britain and most of Celtic Britain was swept away by the invading Teuton, and Mr. Coote on the other hand bids us see in later Teutonic customs the hand and brain of the Romans, Mr. Seebohm, it appears to us, bids us wait yet a while longer to see what a deep study of such an important item in political and historical development as

facts of land tenure as practised or as known to surveyors or to country "birleymen," an ordinary observer would scarcely understand. Land tenure as known to lawyers is absolute possession of certain well-defined plots and the various holdings derivable from such a state of things. But there is something besides this cut-and-dried system in the various local customs, which take us undeniably to the primitive village community for their origin. Readers of *THE ANTIQUARY* know full well the main outline of this important institution, and we may refer in a note to



LINCES AT CLOTHALL, HERTS.

land-tenure will yield. Let us at once confess that lucid and clear as the argument Mr. Seebohm puts before us undoubtedly is, valuable and exhaustive as are his facts, we cannot quite accept his ultimate conclusions. But upon this subject it is not intended now to dwell; it is one that requires a separate and distinct study; and what we are anxious to put before the readers of *THE ANTIQUARY* is some account of that archaic land tenure of England which Mr. Seebohm has so ably dealt with.

How remarkably different the law of land tenure as known to lawyers is from the actual

some of the articles which have illustrated it in these pages.* But besides the general features of this archaic land tenure, Mr. Seebohm deals with innumerable instances of particular forms into which the topographical features of the country or the ethnological influences of the people have developed the common type. One of the most interesting of these is that observed in

* Mr. Round's "Archaic Land Tenure in Domesday," *ante*, vol. v., pp. 104-6. Mr. Fenton's "Right of Pre-emption in Village Communities," vol. iv., pp. 89-91, and Mr. Gomme's "Archaic Land Customs in Scotland," vol. iv., pp. 99-102.

hilly districts, and known as "lynches" or "lynchets."

When a hill-side, says Mr. Seebohm, formed part of the open field, the strips almost always were made to run, not up and down the hill, but horizontally along it; and in ploughing, the custom for ages was always to turn the sod of the farrow down hill, the plough consequently always returning one way idle. If the whole hill-side were ploughed in one field, this would result in a gradual travelling of the soil from the top to the bottom of the field, and it might not be noticed. But as in the open field system the hill-side was ploughed in strips with unploughed balks between them, no sod could pass in the ploughing from one strip to the next; but the process of moving the sod downwards would go on age after age just the same within each individual strip. In other words, every year's ploughing took a sod from the higher edge of the strip and put it on the lower edge; and the result was that the strips became in time long level terraces one above the other, and the balks between them grew into steep rough banks of long grass, covered often with natural self-sown brambles and bushes. These banks between the plough-made terraces are generally called *lynches* or *linces*, and the word is often applied to the terraced slips themselves, which go by the name of the linces.

Striking instances of these linches may be seen from the railroad, at Luton, in Bedfordshire, and between Cambridge and Hitchin, and they may be seen on the steep sides of the Sussex Downs and the Chiltern Hills; and Mr. Seebohm gives an illustration of the linches at Clothall, Herts, which through the kindness of the Messrs. Longmans we are able to reproduce in these pages. This ancient hill-side cultivation is most interesting, and if properly traced out through the length and breadth of the land would give some important evidence upon the settlement of England. In Clun Forest, midway between the village of Kerry in Montgomeryshire and Newcastle in Shropshire, the hills, which form the watershed on the south side of the Clun rivulet, were, on the slopes leading to the river, in many places distinctly marked with ridges or butts of various sizes, some narrow and some wide.* Similar butts are to be found in Carmarthenshire and in Wiltshire.

A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1796 also gives a curious account of these lynches, which we must quote, though it should be observed that he is quite wrong as

to the natural origin (as he supposes) of this topographical feature:—

On the declivities of the elevated and chalky tracts of Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and other counties, there very frequently occurs a beautiful assemblage of terraces, mostly horizontal, and rising in a continued series like the steps of Egyptian pyramids, or the seats of an amphitheatre. These, which are commonly arable, with their almost perpendicular sides of green turf, are popularly called *lynchets*. The slopes of the Downs between Devizes and Calne afford many examples of them, about Beacon-hill, Hedington-hill, and between the junction of Wansdike with the Roman road and the entrenchments of Oldbury. They are generally regarded in the neighbourhood as the offspring of human exertion in remote ages to facilitate and extend the dominion of the plough.

Mr. Seebohm looks upon the open field system as it is presented to his view in England as the result of a servile tenure, not a free holding of a free villager; but we would observe that against this theory there is some sort of evidence in the numerous examples of tenures by lot. If tenants hold land within modern times so thoroughly in common as to divide them periodically by lot, surely there is freedom enough here—there is no lord to impose his imperious will, no setting out of close boundaries by a lawyer's means, but a meeting of villagers in the lands they call their own and an equal division, according to their tenements, of the plots which must once have belonged to a typical village community. It is in no captious spirit that we advance this proposition. We put it thus. Mr. Seebohm, in the wide research he has made, does not touch upon the evidence which tenure by lot has to give. It survives now-a-days in tolerable completeness, and its very nature is so indicative of free tenure that it is an important item in the consideration of the status of the village community in England. Let us give a few examples of this peculiar kind of tenure.

In the parishes of Congresbury and Puxton (Somersetshire) are two large pieces of common land, called East and West Dolemoors (from the Anglo-Saxon *dal*, modern English *dole*, a share or portion), which are divided into single acres, each bearing a peculiar and different mark cut in the turf; such as a horn, four oxen and a mare, two oxen and a mare, a poleaxe, cross, dung-fork, oven, duck's nest, hand-reel, and hare's tail. On the Saturday

* See *Byegones Relating to Wales and the Border Counties*, Feb. 1881, pp. 195—211. Will not *Byegones* give us some additional information?

before old Midsummer, several proprietors of estates in the parishes of Congresbury, Puxton, and Week St. Lawrence, or their tenants, assemble on the commons. A number of apples are previously prepared, marked in the same manner with the before-mentioned acres, which are distributed by a young lad to each of the commoners from a bag or hat. At the close of the distribution each person repairs to his allotment as his apple directs him, and takes possession for the ensuing year. An adjournment then takes place to the house of the overseer of Dolemoors (an officer annually elected from the tenants), where four acres, reserved for the purpose of paying expenses, are let by inch of candle, and the remainder of the day is spent in that sociability and hearty mirth so congenial to the soul of a Somersetshire yeoman.

In the parish of Southease, in Sussex, on July 10th, those tenants who possessed rights met on the ground and drew lots for the hides, commencing at the south end. The mode of drawing lots was as follows: fourteen pieces of stick five or six inches in length were severally notched or marked with a knife, with certain characters named as follows:

- | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| 1. One score. | 6. Six score. | 11. C. |
| 2. Two score. | 7. Seven score. | 12. C. |
| 3. Three score. | 8. The Doter. | 13. D. |
| 4. Four score. | 9. Dughook. | 14. The Drinker. |
| 5. Five score. | 10. Cross. | |

These hides were not each mown wholly by one tenant, but in various proportions; for instance, No. 8 was in six parts, No. 9 in six parts, No. 10 in three; and so on. The tenants having met, the following was the mode of proceeding:—These marked pieces of stick were put into the pocket of one of the party and drawn at random by those who had rights. As soon as the first stick was drawn, it was stuck into the ground on the south side of the first hide, and the turf was cut with a mark similar to that on the stick, and so on till all the sticks were drawn and the several pieces marked.*

Bridges, in his *History of Northamptonshire*, vol. i., p. 219, tells us,

Within the liberty of Warkworth is Ashe Meadow, divided amongst the neighbouring parishes, and famed for the following customs observed in the mowing of

it. The meadow is divided into fifteen portions answering to fifteen lots, which are pieces of wood cut off from an arrow, and marked according to the landmarks in the field. To each lot are allowed eight mowers, amounting to one hundred and twenty in the whole. On the Saturday sevensnight before Midsummer day these portions are laid out by six persons, of whom two are chosen from Warkworth, two from Overthorp, one from Grimsbury, and one from Nethercote. These are called field-men, and have an entertainment provided for them upon the day of laying out the meadow at the appointment of the lord of the manor. As soon as the meadow is measured, the man who provides the feast, attended by the Hayward of Warkworth, brings into the field three gallons of ale. After this the meadow is run, as they term it, or trod, to distinguish the lots; and when this is over, the Hayward brings into the field a rump of beef, six pennyloaves, and three gallons of ale, and is allowed a certain portion of hay in return, though not of equal value with his provision. This Hayward, and the master of the feast, have the name of Crocusmen. In running the field, each man hath a boy allowed to assist him. On Monday morning lots are drawn, consisting some of eight swaths, and others of four. Of these the first and last carry the garlands. The two first lots are of four swaths, and whilst these are mowing, the mowers go double, and as soon as these are finished, the following orders are read aloud: "Oyez! Oyez! I charge you under God, and in his Majesty's name, that you keep the King's peace in the Lord of the Manor's behalf, according to the orders and customs of this meadow. No man or men shall go before the two garlands; if you do, you shall pay your penny, or deliver your scythe at the first demand, and this so often as you shall transgress. No man or men shall mow above eight swaths over their lots, before they lay down their scythes and go to breakfast. No man or men shall mow any further than Monks-holm Brook, but leave their scythes there and go to dinner, according to the custom and manner of this Manor. God save the King." The dinner provided by the Lord of the Manor's tenant consists of three cheese cakes, three cakes, and a new milk cheese. The cakes and cheese-cakes are of the size of the winnowing sieve, and the person who brings them is to have three gallons of ale. The master of the feast is paid in hay, and is further allowed to turn all his cows into the meadow on Saturday morning till eleven o'clock; that by this means giving the more milk the cakes may be made the bigger. Other like customs are observed in the mowing of other meadows in this parish.

In the manor of Aston, in Oxfordshire, the right of pasture begins now on the 14th May, and ends on the 14th November. The present custom of allotting the mowing ground is as follows: Each of the hides of land has its distinctive mark, as the one thwart over—, the two thwart over—, the three thwart over—, When the grass is fit to cut, the grass stewards and sixteens

* Sussex Arch. Coll., vol. iii.

summon the freeholders and tenants to a general meeting, and the following ceremony takes place: Four of the tenants come forward, each bearing his mark cut on a piece of wood, which, being thrown into a hat, are shaken up and down by a boy. The first drawn entitles its owner to have his portion of the common meadow in set one, the second drawn in set two, etc., and thus four of the tenants have obtained their allotments; four others then come forward, and the same process is repeated until all the tenants have received their allotments. The most singular feature of this system remains to be told. When the lots are all drawn, each man goes armed with his scythe and cuts out his mark on the piece of ground which belongs to him, and which in many cases lies in so narrow a strip, that he has not width enough to take a full sweep with the scythe.

Now, although these curious tenures are only in their form as survivals, and therefore cannot have retained all their freshness as features of a once existing system of village community, they must be reckoned with in dealing with the subject; and we would ask Mr. Seeböhm in what place they fit in with his theory. But wherever that may happen to be, there is in his book ample food for thought and reflection, and coming as it does with important maps and drawings, ample references to authorities, and a good index, it is not possible to speak too highly of its merits, or to say in one article where all its real value lies.



Customs of Over, Cambridge-shire.

BY J. KING WATTS.



THE town and parish of Over, in the county of Cambridge, was evidently in early times a place of considerable importance. Situated as it is on the north-west side of the county, and being nearly surrounded by water and low marshes, it was well able to be defended from any attack of a hostile nature. When the Normans, under King William I., attempted to invade the Isle of Helig (Ely), they had

very great difficulty in passing over the marshes and water and low grounds on the west and north sides of the town, and they were kept at bay by the Saxons for several years without being able to accomplish their object. No doubt many a hard-fought battle took place on the ridges of the arable fields of Over, which adjoined the parish of Wivelingham, where the invaders did at last pass over. Many Roman and other coins have been found at different times in those fields, and often in great quantities. The Normans did, however, ultimately succeed in passing across the water and marshes to the "Camp of Refuge" in the Isle of Ely, then held by the famous Saxon chief *Hereward*, and which they destroyed.

In some ancient MSS. the town was called Oveure, probably derived from the fact of its being nearly surrounded by water, swamps, and fens. It belonged to the Abbey of Ramsey until the dissolution of monasteries, etc.

Upon referring to Domesday Book for Cambridgeshire, and also for Huntingdonshire adjoining, very little is stated respecting the parish of "Ovure," as the descriptions are necessarily very brief. The book states "in Ovure Alanus de Fugeres" held of the Bishop of Ely some land, upon which was imposed the cost of maintaining a bridge "(Pontag)". This was in all probability the bridge upon the road leading from the Town Hall, along Bridge Causeway, across a stream, and to and across Ouze Fen or common, to the river by the "Cote" Ferry. A small tax or toll was levied upon strangers for passing over this bridge with vehicles and cattle up to 1840, when the toll was abolished.

Upon the dissolution of monasteries, etc., in the reign of Henry VIII., the church and manor of Over fell to the Crown, and the latter was added as part of the manor of East Greenwich. In the seventeenth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a commission was appointed for a survey of the parish, and five gentlemen were nominated as commissioners for that purpose, to examine into, and to report upon, all the various customs, etc., in the parish. In their report under the commission the commissioners say that—

The income of the manor consisted not only of

rents and revenues of y^e same, but also in fines, harriots, wayfes, etc., which do arise and grow to her highness only by customs of the man^r, which partly by corrupcion of time and partly by negligence and sloth or oversight of officers, have been infringed and broken as may very well appeare upon view of the ancient records, whereby the Queen's Maj^{ty} her tennts and farmers there have been much dampnified and hindred for remedy and reformacon, whereof wee the said Comms. have thought good ptly. to set downe and manifest in this survey y^e order and true use of y^m as we have or could learne by view of the s^d records, etc.

The Comms. then go on and say—

That the maner is situate in the extreame parte of the county of Camb^r, adjoining to the river leading from St. Ives to Elie, etc.; in a reasonable good soile of corne and grass, yet very baren of wod and timber, and the pastures and meadow grounds, mares, and fens be for y^e most part in the winter time surrounded with water, and are wett yearly by socke of the fens lying so near the great river, etc.

The Comms. were not able clearly to ascertain the site of the ancient manor house or mansion,

Or any mencoon thereof other than one close of pasture, containing by estimacon six acres called y^e "Berry Yard," which was reputed to be the place where y^e chief house was builded, etc.

However, upon personal inspections of "Berry Close" and premises for several years past, I think that there can be no doubt of a large mansion having once stood there. The position was a good defence against the attacks of external foes in those early times.

There were three manors in the parish, namely (1) the Lordship or Manor of Over, (2) a small Manor (fine arbitrary) now belonging to Merton College in the University of Oxford, and (3) the Manor of Gavelocks, which did belong to St. Catherine's College, in the University of Cambridge, but which is now wholly lost or extinct. The old Parchment Rolls of *that* manor are in existence, or were so a few years since.

The high or arable lands are of good quality, chiefly consisting of Kimmeridge Clay, with small outcrops of the Lower Green Sand in some places. The parish contains altogether 3683 acres. There are five fields, namely, Snud, Goley, Ladyland, Whitred, and Mill Field. There were, previously to the inclosure of the parish in 1840, several local

customs, such as that the uninclosed commons, about 800 acres, were occupied or fed off by the commoners with cattle, *sans nombre* or without stint; that the "Penny Lands" were not liable to Heriots; the payment of a fine to the Lord of the Manor upon the death of a copyhold tenant or on alienation was a year's ancient quit rent, and could not be increased; an owner of land could fell timber and appropriate it to his own use without payment of any fine, etc., and no hay tithes. But upon the inclosure all tithes to the colleges, and moduses to the vicar, and other customs were abrogated.

Prior to the tenth year of King Charles I. (1634), the low lands were very often immersed by the floods caused by the overflowing of the river Ouse, and the grass and produce thereof often spoiled, or carried away by the water; at such times the inhabitants used to cut and carry away the grass when they were able to higher ground, on to a place called the "Barrier Fen" and "Holcroft," where the water did not reach. This barrier fen was afterwards divided into 142 lots of 4½ acres each, according to the then admeasurement of land between the commoners, and each lot properly fenced off. The district is still called "Barrier" or "Bar" Fen and Hawcroft, and is known as being of the richest quality for dairy purposes.

In 1634 the great level of the fens was directed to be drained, and cuts or rivers were then made to carry off the water to the sea at Lynn. On the 30th June, 1837, an Act was passed to inclose and drain the said arable lands and Ouse fen and commons in Over. Many local customs were then abolished, and allotments were awarded to the several owners of the estates.

The records of the parish, as respects "marriages, christenings, and deaths" which occurred in the parish, commence in 1577, and have been carried onward to the present time. There appear to have been many landed proprietors, and the names of Pearson, West, Stevens, Bond, Collet, etc., occur many times, but these names and families are now entirely extinct. The following are specimens of such entries:—

1578. Richard Stevens was buried ye 20 August.

1580. Thomas Collet and Elizabeth Stevens were married ye 11 day of October.

1644, Nov. 12. Reuben Stevens and Jane Pike were married.

In 1676 the rentals of the various estates belonging to the trustees of the parish lands or charities amounted to £78 13s. 2d., but now (1883) very much augmented.

In 1676. Payment to George Stevens, Bayliffe, for helping of Will. Mozeley his cattell to pound before he would pay his rent £00 01s. 06d.

By referring to the decree of 1622 I find these entries—

1568. Wm. Stevens holdeth one Messuage with a Croft adjoining and 6 of Mar. in Ouze Fen, to have to him and his heirs freely by char. in free sorage by fealty as appeareth by writing dat. 2 June in ye 11 year of ye reign of Queen Elizabeth, paying nothing but suit of court only.

1543. The same Wm. Stevens holdeth one messuage and 6 roods of Mar. in Ouze Fen, and 1 rood of land arable in Gooley Field, to hold to him and his heirs freely in forme aforesaid as appeareth by one other writing dat. ye 21 day of June in 35 Hen. 8th.

1482. Also other estates as 23 Edw⁴. ye 4th.

1478. Also other estates as 19 Edw. ye 4th.

In 1681, 24 May. We whose names are hereunder written, doe allow the above written accmpts of y^e said Thos. Heard, and we agree that the £0 11s. 7d. in his hand shall be made up 20s. by the psent Treasurer Mr. John Pearson, and be allowed to Dorothy Kidd (Wi^d.), towards the building of her house, and this is done partly in regard of her poverty and partly in consideration of her care and paines in maintaining herselfe and children without putting the Towne to charge.

ROBT. WEST.

HEN. COLLET, JR.

JOHN BOND, ETC.

Again n 1693, April 18. At a meeting at the Town Hall of the inhabitants of Over, it is concluded and agreed upon that Thomas Heard the Elder of Over shall pay all passengers and all those that come with a letter of request and all other vagabonds whatsoever, and that the constables and churchwardens shall not give to any other, all sparrows and *Hedghogs* the said Ro. Heard shall pay, the treasurer for ye town lands shall repay him as witness our hands—

THO. KING, Vicar, and 10 others.

In these early times the hedgehog, a poor harmless little animal, and quite incapable of giving offence, was much hunted after and destroyed owing to a silly and vulgar prejudice that it was in the habit of sucking the milking cows in the night time when lying down to rest or sleep. If, however, proper attention had been paid by the prejudiced it

would have been clearly seen that it was quite impossible for the persecuted little creature to do so. It is harmless, and lives upon snails, worms, beetles, and hawthorn and bramble berries, according to my own personal knowledge. The old prejudice, I regret to say, is not yet wholly exploded. It is grievous to think that the Rev. Thos. King (the Vicar), who no doubt was a man of learning, should sign such a document as above. But perhaps he knew nothing of natural history or the physiology of a "Hedgehog."

In 1693. Henry Collet demised to John Stevens 39a. 5r. in Long Meadow; 9a. 3r. in Ouze Fen, and 2 Pastures Hawcroft and 1 Pasture in Bare Fen and 1 Pasture in Skeggs and 2 Past. in fur^r Bluntishmere. Rent £47 10s. 6d.

The Parsonage of Over and the use thereof. The Rectory or Parsonage of Over did belong to y^e s^d man. And the late King of famous memory Henry y^e 8th after y^e dissolucon of y^e Abbey did give the same amongst other things to the M^r & Fellows of Trinity Colledge in y^e University of Cambr. for the better reliefe and maintainance of y^e s^d Colledge. But whether they have it wth out anything paying therefore or not the Com^{rs}. know not, but refer to y^e sight of y^e letters patents or records thereof. And it is worth yearly £100 beside y^e finding a Curate and other Charges.

There are many other curious entries mentioned in the decree and other parochial documents.

The above named family of "Stevens" appears to have been of considerable note in former times.

During the long period of four hundred years and upwards, namely, prior to 19 Edward IV., the property then belonging to the "Stevens" family has passed from one generation to another in an unbroken succession up to the present time.

Upon the decease of Anne Stevens, the last owner of the estates (an aged lady), in 1842, without leaving any descendants, the name of "Stevens" also became extinct in the parish. She devised her messuages and other estates as formerly of William Stevens, and named in the deed of 19 Edward IV. (1478), etc., and in the decree of 1522 (being now upwards of 405 years), to her friend and *protégée* Miss Anne Gifford, of "Berry House," in Over, absolutely, by whom they are still held.

The parish church is a finely decorated Gothic building, with a spire of about 156 feet in height; there are many carved figures in stone surrounding the edifice.

There is also some very good ancient carved woodwork in the chancel and other parts of the church.

The living is in the gift of Trinity College, Cambridge, as before stated, and the present respected vicar is the Rev. Wm. Dixon, M.A.

I find among other matters that

If any tent: of the sd: man^r holding his Lands by Copy of Court Roll after the custom of the man^r dy seised, the Eldest son by the custom shall inherit. And ye Queens Maj^{ty} shall have after the death for a yard Land y^e best beast in the name of a Hariot. And if he hold two yard Land, he must by the Custom pay two of his beasts; & for three yard Land three of his beasts.

And so on in proportion for three-quarters of a yard land, for half a yard land, and a quarter of a yard land.

Again, it appears that

The Abbott of Ramsey, yⁿ being Lord of y^e sd: Man^r, granted y^e sd: Penny Lands as before, partly (as we suppose) for y^t there was no mansion house nor man^r house or place. And y^t the aforesd Lands did lye so despersely here & there an acre throughout all y^e fields of y^e town so as they could not make any enclosure or convert y^m to more fitt or comodious uses then to lett y^m by Copy, reserving y^e Rents & fines after every death & alimation & suit to y^e Court. And partly for y^t they had no other Lands, meadows, pasture, or feeding severall, by reason whereof they could not erect any daries, sheep pastures, and other like benefits for the better increase of their Comodity & pit.

And such Penny Land could not be demised by lease, for

If they should have demised the sd: Penny Lands for term of years to one picular pson, it would have been both a great decay of y^e number of suiters to y^e Queens Court, Fines, Issues, & pits thereof, & also much hinderance to y^e inhabitants for straw & stover, for their Cattle wth in wett years, when the fens be surrounded in wth water, were in danger to be starved for lack of fodder if it were not for the straw growing upon the sd: Penny Lands, which be divided among the tents: of ye sd: Lordship, to every tennt. some.

The Fishing of the River and the use thereof.

There is one fishing in the Great River belonging to the Queens Maj^{ty} as in right of her Man^r of Hallywell-cum-Needingworth, in the County of Huntingdon, late pcell of ye possessions of ye Monas^t of Ramsey aforesd^d. And the sd fishing begineth at a Coat called Over Coat & extendeth to Head Lake, in which fishing the Tenants & Inhabitants of Over have beene accustomed time out of minde to fish with

Hives and Gleaves for Eyle Fish onely wth: out lett or deniall of the Fermer or any person whatsoever. And also there be many other Lakes, ditches, water-courses, & drains in Over wherein all the Inhabitants have been accustomed time out of minde to fish for all maner of fish, as well fote fish as Eyle Fish, wth: out lett or deniall of the Fermer, of the Bote-gangs, the Queens Bayliffe, or any other Officer or minister there.

In the wall on the south side of the chancel in the church, a piscine is placed, and near to the altar and the communion table where the celebrant stood. It is trefoil, and placed in the wall with a crown on the top. It was very necessary that it should be so placed, in order that if any dregs should remain in the wine, or other matters fall into the cup, they could be at once cast aside into the piscine.

In a book written in the year MCCLXXIX. "for Philip le Bel of France," and called *The Ryall Boke*, and translated, printed, and published by Caxton, statements are made and instructions are given as to the use of the piscine. This writer says:—

Yf tofore the consecracion a Flye or Loppe (Spider), or any other venymous beest, were found in the Chalyce, it ought to be cast into the Piscine, and the Chalyce ought to be wasshen, and to put other wine and water into the Chalyce. And yf after the consecracion were found ony thi'g, as poyson or venymous Beest, in the Chalyce, it ought to be taken wysely and wasshen, and to brenne (burn) the Beest, and the ashes and wasschyng of the Beest to be put in the Pyscine.

There is another piscine in the south wall of the church, also in excellent preservation, but not so finely carved as the one next to the altar.

Over the west door, and well carved in *bas relief*, is a figure of the Virgin as described in the Book of Revelations (see chap. xii. verse 1), clothed with the sun and standing upon the moon. There is no apparent date as to the time of its erection, but probably it was put in at the time when the church was built. The south porch is a beautiful specimen of workmanship with an octagonal pinnacle. Upon the whole the church is a fine structure. Although it is very clear that many persons of note did at different periods reside in the parish, and were buried there, it is the case that there is not one monument or epitaph affixed to any of the interior walls, such as may be seen in many other parish

churches. There are four slabs let into the aisles of some persons of note, as thus :—

Here lies interred the Bodys of Sackville Wade, Esq^r, Lord of this Manor, who died on the fourteenth day of January, 1676, and also of Margaret his wife, who died on the seventh day of the same month, 1676.

Here lyeth the Body of Robert West, Gent., who deceased March ye 11, and was buried ye 18, anno domini 1683, etat 60.

Here lyeth the body of Ann, the wife of Newman Pearson, who died October 1, 1712.

About six years since I was present during an excavation being made on a piece of garden ground near the "Bridge Causeway," when a considerable number of pieces of Anglo-Saxon pottery and human bones in a friable state were found mixed with a black unctuous mould. This had probably been the burying place of persons who had perished in some of the contests which had taken place between the Normans and the Anglo-Saxons. The whole neighbourhood would indicate that such has been the place of such contests. The pieces of pottery are similar to those figured in Wright's *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon* (1852), pages 421-23, etc., with curled rims and other marks indicating that they are of such manufacture. No coins, however, were found with the pottery.

A few years since a great number of Roman coins were found in a field near to the town in the possession of the late Mr. Thomas Gifford, for many years the much-respected and intelligent vicar's churchwarden of Over. They were presented by him to one of the colleges in Cambridge.



Elizabethan Cartographers.



WHEN Ferdinand Columbus came to England with Charles V. of Spain, he bought a map of London engraved on copper, which was dated 1497. This he noted in his catalogue, which is preserved in the Cathedral Library at Seville, and the entry is the only record of the existence of such a map. What would

not collectors give for this treasure if only it could be found? At present no representations of early London are known to exist of an older date than Van den Wyngaerde's view, and Aggas's map. In the Crace collection of maps, plans, and views of London there are three little views copied from MSS. which exhibit very well the absurd manner of representing towns prevalent in the middle ages. One is from a copy of Matthew Paris, dated 1236, and another, dated 1418, shows the Duke of Orleans in the Tower of London. The Renaissance affected cartography as well as all other arts, but in England the Renaissance was later than in Italy and some other countries of Europe. When, however, the art of cartography did revive in England, the maps produced were artistic as well as fairly correct. That maps of some practical kind existed in England in the fifteenth century we have evidence, but as to what artistic and scientific value those which preceded the works of the great Elizabethan cartographers may have possessed, we are quite in the dark. There is no reason to be surprised that maps should have ceased to be without leaving a trace of their having once existed, for they were often pasted upon walls or passed from hand to hand, so that it is a wonder to find any coming down to our times. Correct map-making is not possible in a pre-scientific period of civilization, and hence satisfactory charts are a comparatively modern invention. Travellers, however, have found it necessary to mark out their tracks, and wandering tribes have usually been successful in making their plans intelligible, while many settled tribes have remained without any kind of maps.

The earliest traces of the art of cartography are to be found where the beginnings of most arts must be sought, that is, among the Egyptians. The art of map-making developed among the Greeks. Eratosthenes did much to advance it, and his system prevailed until Hipparchus (about B.C. 150) set it aside by reason of the utilization of the astronomical knowledge gained since the time of Eratosthenes, but Ptolemy nearly three centuries later was the great inaugurator of the rational treatment of cartography. The Romans, as overrunners of the world, needed maps and appreciated them; they painted them on their

public buildings, but they made no contribution to the scientific method of the Greeks, and did not apply astronomy to the purposes of cartography. During the middle ages map-making had sunk to the lowest level, but the Arabs developed geographical science in the eighth century, and in the sixteenth century Mercator arose as the reformer of cartography.

George Lilly, the son of William Lilly, the famous grammarian, who lived for some time at Rome with Cardinal Pole, and died in 1559, drew the first exact map of England which was afterwards engraved. Ortelius mentions a map of this country made in 1562 by Anthony Jenkinson, a great traveller, who is said also to have produced a map of Russia. The map of England in the *Theatrum Orbis* of Ortelius, 1573, is by Humphrey Lhuyd, of Denbighshire, and this was copied in the *Ancient Geography* of Hornius. Abraham Ortelius himself we can claim as an Elizabethan cartographer, for he visited England for a second time in 1577, and he it was who persuaded Camden to undertake his *Britannia*.

Dr. William Cunningham, a physician of Norwich, published, in 1559, a work entitled *The Cosmographical Glasse, conteynyng the pleasant Principles of Cosmographie, Geographie, Hydrographie, or Navigation . . . Londini in officina Joan Daij, 1559*, which contains a plan of Norwich as it appeared in 1558. Cunningham says he was "the first that ever in our tongue have written of this argument."

We now come to consider the works of Christopher Saxton, a Yorkshireman, to whom all honour is due for his skill and perseverance in producing a complete series of county maps. Camden styles him *optimus chorographus*, and he richly deserved the title. Let us imagine the difficulties he had to overcome. He had to clear the ground and to work without any help from those who went before him. There was the collection of his materials, the drawing of his maps, and the education of a school of engravers to carry out his views. Saxton travelled through the different parts of England with several engineers, and he must have been put to great expense during his labours; but, fortunately, he had a liberally minded patron in Thomas Sekeford, Master

of Requests and Master of the Court of Wards, whose arms appear upon the maps in many instances, with the royal arms as well.

Horace Walpole says that the portrait of this worthy may be seen in Vertue's print of the Court of Wards. Saxton is said to be of Dunningley, co. York, in the patent of a grant of arms to him; but some suppose him to have been a native of Leeds, and others of Wakefield. Speed afterwards used Saxton's maps in his atlas published at Amsterdam by Jodocus Hondius in 1610. Martin Folkes is said to have written a dissertation on Saxton's maps for the Royal Society.

The folio volume containing Saxton's thirty-five maps is one to charm all those who feel an interest both in early engraving and early cartography. Prefixed is a fine engraving of Queen Elizabeth seated under an elaborate canopy, supported by two figures of men holding in their hands globes and mathematical instruments.

The index of contents, dated 1579, is as follows:—

* Anglia, 1 Herefordia, 2 Salopia, 3 Staffordia, 4 Wigornia, 5 Oxonium, Buckinghamia, & Berceria, 6 Hartfordia, 7 Northamptonia, Bedfordia, Cantabrigia, Huntingdonia, and Rutlandia, 8 Warwicum and Lecestria, 9 Derbia, 10 Cestria, 11 Lancastria, 12 Westmorlandia & Cumberlândia, 13 Northumbria, 14 Dunelmensis & Episcopatus, 15 Eboracum, 16 Lincolnia & Nottinghamia, 17 Norfolcia, 18 Suffolcia, 19 Essexia, 20 Cantium, Southsexia, Surria, & Middlesexia, 21 Southamptonia, 22 Dorcestria, 23 Wiltonia, 24 Devonia, 25 Cornubia, 26 Somersetus, 27 Glocestria, 28 Monmuetha, 29 Glamorgana, 30 Penbrok, 31 Radnor, 32 Montgomeri ac Merionidh, 33 Anglesei & Caernarvan, 34 Denbigh ac Flint.

There are several sets of these maps in the British Museum Library, and one has the names of John Gregory and John Gregory, junior, written on the back of the index page. If this shows that the copy belonged to the famous Gregory who was styled "the miracle of his age for critical and curious learning," it is of very great interest, for we shall see later on that Gregory specially refers to Saxton's maps in one of his scientific works. The Grenville copy has the Quarter-master's map by Hollar and many others added at the end. A copy on vellum, slightly imperfect, was sold in David Laing's library.

All the maps were drawn by Saxton, and he had in some instances to go abroad for engravers. A few of the maps have no engraver's name, but the following list gives those which are so marked with the date of completion. Walpole would infer that those without an engraver's name were engraved by Saxton himself.

Anglia was engraved by Augustinus Ryther (1579), Herefordshire by Remigius Hogenbergius (1577), Shropshire by the same (1577), Staffordshire by Franciscus Statterus (1577), Hertfordshire by Nicholaus Reynoldus, Londinensis (1577), Warwickshire by Leonardus Terwoordus (1576), Cheshire by Statterus (1577), Lancashire by R. Hogenbergius (1577), Westmorland by Augustinus Ryther, Anglus (1576), Durham by the same (1577), Yorkshire (folding plate) by the same (1577), Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire by Hogenbergius (1576), Kent, etc., by the same (1575), Wiltshire by the same (1576), Devonshire by the same (1575), Somersetshire by Terwoort (1575), Montgomeryshire by Hogenbergius (1578), Denbighshire and Flintshire by the same (1577).

Thoresby calls the map of Yorkshire "the best that ever was made of that county." All of the maps are works of art, and each plate has ornamental corners and scrolls. The names are very clear. The rivers are marked in blue, and the hills in brown. These last have a somewhat odd appearance. Roads are not marked, and this omission takes away from the value of the maps. It is to Norden we are indebted for the introduction of these useful indications.

William Smith, Rouge Dragon, followed very close after Saxton as a cartographer, and in fact we have a plan of Bristol by him which is earlier than any map by Saxton. Smith was a very remarkable man, who did a great amount of work in his time, but most of this has remained to our own day in MS. Among the Sloane MSS. at the British Museum is a curious little volume entitled *The Particular Description of England*, 1588, which contains excellent views of some of the chief towns, and armorial bearings of nobles and bishops.* Smith came from

Cheshire, and is supposed to have graduated at Oxford. He settled in Nuremberg for a time, where he kept an inn with the sign of the Goose, and married a German lady. He was created Rouge Dragon Pursuivant in 1597, but he never rose to any higher office. The views consist of profile sketches of Chester, Colchester, Coventry, Lichfield, Oxford, Salisbury, Stafford, and Winchester, which are of little topographical value, and bird's-eye views of London, Bath, Bristol, Cambridge, Canterbury, Norwich, and Rochester, which are of the greatest interest. It appears to have been Smith's intention to give views of the chief cities (as his title implies), but he was forced to leave many spaces vacant for plans which he never obtained. Bristol is dated 1568, and the inscription upon it is specially interesting—"Measur'd and laid in platform by me, William Smith, at my being at Bristow the 30 and 31 of July, An^o Dm. 1568." The view of Cambridge seems to be taken from that by Richard Lyne, in the work of Caius, edited by Archbishop Parker (*De Antiquitate Cantabrigiensi Academiæ libri duo, Londini, J. Day, 1574*). This very rare view is much larger than Smith's, and if the two were not taken from a common original, there can be little doubt that Smith reduced and slightly altered the work of Lyne. In the Crace Collection is "a view of old London, copy'd from an ancient drawing," said to be by William Stuckley, the original being "supposed to be by Anthony von Finden, 1560." The view is signed "W. S.," which initials would do as well for William Smith as William Stuckley. The two views are identical.

We now come to consider the claims to notice of John Norden, as one of the foremost cartographers of Elizabeth's reign. Not only did he draw some excellent maps, but he wrote a short treatise on cartography. He projected a complete *Speculum Britannicæ*, and at the end of his book on Middlesex are the usual complimentary verses of admiring friends. Robert Nicolson compares the author with Ptolemy and Ortelius as a geographer, with Mercator as a chorographer, with Braun as a polygrapher, and sums up all :—

* Printed privately in 1879 by H. B. Wheatley and E. W. Ashbee.

H. O. is still more effusive, and ends his praise with an anagrammatic poem—

Norden, this glasse shall so exalt thy fame,
As grave, *nor-den*, nor tombe, shall hide thy name.

The author only published two counties, viz., Middlesex in 1595 and Hertfordshire in 1598. Northamptonshire was written in 1610, but was not published until 1720; and Cornwall was first published in 1728. Essex was written in 1594, but remained in MS. at Hatfield until 1840, when it was printed for the Camden Society by Sir Henry Ellis. Kent and Surrey are said to exist in MS., but it is not known where. The book on Middlesex contains maps of London and Westminster, but Norden's greatest work appears to have been lost. This was a view of London in eight sheets, having at bottom a representation of the Lord Mayor's show, all on horseback, and the aldermen in round caps, which was given to Dulwich College by William Cartwright, comedian and bookseller; Pepys saw it on the staircase and wished to purchase it. Bagford says the view was taken from the pitch of the hill towards Dulwich College, going to Camberwell from London, about 1604 and 1606, and adds that he had not met with any other of the kind.

John Gregory, M.A., has a chapter on "the description and use of maps and charts universal and particular" in his tract *The Description and Use of the Terrestrial Globe* (1663), and there he enters into a description of the mistakes often fallen into by cartographers. He specially refers to Saxton's map of England and Wales, and to Norden's description of Middlesex, respecting which he writes in these high terms—

Now as there is no chorographical map or description of the whole region or countrey of this kingdom can be more exactly according to art or according to industry, more particularly performed then that of Saxton, so for the descriptions of the shires or counties thereof (which must then be called their topography) no man whatsoever hath lighted upon a more exact and present way of delineation then the industrious Norden. The intent of this man wasto make an absolute description of the whole and every part of this kingdom of Great Britain: it pleased him to call this purpose *Speculum Britannie*. The first part whereof (which is onely completed) affordeth us a general description of the kingdom with a particular description and topographical table of Middlesex. . . . Thus had this indefatigable man intended to all the shires of this kingdom, and seemeth to insinuate in the preface

to his guide as if the maps were fully finished, and yet there are but few of them to be commonly met with; but for alphabetical descriptions (the most useful way that ever was or could be devis'd, especially in small geography), I think the work never went further then Middlesex (for ought at least as I can find, the greater or less).

Many other cartographers might have been mentioned. George Hoefnagle made a map of Bristol, and engraved a large plate of Norwich, and Augustine Ryther, who has already been alluded to, kept a shop in Leadenhall, where he sold some views of the Spanish Armada which he had made. So little is now known about Ralph Agas, and that little has been so fully and ably discussed by Mr. Overall, that it is not necessary to write here what must be a mere repetition of his observations. We are not certain that the map of London which goes by Agas's name is really his, although it is certain he published a map of Oxford. Van den Wyngaerde, whose beautiful view of London (1550) is now in the Bodleian MS., and has been produced by the Topographical Society, can hardly be called either an Elizabethan or a cartographer.

We will conclude with the title of the first patent in the chronological index of the Patent Office, which refers to maps by Aaron Rathborne, author of *The Surveyor*, 1616:—

2ND MARCH, 1617.

A priviledge graunted to Aaron Rapburne, gent., and Roger Burges, for terme of xxi. yeares next, of the sole making, describing, carving, & graving in copper, brasse, or other metall, all such and soe manie mappes, plotts, or descripcions of Lond., Westminster, Bristoll, Norwich, Canterbury, Bath, Oxford, & Cambridge, and the towne & castle of Windsor, & to imprint and sett forth & sell the same.



Reviews.

A Register of the Scholars admitted into Merchant Taylors' School, from A.D. 1562 to 1874, compiled from Authentic Sources, and Edited with Biographical Notices. By the Rev. CHARLES J. ROBINSON, M.A., Rector of West Hackney. Vol. II. Printed and Published for the Editor by Farncombe & Co., Lewes. 1883. Royal 8vo, pp. 447.



IN December 1882 we had the pleasure of welcoming the first volume of this Register, and now with exemplary despatch Mr. Robinson has produced the second and final volume of the work. We pointed out in our former notice what a valuable book of

reference this is, and we can only repeat what we then said with even greater warmth than before. In casually turning over the pages, we come upon such distinguished names as those of Joseph Highmore the portrait painter, John Byrom the Manchester author, Nicholas Amhurst and Peter Motteux. In the later pages we find the names of many men who have become famous, and happily are still among us. The value of the Register is greatly enhanced by the full index of names made by Mr. Wm. Wood Davis, of Plymouth. The outward appearance of the book is worthy of its intrinsic excellence, and we would express a hope that we may soon be able to place by its side on our shelves other Registers of other Schools as admirably produced.

Gloucestershire Notes and Queries. Edited by Rev. B. H. BLACKER. Parts XIX. and XX. (London: W. Kent. 1883.)

These two parts are more than usually interesting, we think, although we cannot quite admit the desirability of reprinting the Tenures of Land from Hazlitt's well-known edition of Blount. The articles on the Natural Rarities of Gloucestershire, an Old Court-roll of Cirencester, Index to Monumental Inscriptions, Gyant-like Bones found neere Gloucester circ. 1634, and Extracts from Parish Registers, are among the most useful of the information here gathered together, and of course Gloucestershire families have their due share of attention. When properly conducted, and Mr. Blacker seems to thoroughly enter into his work, these local *Notes and Queries* are of more than local interest, and we should like to see them extended upon the same lines as Gloucestershire has started.

A Glossary of Dialectal Place-Nomenclature, to which is appended a List of Family Surnames, pronounced differently from what the spelling suggests. By ROBERT CHARLES HOPE. Second Edition. (London and Scarborough, 1883.) 12 mo, pp. xii. 158.

Place names are rapidly coming to the front as one of the best aids to archaeological research, and when once a competent philologist has grasped the changes which have taken place in the spelling of names, and is enabled to draw out some kind of law which governs such changes, there is no doubt that many difficult and incomprehensible portions of history will receive fresh light. But before philologists can get to work, the careful enquirer must begin. Research and collection is the first stage of all studies, and this first stage with regard to place-names is hardly commenced. Mr. Hope has pioneered the way, however, with this excellent work. He has grasped at once the importance which pronunciation has upon the meaning and significance of a word, and in the handy and convenient form of the book before us he has given the first real instalment of a big subject. Mr. Isaac Taylor, in his well-known *Words and Places*, has shown us what may be derived from this study, and when we have a goodly dictionary of old spellings and popular pronunciations, place-names will take rank as a study of the first importance. Why Dincestow should be pronounced "Dinaslow," "Overthwaite" "Worlat," are questions which require some sort of answer.

Mr. Hope does much towards the solution of the whole subject by these carefully compiled lists, first in an alphabet of place-names, secondly in counties, and we cordially appreciate his labours.

Cartularium Saxonicum: a Collection of Charters relating to Anglo-Saxon History. By WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A. (London: Whiting & Co. Limited, 1883.) Royal 8vo, Part I., pp. 64.

The commencement of this important work will be welcomed by all historical students, for the want of such a work as Mr. Birch has planned has long been keenly felt. John Mitchell Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici* is out of print, and can only be obtained at a price which makes it prohibitive to ordinary workers. Now we have the promise not only of a reprint of the whole of that work, but of all the charters that have come to light since Kemble's time. It is proposed to arrange all the documents in a general series in chronological order, the text of each deed being preceded by a short *précis*, and collated with the oldest and best copies, either manuscript or printed. Every indication will also be given of the genuineness or otherwise of the various charters. The present part contains thirty-nine charters, ranging from A.D. 430 to 675. As the work will extend to about twenty-five parts, it can easily be calculated what a body of important documents will be gathered together by the time it is finished, and we have especial pleasure in making the collection known among our readers. Copious tables and indexes are promised.

Archaeological Handbook of the County of Gloucester. By G. B. WITTS. (Cheltenham: G. Norman.) 8vo, 2 vols, pp. 121, and maps.

Both the idea and execution of this handbook are excellent, well worthy in point of fact of being imitated by local archaeologists in other counties. The work is divided into sections, dealing with "Ancient Camps," "Roman Villas," "Long Barrows," "Round Barrows," "British and Roman Roads." It describes no less than 112 ancient camps and 26 Roman villas, besides 166 barrows. Mr. Witts's plan is to describe each object separately, in a short though comprehensive manner, and then to give the authorities for his information. We thus get in a small compass all that is necessary for a rapid glance at any given Gloucestershire monument, and, what perhaps is more valuable, we get a comprehensive idea of the contents of one English county. That Gloucestershire is peculiarly rich we must perforce believe, and we are tempted to ask Mr. Witts if he has formed any idea of why this should be so. But let us urge local archaeologists, and local societies, too, to take this work of Mr. Witts, and the plans and descriptions now being prepared by Mr. Lukis, and to work out for all Britain what is here done so ably for a portion. With such maps as this one of Gloucester is, with such guides as the letterpress descriptions are, we cannot help looking out from Gloucestershire to the other shires and counties of England, and hoping that some day companion volumes may be placed side by side with this one. Why cannot the Index Society set to work upon such an undertaking?

Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Notes. Edited by W. D. PINK. Part I. (Leigh : 1883.) 4to, pp. 60. *Lancashire and Cheshire Historical and Genealogical Notes.* Reprinted from *The Leigh Chronicle*. (Leigh : 1883.) 4to, pp. 105—153.

The latter part finishes up the old series of reprints from *The Leigh Chronicle*, and the first mentioned title commences a new series under the guidance of Mr. Pink, well known as a zealous local gleaner. There is much of interest in these local journals, and they consist of contributions from many well-known writers. The paper on "Old Sayings, Customs, and Superstitions of a Cheshire Farm" is particularly interesting, and is a specimen of local lore which we should like to see more fully adopted. It is written by Mr. Robert Holland, well known for his interest in these matters. Lancashire parliamentary representation and other subjects, particularly those relating to family history, make up altogether a most interesting publication, and one which Mr. Pink may make of great value, according as he draws upon the local knowledge, as yet unwritten, of old Lancashire people.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society.—August 23rd.—Annual meeting, held at Wiveliscombe.—The following paper on "The Roman House at Whitestaunton" was read by Mr. Charles I. Elton:—"When the society did me the honour of visiting Whitestaunton last year, we were so fortunate as to discover the remains of a Roman house situate beside the stream which rises in the large fish-pond and flows down the valley of the Yarty. The existence of the ruins of a villa in the immediate neighbourhood of the stream had long been suspected, owing to the frequent occurrence on its banks of minute fragments of an ancient kind of pottery, and of stone split into thin sheets and cut into the shape of roofing-tiles. When the course of the high road was altered, about forty years ago, the ruins of a little room or chapel, roofed with these slabs and paved with *tesserae* of brick, were found standing in the wood, not far from the stream in question, and within a few yards of the back north wall of the house which has now been discovered. At the time of the society's visit we had not found much more than the sandstone pillars which had supported the flooring over a hot-air chamber, some of the square, box-like flue-pipes which had let the warm air through the walls of the dwelling-rooms, a quantity of broken tiles, and the foundations and lower courses of some of the principal walls. A good deal of work was done in the course of last autumn and in the spring of this year, under the superintendence of Major Davis, who was so good as to direct the operations, which could hardly have succeeded at all without the benefit of his great experience in everything relating to Roman antiquities of this kind. The

VOL. VIII.

plan prepared by him shows the result of the excavations so far as they have at present proceeded. The house was built under a steep hill-side facing to the south, though the windows looking down the valley westwards must certainly have afforded the finest views. The bath-rooms were on the western side, and the principal living-rooms were arranged round the *atrium*, or covered court, at the eastern end. The centre of the house was occupied by a furnace-room, which probably adjoined the kitchen; here were the boilers supplying the warm bath and steam for the vapour bath, which was taken in a heated chamber, from which the bathers must have passed into a room containing the cold plunge-bath, lying farther to the east. The hot-room terminates in a semi-circular recess paved with square red tiles embedded in concrete. Several lines of thicker tiles radiated from the centre of the room towards the curve of the recess, where they reached the wall and formed a support for the *solium*, or bench, where the bathers sat. On the further side of the furnace-room, flues and underground passages for hot air, lined with thick tile-work, led to another semi-circular room at the back, containing a number of red sandstone blocks, intended apparently to support the fireplace, the doorway, and a seat or projection from the wall, and towards the front to another room adjoining the *atrium*, where a huge slab of much discoloured sandstone marks the position of another large hearth or fireplace. One is reminded at this part of the excavations, if we may compare small things with great, of that vivid description of the ruins of the City of Legions which we find in the *Welsh Journey* of Giraldus, where he tells us how Caerleon 'was excellently built by the Romans with their walls of brick,' and how even in his day were to be seen the traces of its former greatness, the giant tower and the palaces 'aping the Roman majesty' with their roofs of antique gold; 'and the traveller,' he adds, 'within and without the city finds underground works and pipes and winding passages and hypocausts contrived with wonderful skill to throw the heat from little hidden flues within the walls.' The *atrium*, or inner court, which was probably roofed in to escape the inclement weather of the 'land of clouds and rain,' was surrounded by a cloister or gallery opening at the back upon a large archway, of which the ruins lie in a mass of masonry upon the floor. On the eastern side of the arch there is an alteration of level in the floor of the little cloister; and here there are remains of a step and a doorway, and another slab of sandstone in the corner which seems to indicate the position of another stove or fireplace. The cloister was evidently supported on stone pillars, of which two were found lying by the wall at the corners of the court, and another had been displaced and thrown to some distance beyond the outer wall. Owing to the dampness of the soil, which necessitates a tedious course of drainage, we have not yet examined much of the flooring of the *atrium* and its surrounding cloister; but enough has been uncovered to show that the passage at least was floored with fine mosaic-work, bordered with the pattern called the 'double key,' the cubes being made of terra-cotta, white lias, and the darker stone of the district, so as to afford a variety of colours in the pattern. The pavement of

the large room between the outer wall of the *atrium* and the sloping wall shown on the plan appears, from the few fragments left, to have been of the same fine quality, the cubes measuring about a quarter of an inch on every side; in the other rooms and passages the pavement was of a rougher and coarser kind. On passing through the opening for the large archway we come upon three small rooms, paved with concrete, in which a few *tesserae*, about an inch every way in size, are still in position. Some parts of the wall retain pieces of the stucco, or plaster, of a red or maroon colour striped with white lines, with which the surface was originally covered; but the dampness of the soil led to the destruction of the greater part of the plaster work, which fell off in an almost fluid condition when the stones were first exposed to the air. Mr. Wright, in his work on *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, has observed a peculiarity of the Roman houses in this country, of which the middle room of the three last-mentioned affords a new illustration. 'One room,' he says, 'has always a semi-circular recess, or alcove, and there is generally at each side, where it joins the room, an advancing piece of wall, or pier, as though a curtain had been drawn across to separate the recess from the room'; and he adds that it has been conjectured that this recess served as the *sacrum*, or place of domestic worship. There are one or two other points about the building which seem to be worthy of observation. The construction of the arches appears to have been similar to that of the larger archways which Major Davis has discovered among the Roman ruins at Bath, the masons having, for the sake of lightness, used 'brick wedge-shaped boxes open on two sides,' set in a cement of lime and pounded tiles, and roofed in with a 'roll and flat tile,' or thin stones cut into a hexagonal shape. The stones of the east wall of the *atrium* are scored over with 'diamond broaching,' like the masonry of Hadrian's Wall. The tiles are of all sizes and shapes, some being flanged for roofing, or for use in the hot-air flues, others being rounded for the ridges of the roof, which seem to have been made in part of stone flags and in part of the thick slate which is found in Wiveliscombe. The box-like flue-tiles are pierced with square holes, and scored with lines so as to get a firmer hold on the mortar. In one or two places, where the supply of red sandstone pillars had fallen short, some of these flue-tiles were filled with cement, and set up on end to serve as supports for the floor. Several of the tiles show marks of footsteps impressed on them while the clay was wet, the mark in one case showing the nails of a man's boot, and in another the footprints of a large dog. There has not, as yet, been an opportunity of thoroughly examining the ground, the earth being left for some inches over the greater part of the floor; but some objects of interest have already been found. These include several coins of the fourth century, part of a bronze brooch, part of a glass bowl, several pieces of the fine red Samian ware, a vast quantity of bones, and a number of broken articles of the black, red, or grey pottery which was manufactured in Britain. Between the wall and the stream were found several large pieces of slag, from the ancient ironworks which were carried on in the immediate neighbourhood, and a broken quern, or handmill,

made of granite from Dartmoor; and lower down the stream, and hidden under its bank, lay a circular block of red sandstone, shaped like a truncated cone, and pierced with a square opening, which is said to resemble the stones used at the present day in Brittany for the manufacture of cider. It is not easy, after the lapse of so many centuries, to realize the daily life of the Romans who farmed in our western valleys, and hunted the wild boar and wolf through the oak forests of the Blackdown Hills. To bring the picture more vividly before the mind, I have found it useful to study the letters of Sidonius, the famous Bishop of Auvergne, who was born soon after the Romans retired from Britain, and who lived to see the final triumph of the barbarian kings in Gaul. The description of his little country house, built in a nook of the hills by the side of a mountain stream, has been of the greatest assistance to us in the exploration of the villa at Whitestaunton. His house faced to the south, and extended from a steep bank at the eastern end to a place where the stream fell into a broad lake on the other side of the garden. The trees on the bank overhanging the roof of the bath, rising in tiled ridges to a central cone of metal. He describes the furnace-room, with its intricate arrangement of lead pipes carried through the walls of the rooms for the warm baths and the vapour bath, the latter being fitted, as in our own example, with a paved semi-circular recess containing the bathers' bench. By the side of these rooms stretched a large hall containing the plunge-bath, built square, so as to allow plenty of room for the servants. The walls, he says, were of plain white plaster, but the ceiling was ornamented with metal-work, which the people, passing outside, could see through the high bow windows. Three arched doorways led into an open courtyard towards the west, where a perpetual stream splashed into a great stone basin out of six brazen spouts in the shape of lions' heads. An entrance at the further corner opened into the dwelling-house close by the ladies' dining-room, and the wool-room and store-closets were divided from it by slight partitions. Standing in front of these rooms, one looked across the *atrium*, round which ran a narrow cloister opening into a wide verandah on one side of the lake, and at the opposite or south-western corner running into a deep recess, where the servants held a nightly parliament of gossip when the family went upstairs to bed. The hall-door and vestibule took the centre of the southern front, and on the right of the entrance was the winter sitting-room, leading into a long wainscoted morning-room, with windows looking on the lake. A flight of steps led into the verandah below, where the guests used to sit and watch the boat-races and the fishermen dragging or setting their night-lines for the lake trout. On the other side was a little sitting-room, devoted to the midday *siesta*, and this led into the cool north parlour, near the point where our circuit commenced. The Bishop delights in the country sights and sounds, the nightingale in the bush, the swallow twittering in the eaves, the sheep scattered on the hillside, and the boys in the hayfield with their songs and rustic flutes. On the lawn stood two spreading lime-trees, where Sidonius and his friends used to play at tennis until the boughs grew thick and caught the balls, and so he

concluded that he had lost his tennis-court, and must use the place as an arbour for reading and playing backgammon. I hope that these short extracts from a delightful work will be of some use to us in our effort to understand the life of a country gentleman of Somerset during the Roman occupation of Britain."

London and Middlesex Archæological Society,
7th August.—Edgware Church, which was first visited, was not very interesting. The steeple is the oldest part, the body of the church being comparatively modern. At Whitchurch, the old church was rebuilt about the period of Henry VIII.; the tower of this now only remained, but in the reign of Queen Anne the Duke of Chandos, who was then building his magnificent palace of Canons, the principal estate in that parish, built the present structure. He employed the celebrated artists who were decorating his own house to paint the beautiful pictures, gallery, and ceiling of the church. On either side of the nave are represented, life-size, the four great evangelists and the three allegorical figures—Faith, Hope, and Charity, said to be the work of Belenchie. They are exquisitely painted in pale grey, as if to imitate statuary, and stand out so from the wall that at a first glance you would be deceived into the belief that they were statues. Above these the miracles Christ performed are depicted. These are by the celebrated Antonio Verrio, and are in glowing colours, representing the lovely skies and bright-hued garments of the east, and their brilliancy is enhanced by the contrast of the grey figures beneath. There are four magnificent pictures, the work of Laguerre. Two are on either side of the altar; the one on the left is the visit of the Magi to see their infant Saviour, the one on the right is Christ's descent from the cross. The two others are on either side of the organ, and are "The Giving of the Law to Moses," and "The Expounding of that Law by our Saviour." Laguerre has painted many other pictures in this country, more especially at Blenheim. But the chief object of interest is the organ, which is situated most peculiarly. It is placed behind the altar, and the music issuing from that part of the building has a most curious effect. The great Handel was then chapel-master to the Duke of Chandos. The organ is not altered since his time, only pipes, etc., being different, as in the course of years they require renewing. Chandos Chapel you enter on the left side of the altar by a flight of stone steps. Beneath the chapel is the crypt, where the remains of the Ducal family are interred. Above, in the chapel, is the monument of the Duke of Chandos and his two wives on either side of him, all life-size. His third wife survived him. Nothing now remains of the palace of Canons. Some of the handsome iron railings were removed to one of the colleges of Oxford.—The party next proceeded to Great Stanmore Church. It is a modern though fine building. In the interior are the monuments of the Earl of Aberdeen and Sir John Wolstenholm. The pulpit is erected to the memory of the late Lord Wolverton. On a line with the new church, but some yards apart, are the ruins of the old church, overgrown with ivy. There is no roof, but the tower and walls are almost complete. Inside are several handsome tombs and monuments. This edifice was consecrated by Archbishop Laud.

Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society.

—**The Annual Excursion.**—August 30.—The members of this Society made their annual excursion, the districts visited being Thetford, Rushford, and Shadwell. Mr. Robert Fitch, in the absence of the Very Rev. the Dean of Norwich, officiated as president for the day. The first halt was made at the residence of Mr. J. Johnson, in whose grounds stand "The Priory Ruins." Having examined the ancient gateway of freestone and black flint, principally notable for its peculiar flat-arched doorway, the party entered the grounds of Mr. Johnson, and viewed the gateway at the lower end, after which the president conducted them through the shrubberies to the romantic site of the old Priory. The Priory was a monastery of monks of the Cluniac order, founded, it was formerly supposed, by Herbert Losinga, as a compensation to the town of Thetford for the removal of the see to Norwich, but, in fact, the establishment was created by the renowned Roger Bigod, who had been persuaded to perform this pious act by Losinga. With a view of gaining some idea as to the architecture, extent, and arrangement of the building, Mr. Henry Harrod, in the year 1849, caused extensive excavations to be made, and the result was that he was enabled to prepare a plan in which the following dimensions of the conventual church of the Priory are given:—Total length, 248 ft. 5½ in.; length of nave, 121 ft. 2 in.; length of choir, 127 ft. 3 in.; breadth of nave in side aisles, 65 ft. 2 in.; breadth of nave across transepts, 123 ft. 6 in. The church appears to have been entirely in the Norman style, but the Lady-chapel, refectory, and part of the friars' apartments, were built in the Early English period. The history of the Priory is very interesting. Roger Bigod, instead of making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, as he intended, brought a number of Cluniac monks from Lewis Priory, and established them in a monastery on the site of the Free School at Thetford. Malgod was the first prior and Stephen the second. The foundation was laid in 1107, and in 1114 the prior and twelve monks entered and occupied the building, dedicated to the Virgin and St. Andrew. The magnificent ideas of Stephen may be understood when it was made known that all the foundations that Mr. Harrod had opened, with the exception of the Lady Chapel, the eastward extension of the choir, the refectory, and the small Chantry Chapel to the north of the nave, were of his period. After the death of Prior Stephen the income continued to increase largely, but not so largely as to prevent the monks having recourse to a series of miraculous events to enlarge them. These are fully set forth by Brame, the monk, the chief being that an image of the Virgin being removed to make place for a richer one, the Virgin appeared to a cripple, telling him in the event of his being cured to hasten to the prior, and in her name command him to build her a chapel on the north side of the choir. This was eventually done, and the image of the Virgin placed at the door that alms might be given to the building. From the Bigods the patronage of the priory passed to the Mowbrays, and from them to the Howards. Many members of this great family were buried here, and on their possessions the Chantry chapel was erected. The ashes of Thomas Howard, who was buried in the

priory in 1544, were conveyed to Framlingham, and the tomb destroyed. Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Somerset, was the last member of this family buried in the Priory Church, and his remains were removed to Framlingham. In 1540 the house was dissolved and conveyed to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, who contemplated making it a college for secular priests; but this Henry VIII. would not allow, as he considered it would be a dangerous precedent if he permitted the duke to carry out his intention, and the priory, therefore, shared the fate of other monasteries. From that time the records of its fate are very scanty. With respect to the excavations, Mr. Harrod next spoke of what he had brought to light. From these it appears that at the west end arose two lofty towers, flanking the great western doors. These, with the excavated portions of the nave, were all of the period of the foundation, with the exception of a few fragments in the windows. Proceeding up the nave, the fragments of the rood screen were reached, and a small chapel on the north, which was probably the place of sepulchre of one of the Brotherton family. Entering the choir by the door of the screen, four immense piers of the central tower were to be seen with the transepts, having small chapels with apses, and from the north transept were observed the ruins of the sacristy. Leaving this and again entering the choir, he came upon the third arch from the central tower to the arch of the chancel. Here the Norman work ended, the east end being of the early Decorated period. He had supposed that the first building ended with an apse, similar to Norwich Cathedral, and his conjectures had been rendered into certainty by a careful inspection of the point of junction with the main building. Between the choir and Lady Chapel were the bases of a large arch. The space beneath it had been filled with monuments of Howards and Mowbrays. In the cloister several shafts had been preserved. At about fifty-six feet from the nave, on the east, stood the entrance to the chapter-house, every vestige of which is now gone. Little now remains to remind one of the former magnificence of the priory, the site being entirely covered with thick vegetation. The chief feature in the ruins is a fragment of the chancel arch, which stands up boldly from the ground, reaching from the base to nearly the point of the arch, and which by the graceful proportions and the elegance of its Norman capitals, discloses that the entire building was one of great beauty. "The Castle Hill" stands at the east end of the town within an enclosure of fields. It is a huge mound of earth 100 feet in height, 984 in circumference at the base, 338 in diameter at the base, and 81 at the summit, which is dish-shaped and hollowed out to the depth of twelve feet below the outer surface, and planted with trees. The slope of the mound is extremely steep, forming an angle with the plane of the horizon of more than forty degrees. The origin of this ancient place of castramentation is unknown. The tradition accounting for the formation of the mound was this: that the Devil, while engaged in the construction of the Devil's Ditch, on Newmarket Heath, became offended, and going off to Thetford, there scraped his spade, and the fragments of earth that fell from it formed the Castle-hill. An adjournment was afterwards made to the ramparts to hear a paper read by

Mr. M. Knights on events associated with the history of the district that seemed to indicate the period at which these earthworks were raised. In the neighbourhood of Thetford, remains of Palæolithic and Neolithic man have been found in greater abundance than in other parts of Norfolk. The most remarkable of the earthworks in the neighbourhood of Thetford are the extensive ramparts and lofty mound, known generally as the Castle Hill. There is a likeness between this Castle-hill at Thetford and the Castle-hill at Norwich, which seems to stamp them as belonging to the same period; but there is likewise a difference between them. The mound at Thetford is wholly artificial, while that in Norwich was originally, to a great extent, a natural headland. Traditions of battles and sieges are associated with this neighbourhood, and John Brame, a Thetford monk, threw over them the glamour of the Arthurian romance, current in his day. These traditions of battles, the writer suggested, may have some foundation in fact, as the extensive tract of wold, heath, and fen would form in early times a kind of march, where the independent Angle ealdormen, whose fortified burghs stood in some numbers on the borders, were withstood by surviving bands of natives, who found a refuge in the wilds, where in later days the Saxons long eluded the Norman conqueror. It has been claimed for Thetford that it was the capital of East Anglia during its existence as an independent kingdom. This is hardly consistent with the descriptive names which the East Angles themselves gave to the burghs on the banks of the Wensum and the Ouse, the one they designated Cynings' ford, or the king's ford, indicating the neighbourhood of the royal residence, and the other Theod ford, or the People's ford. Early in the ninth century Thetford undoubtedly became the capital of the East Angles, as Cyningsford, with the territory between it and the sea, had then apparently passed into the hands of the Northmen. In the events which led to and followed this translation of the seat of the East Angles government from Cyningsford to Thetford, we have, the writer suggested, just the circumstances which would impel a people to construct such extraordinary defensive works as exist at Thetford. It has too frequently happened that the accounts given in local history of the conquest of East Anglia by the Northmen have represented Ingvar and Ubba as the sons of Ragnar Lothbroc, leading an expedition into a country to which they had been hitherto strangers, marching without opposition through a great part of the land, and then, after devastating the north, turning upon and crushing the people who had not only suffered them to pass through their territory, but had provided them with horses to enable them to carry Northumbria. But the fact was that for thirty years before Ingvar and Ubba encountered the East Angles in the battle from which King Edmund fled, only to be captured and slain, the Northmen had been slowly but surely encroaching upon East Anglia from various points on the coast. From a consideration of the facts, it appeared to the writer that there was a continuous guerrilla warfare, of which no mention is made in the Chronicles, on the part of the Northmen, who planted themselves on the coast against the East Angles, ending in the acquirement of extensive

settlements alongside the estuaries and rivers, so that the dispossessed Angle population had to shift westward, when Thetford became the centre of a great struggle with the invaders. In preparation for a struggle which was seen to be impending, the Angles most probably threw up the ramparts around the Castle-hill, which commanded the fordable passage of the river. The party drove to Rushford. On alighting at the residence of the Rev. Dr. Bennet, whose house formed part of the buildings of the ancient college of St. John the Evangelist, the excursionists received a very hearty welcome. Dr. Bennet's residence is a very picturesque one, and rich with 14th and 15th century work. Dr. Bennet read a paper on "Rushford College and its History." About a year and a half ago some accidental reference to Sir Robert Buxton gave the clue which it has since been the pleasant labour of a life to follow out. Unknown even to himself and his family, a great mass of documents lay slumbering within his own house—laid away from generation to generation—and so in course of time forgotten in their disuse; and seventeen boxes of manuscripts, large and small, turned up at last. There lay some four hundred charters of the ancient College of St. John the Evangelist of Rushford. There were the deeds, the memoranda, the letters, the written life of fourteen generations of the family, of which this had been for 300 years the possession, and, scattered here and there throughout the mass, many local records and fragments of forgotten local history had found their place of sleep. Nearly three thousand separate documents carried the history of this place and the family to which it belonged back in continuous series from the last generation for nearly seven hundred years. First we must carry ourselves back to the beginning of the fourteenth century. The Suffolk side of Rushworth contained, in 1272, no fewer than fifteen farms of from fifteen to forty acres each of arable land, with rights of sheep-feeding extending over probably five or six hundred acres, and also eight cottages with thirty acres of arable land between them. This was exclusive of the lord's demesnes and the dwellers upon them. Of this small town of 300 people, with its appendant hamlet of Shadwell, of probably one hundred more, Edmund de Goneville became rector, in 1320. He came of a knightly family, of whom one was of the order of the Temple, and was among those unhappy men examined and tortured on the extinction of the Order, in 1314. Sir Nicholas de Goneville was the father, as the Caius College commemoration service avers, of our founder Edmund, and he was either in his own or in his wife's right lord of the manors of Lerling and Rushworth, with other property, and patron of those two livings. His eldest son, Sir Nicholas, succeeded him, and there are many charters of his, and many others to which he was a witness, among the Rushworth papers. Edmund, his next brother, with whom we are most concerned, was probably about 28 or 29 years old when he became, upon his brother's presentation, rector of this place. He was evidently a man of mark and energy, for very soon we find him associated with the powerful Earls of Warenne and of Lancaster, to both of whom in succession he was steward of their great estates in this neighbourhood. Under his influence the house of

Friars Preachers in Thetford was established and endowed by the Earl of Lancaster, in 1327, Gonville being still rector of Rushworth; and he seems from that time to have had in mind how he might still further use his influence or that of his family for the permanent welfare of the Church. His eldest brother, Sir Nicholas de Gonville, died in 1333, seised of the manors of Lerling and Rushworth with their advowsons and of other possessions in Norfolk and Suffolk; and in the same year his son John de Gonville did homage for these and other lands and manors to the King.

[The remainder of our report must be postponed till next month.]

Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club.—Sept. 20th.—The great feature of the day was the visit to Penselwood and the interesting remarks upon the puzzling pits there by Mr. Thomas Kerslake and the rector (Rev. T. W. Wilkinson). The party proceeded in large brakes to Penselwood Pits, about the origin of which there has been considerable controversy. The carriages were pulled up near the church and rectory, and with the Rev. T. W. Wilkinson as cicerone, the party walked through narrow by-ways to the interesting pits, which are supposed to mark the site of *Caer Pensaulcoit*, which Mr. Kerslake describes as "a long-lost un-Romanised British Metropolis." According to the calculations of Collinson, the ground occupied by the pits was 200 acres, and their number upwards of 20,000. The pits are placed so close to each other that there is only a small space between them. The conjecture of those who contend they are of British origin is that they were used by the Britons as a shelter for themselves and their families, but there are other antiquaries who believe they are merely stone quarries, and the fact that they continue to be "worked" and levelled has led to this impression gaining a considerable following. Mr. Kerslake remarked the temptation in the Middle Ages had been to quarry the greater part of the pits, and in agricultural days the temptation had been to level the rest for the cultivation of green crops; and one of the ways by which this levelling was accomplished was the liberty given to the labourers to take away the stone. These two operations—the mediæval of merely quarrying and the agricultural of levelling—had ultimately met, and, as he considered, had cut up an ancient monument.—The Rev. T. W. Wilkinson remarked that stone was still being removed. It was said they were Vandals to allow it, but how could it be wondered at when owners could by levelling it raise the value of their land from 5s. an acre to 35s., and the stone which was got out fetched from 10d. to 1s. a yard, which they had for the trouble of levelling it.—Mr. Winwood, by consulting one of the most illiterate of the quarrymen, had come to the conclusion the pits were used for a similar purpose in old times.—Mr. Kerslake was first led to take up this subject in this way. There was an ancient list of thirty-three British cities extant, usually printed with the book said to be written by Nennius, but he thought it was more ancient than Nennius, and in that list was the name of a city (*Pensaulcoit*) that had puzzled Camden, Ussher, and Stevenson, who edited Nennius. He (the speaker) was puzzled by it also, as they had been, until it came into his mind that this *coit* was

nothing more than *coed*, and on looking into Cornish and Irish dictionaries he came to the conclusion this was the Damnonian form of the modern Welsh *coed*—a word which signified wood, and from which they easily got Pensel-wood. It was not unusual with the Saxon conquerors of Britain to translate only one portion of the name and leave the other. The same name (Pensaulcoit) occurred in an independent British document, *The History of British Kings*, which contained an account of an expedition made by Vespasian under Claudius having landed at a place called "Talnas," or "Toynus," and besieged Caer Penhwylgoet. By the usual change of "h" into "s," they got Pens-wyl-coet, which meant a high wood, or something like that. The "Talnas," *i.e.*, t'Alnas, mentioned in the history he believed to be Christchurch Bay—Ptolemy's "Mouths of Alaunus"—which was within two days' march of that place, Caer Penhwylgoet, which they besieged. Mr. Kerslake, continuing, said Vespasian besieged it for ten days, but did not conquer it or destroy it. A treaty was made between him and the British prince, who was supposed to be Caractacus, and they departed, leaving the British still in possession of the place. On the other hand, Roman historians recorded that Vespasian took the Isle of Wight, and conquered two British peoples and twenty towns. Well, the distance between that place and the Isle of Wight was only about one or two days' march. So from the Roman historians they had the Wight established as a certain point, from the Welsh they got Penhwylgoet, and the old document he had referred to gave that as the name of the British metropolis; so that they had three independent concurrent testimonies as to this place being what he contended. The appearance of the place itself, too, seemed to make it probable. It was a greatly elevated spot, and protected all round by natural declivities, except on the east, where there was a valley between it and the chalk heights of Mere.

Manchester Field Naturalists.—Sept. 15th.—Lord Delamere kindly gave leave to the Manchester Field Naturalists' Society to visit Vale Royal Abbey. The Abbey was founded by Edward I., who having (when Earl of Chester) been in danger of shipwreck on his return from the Holy Land, made a vow that on his safe settlement at home he would establish a new convent of Cistercian monks. During his subsequent imprisonment at Hereford, he was visited and consoled by monks of this order, and weighted with the double obligation, on August 6th, 1277, he cancelled it by laying the first stone, in the presence of a great gathering of the nobles, and of Queen Eleanor, who laid the second stone. The monks entered upon their occupancy A.D. 1330. In the reign of Henry VIII., like all other abbeys, Vale Royal suffered dismemberment. In the reign of James I., such of it as remained in good condition was adapted to the purposes of a first-class country residence, the basement and some fragments preserved in the garden being all that is now extant of the original structure. In 1656 that very curious and entertaining little volume *The Vale Royale of England* was published, William Smith and William Webb, "gentlemen," the joint authors, the home having by that time extended to the adjacent country, as above indicated. The fertility and salubrity of

this part of Cheshire is the theme they specially delight in. "The ayre is verie wholesome, insomuch that the people of the country are seldom infected with Disease or sickness, neither do they use the help of physicians, nothing so much as in other countries. For when any of them are sick, they make him a posset and tye a kerchief on his head; and if that will not amend him, then God be merciful to him. The people there live to be very old; some are grand-fathers, their fathers yet living, and some are grand-fathers before they be married."

Penzance Antiquarian Society.—Sept. 7th.—The first building visited was Zennor Church, where the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma gave an address. The church is said to be the only one unrestored in Cornwall; it dates from the twelfth century, and the rude seats are high benches of well-worn timber, destitute of paint and varnish, and the walls and roofs are whitewashed, and devoid of monuments of any kind. One of the carved bench ends represents the Mermaid of Zennor, associated with which is a singular legend. The members afterwards visited a prehistoric structure at Gunard's Head, consisting of an inclosure with thick walls and extended entrance, seemingly too small for a dwelling and too large for a grave. At Borriggan, the cliff castle near the Logan Rock was seen, and an address on "Cliff Castles" was given by the president, Mr. T. Cornish.—Chywn Castle, the finest example of its kind, was afterwards seen, and it was stated that the walls, which in 1862 were six feet high, were now reduced to three feet. The beehive huts of another village near by were afterwards examined, and the day closed with a visit to Madron Church.

Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society.—Sept. 15th.—The members visited Macclesfield and Gawsorth, under the leadership of Mr. J. P. Earwaker. After leaving the railway station, the party, numbering between forty and fifty, proceeded to the Old Church. The church was in a state of great confusion, owing to the restoration now in progress, but Mr. Earwaker directed the attention of the visitors to the fine monument in the chancel, placed there to the memory of Sir John Savage, Knt., and Catherine his wife, daughter of Sir Thomas Stanley, Knt., and sister of the first Earl of Derby. The beautiful reticulated lace head-dress of the lady, with the letters I.H.C. worked into it, and the Yorkist collar of suns and roses, worn by the knight, were particularly noticed. On the other side of the chancel is an effigy of one of the Downes family, in plate armour. Passing from here to the Savage Chapel, the visitors found it nearly filled with the old pews, etc., out of the church, and it was with some difficulty that the fine series of Savage monuments could be seen. These were severally described by Mr. Earwaker, beginning with that of Sir John Savage, Knt., killed at the siege of Boulogne, 1492, which is seven feet two inches in length, representing a man of very powerful build. The next in date is that of Sir John Savage, Knt., one of the commanders at Bosworth Field, who died in 1527. These two are on the north side of the chapel, and opposite to them is that of Sir John Savage, Knt., 1528, and Elizabeth, his wife, daughter of Charles Somerset, Earl of Worcester. At the west end is the monument of Sir John

Savage, Knt., who was seven times high sheriff of Cheshire, who died in 1577, and his wife, daughter of Thomas Manners, Earl of Rutland. This fine monument, once gilt, is now in a wretched condition, *having been black-leaded*. Opposite to this, at the eastern end, is the monument of Thomas, Earl Rivers, erected in 1696. The very curious brass to one of the Leghs of Ridge could not be seen, so that Mr. Earwaker exhibited a rubbing of it, and pointed out its many peculiarities, and also showed some plates of it in which the parts now missing were restored. On leaving the church the party visited the Police-station, where by the kindness of Mr. Sheasby, the very curious "scold's bridle," etc., was exhibited, and excited much interest. The visitors then proceeded to Gawsworth. When they had all assembled in the church, Mr. Earwaker described the chief features of the building, directing attention to the absence of any chancel arch, and pointing out the carvings, etc., on the roof, which showed traces of having been originally highly decorated and painted. He also exhibited coloured drawings of the mural paintings which were discovered on the walls of the church at the time of the restoration in 1850. These were the figures of St. Christopher and St. George on the north wall and the representation of the Doom and Last Judgment on the east wall. Attention was also directed to the old stained glass formerly in the windows, and of which no traces were now preserved. The peculiarities of the four fine Fitton monuments were pointed out, after which the party adjourned to the Rectory and the Old Hall, which were described by the Rector. The so-called "tilting ground" at the back of the Old Hall was also visited. From Gawsworth the visitors drove to Henbury, having been invited by Colonel Brocklehurst to inspect his collection of Mexican antiquities.

Glasgow Archæological Society.—September 20th.—The annual excursion.—The programme promised Doune Castle, the Roman Camp at Ardoch, and the Leighton Library and Cathedral, Dunblane. At Bridge of Allan the members left the train, and drove thence to Doune Castle, which is at present under judicious restoration, or more correctly, "preservation as a ruin." A paper was read by Mr. Duncan. The exact period of the erection of Doune Castle cannot now be ascertained with accuracy. Tradition ascribes its origin to the eleventh century, but there is no proof of this or of its having been the residence of the old Earls of Menteith. With Doune Castle the historic name most closely linked is that of Robert Stewart, first Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland from 1402 to 1419, who lived there frequently, as is proved by the fact that there are extant at least six charters under the Great Seal granted by him at Doune. The sixth of these is in favour of the famous Earl of Buchan, the Wolf of Badenoch. The foundation of the castle is usually ascribed to Murdoch, the younger Albany, but it seems more reasonable to suppose that the work was undertaken by his energetic and strenuous sire. Doune was a favourite residence of Murdoch, and when, in 1424, he was seized by order of James I. at a ford between Doune and Dunblane, long afterwards known as Murdoch Ford, it is probable that he was on his way to his stronghold of Doune Castle. The castle was seized by the king,

who, finding there Albany's wife, imprisoned her in Tantallon Castle. Doune now became a royal possession, and was frequently settled upon queens and royal ladies as part of the bridal possession. Through Margaret Tudor's union with Lord Methven, the castellanship of Doune and stewardship of Menteith were bestowed upon Methven's younger brother, Sir James Stewart, of Beith. In later days the murder of the "Bonnie Earl of Moray" threw the glamour of ballad fame around the castle, where his consort so hopelessly awaited his return. In 1745 Doune Castle was garrisoned by a party of Jacobites, commanded by Stewart of Ballochallan.—From Doune Castle the members drove eleven miles further on to Ardoch House. Mr. Bulloch then conducted the party to the Roman Camp, which was briefly described by the Rev. Mr. Macintyre, Greenloaning. Owing to the lateness of the hour the greater number of the members were obliged to return to Bridge of Allan without visiting Dunblane Cathedral, but a small party, under the guidance of Mr. Honeyman, examined its many points of architectural interest.

Caradoc Field Club.—September 25th.—The principal object of the excursion was to seek for and collect those various forms of fungoid life which are wont to make their appearance about this time. The hunting ground selected for the purpose on this occasion was the groves and rocks which abound between Cressage Station and Lawrence Hill, a spur on the north of the Wrekin. At Lawrence Hill they were presented with a very fine section of what Dr. Callaway has determined to be pre-Cambrian or Archaic rock, in other words, rock which was deposited long before any of the Longmynd series and others, which have been classed by Murchison and other recent geologists as the oldest in this country. Dr. Callaway considers that these strata, which were described and coloured in their maps by the geological surveyors as greenstone, are not so, but are stratified volcanic tufas and breccias, and that subsequently to their formation they have been penetrated by strains of eruptive dolerite. A very fine example of this was witnessed in the section here displayed. A wall or dyke of basalt remains standing out from the face of the stratified rock, and the altered and baked appearance of the stone on each side of it testifies to the great heat evolved by the mass when it was injected into the fissure. Such clear evidence of the volcanic outbursts of which this spot was once the scene excited much interest, and was well calculated to dispel the scepticism which many have felt as to the reality of such phenomena.

[We are compelled to postpone our reports of the St. Alban's Architectural Society, the Keith Feild Club, etc., until next month.]



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Revival of Ancient Venetian Industrial Arts.
—Glass Manufacture.—The art of manufacturing

glass appears to have been brought to the Venetian lagoons by the early settlers from the mainland. Glassmaking has always been the principal industry of Venice and Murano, and some of the Venetian products have long enjoyed a world-wide fame. Beads, spun glass, blown-glass, enamels, and mosaics, looking glasses, etc., are all made in Venice.—*Beads*.—It is said that the invention of beads dates from the thirteenth century, and is due to two Venetians—Miotti and Imbriani—who were urged to make experiments by the celebrated Venetian traveller, Marco Polo. Under the Venetian Republic, and for some years after its fall, the exportation of beads had not reached the importance it has now attained. This was perhaps owing to the smallness of the furnaces, and to the difficulty and length of the technical processes required for the composition of the paste. The Morelli, however, who in 1670 were the principal bead manufacturers, had four ships at sea, carrying beads to the East on their own account, and they became so rich that they entered the rank of the Venetian nobility on payment of a sum of 100,000 ducats to the Republic. Since 1815 this industry has become so important as to give, at the present time, employment to about 15,000 persons. The traffic is carried on with all the world, but the principal exportation of beads is to the ports of Asia and Africa. An extraordinary stimulus was given to this industry a few years ago by the prevailing taste for beads for trimming ladies' dresses. A great extension of the manufacture took place, and the labour was paid so high that all who could do so gave up their usual trades for bead-making. But when the demand for beads declined, most of the workmen who had been allured by fancy wages to the bead manufacture were thrown out of work and compelled to return to their former occupations. Whatever be the cause, bead-making has always been the especial privilege of Venice, in spite of all foreign attempts to manufacture this article elsewhere. Beads are sold under the following denominations:—1. "Conterie in perle," which are small perforated balls, made either of glass or enamel. 2. "Jais," glass tubes of very small bore cut into short lengths. 3. "Pipiotis," jais cut into facets. 4. "Maca," a sort of pipiotis made in a mould.—*Glass-blowing*.—The almost lost art of glass-blowing, which flourished at Murano during the early part of the Renaissance, and the decay of which was due to the growing taste in the eighteenth century for the imitation of crystal, has only been revived of late years. The products of this branch of industry are known under the name of "soffiati ordinari," which are blown bottles, glasses, and other articles for domestic purposes, and "soffiati artistici," artistic ware of all shapes, admirably fashioned after the old models, or in modern forms, richly decorated, occasionally with grotesques, and enlivened with delicate and brilliant colouring. Nearly all the kinds of ware anciently known at Murano, such as "filagrana," "fiamma," "ritorte," "opale," "morise," "reticelle," etc., have been successfully reproduced by the modern artificers.—*Mosaic*.—By the term mosaic is meant a sort of inlaid or tessellated work, in imitation of painting, formed by small pieces of marble, glass, enamel, or precious stones such as lapis-lazuli, malachite, etc., of varying shades and colours, carefully inlaid and

fixed on cement. The art of working in mosaic was probably known in very early times, and was extensively practised in Greece and Rome at the time of the first Emperors. Later on mosaics were widely used in the civilized parts of Europe for decorating the walls and vaults of churches, etc., and splendid relics of the mosaics executed in those times are still extant. There is no place in the world, however, where this art has been more cherished than at Venice. Here Byzantine and Greek artists revealed to the Venetians all its secrets, and here was founded the Venetian school of mosaicists, who for centuries have covered the Basilica of St. Mark with masterpieces of decoration, both within and without the building. But the glory of bringing the mosaic art to its height is due to the brothers Francesco and Valerio Zuccato, sons of Sebastiano Zuccato, master of Titian, who flourished in the fifteenth century. These artists executed their mosaics on cartoons drawn by themselves, and by the most celebrated artists of the period. Among the numerous mosaics executed by them in the Basilica may be mentioned the "Visions of the Apocalypse," which have just undergone restoration. During the execution of the works in the Cathedral, the Doge offered a prize of 500 ducats for the best reproduction of a particular cartoon. The competitors were Francesco Zuccato, Bartolomeo Bozza, and Dominico and Gian Antonio Bianchini. Titian, Tintoretto, Paolo Veronese, and other painters were directed by the Republic to inspect the works and to pronounce their verdict. The prize was awarded to Francesco Zuccato, and his work was presented by the Doge to the Duke of Savoy. The mosaic executed by Bartolomeo Bozza is still preserved in the Treasury of the Basilica. Ancient mosaic work was divided into lithostratum, vermiculatum, alexandrinum, etc., according as it was made of marble or other precious stones, and according to the figures or designs it represented. Modern mosaics are now distinguished under the two following heads: inlaid mosaic, and monumental or Byzantine. The former, which is made thoroughly smooth by fixing on to the cement the stone or enamel pieces with their edges perfectly close and adhering together, and by the subsequent polishing of the entire surface of the work, is generally used for making personal ornaments or fancy goods. The second is made of pieces which, not being cut into regular or geometrical shapes, cannot be closely united one to the other, so that the joints between them are visible. This was the mosaic generally used by the ancients, and has now been adopted for architectural decorations. The mosaic art, which had declined with the decadence of the Republic, and was nearly lost at its death, was revived by the strenuous efforts of Signor Lorenzo Radi, and afterwards by Signor Salviati, who by the aid of some English gentlemen established a large factory for the manufacture of mosaics about the middle of this century. There are now in Venice three great establishments making mosaics for artistic mural decorations: 1. The Venice and Murano Company; 2. Salviati and Co.; 3. The Societa Musiva Veneziana. Among the recent works executed by this company, in addition to the numerous commissions received from England for church and other decorations, may be noticed—the restoration of the "Visions of the Apocalypse" in the Church of St. Mark; the

entire reconstruction of two superb mosaics of the twelfth century in the ancient Cathedral of Torcello, and the reproduction of the "Good Shepherd," a celebrated mosaic of the eighth century, existing in the tomb of Gallia Placidia, at Ravenna.—*Artistic Castings*.—The ancient art of fusing metals for the production of artistic articles, which flourished at Venice at the time of the Renaissance, has been revived with great success. Thirteen factories are now reproducing, after ancient models, artistic bronzes, candelabra, plates, armour, swords, etchings, chiselled works, etc., for which there is a considerable demand, which is not confined to Italy.—*Furniture*.—A new feature of Venetian industry, which appears to be encouraged by the English on a large scale, is the imitation of antique furniture in ebony and ivory, for which materials pear-wood and bone are substituted. Carved chairs, bookcases copied from the antique, figures of negroes and others used as lamp-stands, hanging putti supported by a riband of wood, and holding baskets for flowers, etc., are also made in the Venetian workshops with much artistic feeling and of excellent execution.—*Lace*.—Owing to the indefatigable exertions of some distinguished ladies, this industry, once so celebrated in Venice, and which had altogether sunk into decay, has been revived. Schools and manufactories have sprung up, and about 3,000 women at Venice, Pelestrina, Murano, Burano, Chioggia, and Caorle are now employed in lace-making. Their earnings range from 50 c. to 4 lire a day, and the value of the lace produced amounts to 200,000 lire per annum.—*Copying of Ancient Brocade*.—The last speciality of Venice is the imitation of old damask. In the palmy days of the Republic the Venetian looms produced magnificent stuffs, embroidered with gold, silver, or silk, which the Doges sent as gifts to foreign potentates. The art, which was entirely lost, was rediscovered in 1857, and is now recovering some of its ancient splendour.—From *Reports of H.M. Consuls on the Manufactures, etc., of their Consular Districts*, House of Commons Papers (C. 3673), July 1883, pp. 964-968.

Ancient Inns.—Dr. Zell, professor of Ancient Literature at the University of Fribourg, published a little work, entitled *Holiday Recreations*, in which, among other entertaining matters, is a curious dissertation on the Greek and Roman Inns, Taverns, etc. He goes back to the hospitable usages of the heroic times, when, as he observes, there is nothing to show that inns existed; for at that period travels were never undertaken for commercial or other consideration of business. Sparta must have long remained without these convenient establishments; while at Athens, on the contrary, everything tended to render them necessary. We speak here of the inns devoted to the accommodation of strangers, and not of the *olwes*, or wine shops, any more than of the *καπηλεία*, or public houses. A member of the Areopagus who should have entered one of the latter would have been shunned by his colleagues. A passage in Aristotle would induce Dr. Zell to think that, from the most remote antiquity, inns had signs, if the silence of Aristophanes, and the other authors who have written on the common life of the Athenians, did not throw much doubt on the subject. As for public houses, a sort of infamy attached to the persons by whom they

were kept, and who thereby incurred a degrading exclusion from certain civil rights. Even the lenones were not more disesteemed. What Dr. Zell says about the *caupona*, the *taberna*, and the *popina* is very interesting. He gives a pretty imitation of the *copa*, attributed to Virgil, a curious anecdote of Adrian, and several whimsical particulars of the decrees of Tiberius, with respect to the dishes permitted to be served in the *popina*. The bill of fare is not long.—*Literary Gazette*, 1827, p. 45.



Obituary.

John Payne Collier.—Mr. J. Payne Collier died at Maidenhead, on Monday, September 17th, at the age of ninety-four. He was born in London in 1789. From the legal profession he turned at an early age to journalism, and soon after took up the special period of Elizabeth's reign as his study. In 1820 Mr. Collier published the *Poetical Decameron*, ten conversations on English poets and poetry. In 1825 Mr. Collier appeared as author of an allegorical poem bearing a title almost identical with one of Southey's—*The Poet's Pilgrimage*. At the same time he was engaged upon the new edition of Dodsley's *Old Plays* (1825-27), adding eleven plays which had not been included in the earlier editions. His next publication was one of great importance—the *History of English Dramatic Poetry in the time of Shakspeare, and Annals of the Stage to the Restoration*, in three volumes. When librarian to the Duke of Devonshire, Mr. Collier pursued his study of our older literature with peculiar advantages. Some of its results will be found embodied in his two volumes entitled *Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language* (1865). Among other publications by Mr. Collier, we may mention *Collection of Old Ballads anterior to Charles I.*, *Memoirs of Edward Alleyn*, *Alleyn Papers*, *Memoirs of the Principal Actors in the Plays of Shakspeare*, *Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company of Works entered for publication between 1557 and 1570*, which are published for the Shakspeare Society, besides which he edited many of the works published by the Percy and Camden Societies.



Antiquarian News.

The meetings held in Yorkshire some time ago for the purpose of considering the best means of printing the Parish Registers of the County have resulted in the formation of a Records series of publications in connection with the Yorkshire Archæological Society. A special subscription will be affixed to this series of one guinea per annum, and the Council of the Society have issued a prospectus asking for support. The Hon. Secretary is Mr. G. W. Tomlinson, F.S.A., of The Elms, Huddersfield.

Professor Friedlaender of Berlin has found, among the antique coins brought to Germany in 1882 by Prince Friedrich Carl, one example coined by Varus, probably at Berytus, Varus having governed both in Syria and Phœnicia. Another example of the same coin is in the Royal Collection in Berlin, and they are the only two of this kind. They complete each other, and have the inscriptions, "Imperator Cæsar Augustus" round the head of the emperor, and "Publius Quintilius Varus," with two eagles of the Legion. The name of Varus is incorrectly written, probably because the native engraver did not understand Latin. Varus also coined money, with his name written in Greek, in Antioch, the capital of Syria. When he governed the province of Africa he put his name on the coins of the two towns Hadrumetum and Achulla. On the coins of the latter city his effigy is very rudely designed. The name of that unvictorious general even gave a title to the war in Germany. "Cecidit bello Variano" is inscribed on the tombstone of a Roman officer, Caelius, and a Greek inscription in honour of him is among the Pergamon antiquities. A plaster copy of the tombstone, which exists at Bonn, is also in the Berlin Museum. Of the four coins of Varus Berlin possesses three, and of the two inscriptions one (in the original).

The Italian Government has given orders that the archives of the Palla-Strozzi family in Florence, being offered for sale, shall be immediately purchased for the sum of 5,000 francs, as they contain more than 500 parchments of the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, mostly Papal bulls and briefs, besides thirty series of papers relating to the embassies from the Court of Spain, which will complete those already existing in the Florentine archives.

Since Mr. Elton read his interesting paper before the Archaeological Society at Wiveliscombe (see *ante*, p. 217), relative to the excavations which are being carried on under the direction of Major Davies, on his estate, a further discovery of Roman remains has been made. The day after the Wiveliscombe meeting, the excavating party came across what was undoubtedly the *atrium* or dining-hall of the house. A stone pillar was also found, supposed to be one of the four which had originally supported the cloister mentioned in the paper. On removing the pillar, a tessellated mosaic pavement, with fanciful devices in coloured stone, was seen underneath, the weight of the pillar having caused a slight depression of the tessellated work. This pavement is composed of stone pottery, about an inch cube, and, with the exception of the centre part, is in a good state of preservation. Around the borders are a few festoons or guilloches. In another compartment was found a Buddhist cross in red, sometimes called by antiquaries "Swastika" or "Filpot." This consists of two crosses, crossed with arms of equal length running round the same way, somewhat after the manner of the feet of the three-legged figure which forms the arms of the Isle of Man, which figure, indeed, is supposed to have some connection with this eastern emblem. The cross, with these additional pieces extending from each of the four arms, resembles, to some extent, the wheel which is supposed to be the symbol of the sun wheeling in its course along the heavens. This symbol has been found in many Roman

buildings, and is said to be scattered over all the world. It has been found cut in stones in the north of Scotland, and, what is still more remarkable, has been found incised upon bronze implements and weapons of early ages, when the use of iron was unknown in the North of Europe. This relic will therefore claim the interest of the antiquary, as the eastern sign it represents was used at least 1,200 years before the commencement of the Christian era. Under the pillar mentioned was discovered the remains of a large leaden pot or kettle. It had been crushed by the fall of the pillar or by some other heavy stone. The handle remains, and enough of the two sides to show its original size. Very nearly in the same place, but deeper than the leaden pot, was found the remains of a leather sandal, without nails.

An interesting cave discovery in North Wales has been made by Dr. Hicks at the back of the Ffynnon Benno, Flintshire. The cave is a water-worn one in the limestone rock, and after a general inspection of the interior, Dr. Hicks discovered a virgin floor of stalagmite, which was disclosed after the removal of a few inches of the surface *débris*. Beneath this flooring several pieces of bone were found, some of which were of large size, and are supposed to have belonged to the mammoth rhinoceros. One of these pieces was imbedded in the flooring of stalagmite. Further investigation disclosed another floor of stalagmite some distance below the first one, and resting upon the gravel which had drifted and covered the bottom of the cave. The cave is said to be similar to the celebrated Cefn bone caves.

A committee has been formed to raise a fund for preserving and protecting what remains of Neville's Cross, near Durham, the scene of the great battle in which King David II. of Scotland was defeated and taken prisoner in 1346. All that is now left is a rubble foundation, supporting a large stone, square at the base and octagonal at the top, and having at the angles of transition four sculptured heads representing those of the Evangelistic symbolic figures, which base originally carried the shaft of the cross, the socket for which now contains a rude upright stone. It is proposed to make this stable, and to cover the mound with earth and turf, the whole to be surrounded by a strong iron railing supported upon a stone base.

Some workmen in the employ of Mr. Clarke, builder, who is extending the New Courts-chambers in Chancery-lane into Southampton Buildings, while excavating came upon two portions of undoubted Norman walls of chalk and cement, with some tiling. The tiles are red, glazed with yellow, and beneath them was a deposit of charcoal, doubtless a landmark, for which purpose such deposits have been frequently used from their imperishable nature. Probably this is the site of the first home of the Knights Templars, a surmise borne out by the quantity of human remains that have also been found, it being well known that the Knights removed their most important monuments to the Temple, leaving less important remains behind. Quantities of old Saxon pottery, in fragments, also came to light.

A number of terra cotta figures discovered by peasants of Myrina have been added to the collections of

the Louvre. Most of them appear to be imitations of Tanagra figures. The most remarkable is a large one of a dancer, perfectly preserved; and another, also large, representing a naked Venus with a vase near her.

A stained-glass memorial window is about to be placed in the northern wall of the chancel of St. Ann's Church by the Rector, Rev. A. J. Parsons, in memory of his late wife. The workmen, in knocking away the wall, expected to find it solid and four or five feet in thickness. They had not, however, got far from the inside when they discovered the remains of an old Norman window, which had merely been bricked up on the outside and thickly plastered on the inside, the interior being nearly filled by loose earth and stones. The window is exactly similar to the rest in the church, and occupies the same position in the southern wall as the one in the opposite chancel wall. The interior facings are of the same make and kind of stone as the northern window, and from one or two fissures to be seen in the wall it is conjectured that it was filled up in consequence of its dilapidated state. When this was done no one can tell, but it may have been a century or more, and certainly it was a long time, back, for the flints of the outer wall show no trace of having been put in at a more recent date than those which compose the whole wall. The window discovered is of the size and shape that was intended to be made to receive the memorial glass, which is now being prepared by a London firm, and will be fixed in a week or so.

Mr. Major has informed the Geographical Society that the ancient chart which was discovered in Iceland by Baron Nordenskjöld has arrived at Stockholm. Mr. Major states that in his opinion the relic is not a copy, as supposed, of Zeno's chart of 1558, but is of a later date.

A Levite, writing to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, says: "May I tell you of an ancient church that I have seen a little beyond the confines of Epping Forest, whose wooden walls are apparently as sound to-day as when they were first put up, nearly a thousand years ago? It is Greenstead Church, near Ongar, and I should think it is almost unique in England, for the walls of the nave are formed of trunks of oak or chestnut trees split asunder down the middle, and standing upright side by side close together—the round outsides of the trees forming the outer side of the wall, and the flat or inner sides of the trees ranging evenly side by side on the inside of the church. The tower and chancel and roof of the church are evidently more modern, and have been added since; but the nave itself is said—I cannot say how truly—to have been originally a sanctuary, built as a resting place for the body of St. Edmund, a king of East Anglia, when he was being carried back from London to Bury St. Edmunds. Whenever it was built, it is certainly a very curious old building."

After being closed since June last year for purposes of restoration, Whiston Church was re-opened on the 11th ult. by the Dean of York. During the progress of restoration three periods of architecture were observable in the edifice. In the wall between the nave and tower there was evidence that it belonged to

the early Norman period, and this was made more certain by the discovery of a "horse-shoe window," which must have been blocked up for generations, and through which the sanctus bell was probably rung. The old nave was of the fourteenth, and the chancel of the fifteenth century. The old nave and chancel now form the south aisle to the new portion erected, new arcading of an elaborate description, with carved capitals, etc., being put up between the old and new parts of the building. The addition to the church is a noble nave, 66 feet long, 22 feet wide, and 35 feet high, with open timbered roof.

The newly-restored Norman Church of St. Michael's, Malton, has been re-opened. In 1857 considerable alterations and improvements were effected both with regard to the exterior and the interior of the old church; but the restoration was then suspended for want of funds. Owing to the liberality of the lay rector (Earl Fitzwilliam) and the parishioners, however, the work has now been finished. In 1857 the chancel was re-built, and the church re-seated, and the principal alteration in the present restoration is the enlargement of the chancel by the erection of north and south transepts, by which a gain of about sixty sittings has been made in this part of the sacred edifice. Both the previous rebuilding of the chancel and the present additions have been made to harmonise with the old Norman fabric. The tower has at some time been rebuilt, and the nave shortened, as the western pillars of the nave are complete and walled round in the angles of the tower. The tower was refaced in the earlier restoration. The nave with its four fine arcades, the clerestory, and the old chancel arch were said to be the most ancient portions of the church. The font has a circular bowl, on a square base, and the former bears ornaments of the Jacobite period. Rickman mentions the church as of early date, "but much modernised," and there were remains of Early English work in the chancel. The church is undoubtedly a structure of considerable antiquity, and although little is known of its earlier history, antiquaries state that certain portions of Norman architecture point to the probability of its erection when "New" Malton replaced an earlier town, which was demolished during the incursions of the Scotch invaders. Whilst the works were in progress, it was found necessary, from the dilapidated state of the chancel arch and wall abutments, and that over it, to take it down, and it has been substantially rebuilt on new foundations, with the arch increased 5 ft. in height, and to 13 ft. 9 in. in width—all the old stone being re-used. In taking it down it was found that many of the stones had been re-worked to form the centre shaft of piers, having evidently been at some time used as ashlar wall stones.

Messrs. Dew and Sons, auctioneers, of Bangor, offered for sale at the Grosvenor Hotel, Chester, the celebrated Talargoch lead mine. This mine, which is situated near Rhyl, has an interesting history, being probably the oldest in the country. It was, according to local tradition, opened by the Romans, and has been worked more or less ever since. It has always been considered the richest lead mine in Wales, and up to the present there seems to have been no diminution in its productive capacity.

Recently several important discoveries have been made at the Roman Villa, Morton, near Brading, Isle of Wight. The acquisition of the entire site by Lady Oglander—whose family have been settled there since the time of the Conquest—has enabled the Messrs. Price to continue their exploration along the lower portion of Brading Down. Here they have found a wing on the southern side corresponding with that on the northern side, and which latter is, probably, familiar to our readers. Moreover, in an adjoining field a distinct range of building is being unearthed. These comprise chambers containing fragments of wall-paintings and tiles, transverse flues, and indications of a furnace. One of these rooms, originally warmed by a hypocaust, has, apparently, been appropriated in later times to a singular use. Within its area are structures resembling kilns or ovens, adapted to domestic or manufacturing purposes, and illustrative of long occupation. Adjoining it is a square of masonry in a perfect state, in the centre of which lies a bath or cistern neatly paved with slabs of stone. The bath or tank rests upon a suspended floor; close by are some curious examples of the drainage system here practised. Many traces exist of the further extent of these buildings, whilst, taken together with the now revealed southern wing, they are plain proof of how much yet remains to be accomplished ere the works can be considered to be complete. Additions are constantly made to the already large collections of coins, now ranging from Domitian, A.D. 81-96, to Honorius, A.D. 393-423, together with specimens of pottery, window and other glass, personal ornaments, metal-work, human and other remains, and the like. Those who have charged themselves with the excavations have taken a lease from Lady Oglander of such land as they deem necessary for the due accomplishment of their investigation, but the amounts of gate money and public subscriptions fail to cover expenses, of which latter the necessary new roads, the salaries of the curator and his assistants, the buildings and fences to protect the remains and museum, form no inconsiderable items.

The parish church of Broadwas, Worcestershire—a building chiefly of the 13th and 14th centuries—which had fallen into a state of great dilapidation, has just been restored, and was reopened recently. The east and south walls of the chancel and a portion of the north wall of nave have been rebuilt, the old materials being re-used wherever possible. A new east window of four lights, and decorated in style, has replaced one erected fifty years ago, and which was quite out of character with the building.

Donyatt Church has been recently restored. The church itself, of pre-Reformation times, is dedicated to St. Mary, and is a handsome edifice built in the Tudor or Perpendicular style of the fifteenth century, and containing some of the more interesting features of that period. It consists of a chancel, nave and side aisles, transepts, and a tower which contains four not unmelodious bells and a clock. Standing in the chancel, it may be seen that there is a uniform gradation of the arches towards the western end of the church—a beautiful feature of architecture but seldom seen. The central columns at the chancel each support four arches—another interesting feature. The

chancel window (presented by the widow and family of a former rector), with stone mullions and transoms, is of stained glass, representative of different scenes in the life of our Lord. The reredos is of Caen stone, with columns of the same, shafts of brown polished marble, cross in black, and a white diaper background, and was erected by a former rector. An old Jacobean pulpit, with black oak carvings and Ham stone base, sculptured with leaves, arrests the attention of the lover of antiquity. The carving is worthy of notice, but is somewhat mutilated by scraping, it having formerly been painted. It is supposed to be contemporaneous with the erection of the church, as is also a massive octagonal font. At the western end is an arch nearly thirty feet in height. The church was partly restored in 1860 by Mr. R. T. Combe, the patron of the living, the Rev. H. Hide being then rector. At this time many oak carvings were found, containing the initials and armorial bearings of distinguished families of the neighbourhood. These have recently been cleaned and polished, and let into new frames at the sides of the pews on either side of the centre aisle.

The royal archives for the Neapolitan provinces will shortly publish an interesting collection of the parchments of Gaeta, which begins with two Norman documents of the twelfth century—the first of the year 1187, signed by William II.; the other of the year 1191, signed by King Tancred. Next in order come two diplomas signed by Charles II. of Anjou—one dated 1296, the other 1308. Then there are about ten documents signed by Johanna I.—the first dated 1344, and the last 1372, which year was the last of that Queen's reign, and was dated from Casasana, near Castellammare di Stabia. There are two documents signed by Charles III. of Durazzo, of the second Anjou line. It is known that Ladislaus lived at Gaeta during the first part of his reign, compelled thereto by the wars against him by his rivals to the throne, and in the collection there are 34 documents of this period, commencing with one of the year 1388, which was the second of Ladislaus's reign, and ending with one of the year 1413, known as the 27th of the same reign. In these documents mention is made of the money lent to the King and his mother Margaret by the city of Gaeta to meet the war expenses. The name of the syndic, Giovanni di Pastena, is often met with. The most important document is one dated 26th March, 1390, which treats of the proposed marriage of the King to Constance of Chiaromonte, daughter of the Duke of Gerba, who, though a simple Admiral of the realm of Sicily, owned possessions in Tunis. In this document the municipality of Gaeta guarantees the restitution of the dowry of Constance to her father in case the marriage should not be effected. The last document signed by Ladislaus at Gaeta is dated 27th September, 1400, and the first from Naples is dated the 3rd December the same year. In 1405 there is another dated from Gaeta, but the following one, dated February 1406, is again signed at Naples. Then follow 17 documents signed by Johanna II., the first dated 14th August, 1414, the first year of her reign, and the last in 1431. Among these documents the one dated June 1416, relating to a compact between one Christopher Gaetano and the

commune of Gaeta, is interesting as being written in the South Italian of the beginning of the fifteenth century. After thirteen other documents signed by King Alphonso, there come twenty signed by Ferrante I., with dates from 1458 to 1475. One of them, dated February 4th, 1459, says that on that day the King was crowned at Barletta in the second year of his reign. Then comes a brief signed by Sixtus IV. relating to the annexation of a convent to the hospital Annunziata in Gaeta. Other documents signed by Ferrante I. follow, dated up to 1492. One, dated 1482, is remarkable as being a list of the articles presented by the citizens of Gaeta and approved by the king, which secure valid assistance to the inhabitants against the Turks. The whole collection will probably be published in the latter half of the present year.

Some curious old customs are still kept up in some of the old parishes in London. For instance, in the parish Church of St. James, Clerkenwell Green, the annual Michaelmas sermon was preached. It appears that an old resident of the parish named Pierson, who died many years ago, left a sum of £50 for the parish, on condition that £3 be spent annually as follows:—Minister, for sermon concerning the "preparation for death," in the afternoon of St. Michael and All Saints' Day in every year, for ever (except Michaelmas day happen to fall on a Sunday, then on the following Monday), and the prayers of the Church of England to be there read in the same church: the sermon, 15s.; reader, 2s. 6d.; clerk, 1s. 6d., and sexton 1s., for their attendance; and £1 for 40 poor people of the parish attending such service—6d. each; and the residue £1 for a collation for the parson, churchwardens, and overseers after such service.

At Halesowen the county magistrates were asked to allow an old custom to be revived in the town—namely, the holding of a statute fair, and permitting oxen to be roasted in the public streets. It was contended that the majority of the inhabitants were anxious that the custom should be revived, as it would be for the benefit of the town. The magistrates granted the application, on the understanding that swing-boats and steam-horses were not used in Halesowen.

Professor Sayce lectured at the Assembly Rooms, Bath, on "What the Assyrian Inscriptions tell us about the Old Testament." Professor Sayce said half a century ago the site of Nineveh was a question of debate, but all was changed now. Nineveh had risen up again as it were from its tomb; the spade, first of the Frenchman and then of the Englishman, had been the magic instrument that had awakened it back to life; and the sculptures among which the princes of Assyria walked, the gods they worshipped, the books they read, had all been revealed to the sight of a wondering world. The mounds of Konyunjih, in which the palace of Sennacherib lies buried, had, above all others, disclosed to us his history and the life of the ancient Assyrians; for here the explorer had discovered relics more precious than the bas-reliefs or the graven figures which now filled the windows of the British Museum. Thousands of small fragments of baked clay had been found among the ruins, each inscribed with minute characters called cuneiform, from their wedge-like shape. It might seem strange to us at first to hear of books in clay,

but such nevertheless were the Assyrian books; not but that they also wrote upon papyrus, but this had long since perished, while the less fragile clay remained. After speaking of the Assyrian culture the Professor dwelt at length on the points of contact between the records of the Old Testament and these inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia, and on the light thrown on biblical history, and the confirmation that had been afforded of those sacred narratives. Perhaps the most important result of our cuneiform discoveries was the way in which we had been made to feel that the heroes of the old Hebrew world were real men, living much the same lives as ourselves, moved by the same impulses and passions, and enjoying a civilisation which might be favourably compared with ours. They had ceased to be merely names belonging to a dead past, which had no more reality for us than the personages of a fairy tale. We were brought, as it were, face to face with Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar, nay, with Hezekiah, with Manasseh, and with Jehu.

The ruins of Melrose Abbey have been carefully restored during the last few weeks by the Duke of Buccleuch, to whom they belong. The nave, aisles, transepts, and choir have all been thoroughly overhauled, and the stone roof of the nave has been put into repair.



Correspondence.

NUNS' BURIAL.

Can any reader of THE ANTIQUARY help me to an answer to the following query? In 1407 Alice Redness was a nun in the convent at Hampole, and, presuming that she died there, is it probable that her body would be taken to her native village to bury? I may add that the family were no doubt piously inclined, and benefactors to the cause of religion.

Reference to any person dying a nun in a convent, but who was buried at her native home, is much desired; and notes of any peculiarity of the inscription upon the slab marking her last resting-place will be doubly welcome.

I am wishful to identify a sepulchral slab which was discovered a few years ago, whilst excavating for a vault, in a parish church. If the slab turns out to be of interest I will be pleased to make a drawing of it.

In the meantime, any matter bearing on the above query, if forwarded to me, will greatly oblige.

Ferrybridge, Yorks.

L. HOLMES.

SUCCESSION THROUGH FEMALES (*ante*, p. 183).

When the opinions held by Mr. Freeman directly contradict those held by others, I fear the others must give way. But in the case pointed out by Mr. Round, I must confess to having paid more attention to Mr. Freeman's facts than to his opinions. Besides the passage quoted by me (*ante*, vol. vii., 248), Mr. Freeman says:—"The sister's son of Brihtnoth, and the sister's son of Siward, are mentioned in a special way among the chosen companions of their

uncles, around whose banners they fought and died. Edward would naturally fall back upon Ralph, his own nephew, the son of the daughter of Æthelred and Emma." And why therefore he should have concluded that the law of England conferred no right on a sister's son, I am at a loss to understand. What was the law of England upon the subject, I would ask? This is a most important question, and one to which I have paid considerable attention, and I venture to think that Mr. Freeman has missed its importance in his neglect of the study of primitive politics. Without entering into detailed proof (upon which I hope to write later on), I would just observe that the law of England on the subject of succession to the crown was just at this time wholly silent, because of the transition from primitive to Norman politics, which was just then actively going on. It must be remembered that so late as the reign of John the descent of crowns kept pace with the descent of private feuds, and that these, from innumerable examples, are known to have been far from settled. The law of England, relative to the descent of the crown, had certainly not been pronounced when Stephen obtained the throne, though undoubtedly its tendency was against inheritance through females.

G. L. GOMME.

Mr. Round has done good service in referring to Mr. Freeman's opinion as to the late origin in England of the notion of succession through females, so far at least as concerns the descent of dignities. Mr. Freeman's opinion is inconsistent with the contention that such succession was "a continuous survival from primitive politics," but it is nevertheless well founded. It is true that Mr. Morgan, in his valuable work on *Ancient Society*, asserts that "the nations of the Aryan, Semitic, and Uralian families formerly possessed the Turanian system of consanguinity," which was based on descent through females. He adds, however, that a comparison of the several forms of the Aryan system of consanguinity shows the original form to have been purely descriptive. Mr. Morgan affirms, moreover, that the Aryan system expressed the relationships of the monogamous family. It may, indeed, have been the result of the introduction of monogamy, with which the change of descent from the female line to the male line appears to have been intimately associated. This change has taken place even among many of the native tribes of Australia and North America, who use the classificatory system of relationships. With the Aryan peoples we can well understand, therefore, that such a change, if it occurred at all, must have taken place, as Mr. Morgan says in relation to the Greeks and Romans, "very remotely from the historical period." The reason he gives for the overthrow of descent in the female line was the accumulation of property and its assumption of permanent forms, with an increase of the proportion held by individual ownership, such as is observed in what he terms the "Upper Status of barbarism." Undoubtedly all the Aryan peoples have ever since the commencement of the historical period recognised descent in the male line so far as concerns person and property. It may possibly have been different with offices or dignities, and with the Locrians of ancient Italy nobility of ancestry was

derived from women. This case, however, stood almost alone, and the conclusion arrived at by Mr. Morgan is that "in the upper status of barbarism, the office of chief in its different grades, originally hereditary in the gens and elective among its members, passed, very likely, among the Grecian and Latin tribes, from father to son, as a rule." Such no doubt was the rule also among the other peoples belonging to the Aryan family, and therefore the succession through females, which is regarded, and probably justly so, as the earliest form of descent, cannot in relation to such peoples be said to have been a "continuous survival from primitive politics."

C. STANILAND WAKE.

Hull, 5th October, 1883.

ESSEX OF LAMBOURNE.

Can any of your readers inform me if there is anywhere a pedigree of the ancient family of Essex of Lambourne, Berks, which claimed descent from Robert and Swegn of Essex, who owned great possessions in Essex in the time of Edward the Confessor and William; also if there are any branches of the family now living, and if so, where?

Elmwood, Sudbury, Middlesex. H. S. COWPER.

MEDIÆVAL HAT-MAKERS.

Will any reader of *THE ANTIQUARY* kindly inform me whether there was any particular town in England in the middle ages famous for the manufacture of hats, as, in modern times, Sheffield for cutlery; Birmingham for hardware; Coventry for ribbon? If so, what was the name of the place, and where was it? Was there ever a mediæval *Heath*?

W. R. B.

"REMEDIES AGAINST THE PLAGUE."

In the cover of an old book (*On Rhetoric*, by Joannes Sturmius, 1576), I found a scrap of a Black Letter page, of which the heading is "Remedyes agaynst the plague." The first chapter of the second book begins thus:—

"The feedyng of the patient ought to be lyttle and taken oft, theyr meates and drynkes lyght of digestion and of good nouryshment, mingled and taken with the iuice of Oringes, Sorrel, the iuice of unripe Grapes or a little vinegre, or the iuice of Pomegranates . . ." At the head of the chapter is, "Of the diet of the patient, how his chamber ought to be prepared and trimmed . . . etc."

Can you kindly give me an idea of the date of this book?

A. E. V.

HUMAN HAIR SUPERSTITION.

In Mr. Gomme's new work, *Folk-lore Relics of Early Village Life*, I read that "in Ireland it is held that human hair should never be burnt, only buried." Permit me to say that nurses in Oxfordshire, to-day, are careful to tell you the same, with the addition that one should be careful to burn one's teeth, otherwise dog's teeth will come in their place.

Can any of your readers explain the origin of the latter injunction?

J. J. FOSTER.

CURIOUS BRONZE OBJECT.

I have a piece of bronze representing a 'monkey with its head through a window, ringing a bell, the bell being in an upright position; on its side are the word *AGLAE* and the numbers 1174, of which I should be glad of an explanation. J. J. FOSTER.

THUMB LORE.

What is the exact meaning of the expression "a miller's thumb"? This is used also as the name of a fish. I have heard it arose from millers having to press their thumb in following their trade, and so enlarging it. PENWITH.

JOHN SOBIESKI.

While the subject of King John Sobieski is before the public attention (on account of the recent bicentenary of his deliverance of Vienna in 1683) it may not be out of place to remind antiquaries that there are a considerable number of relics relating to him in the museums and collections of Europe. Among the most interesting of these are those in the Dresden Museum, and others I believe exist at Wilanow. A curious relic of Sobieski was this year in London in the charge of Major C. Szulczewski in the form of a handsome Turkish pipe covered with a crown, which was said to have been used by Sobieski himself.

Before dismissing the subject, I may draw attention to two points which have struck me in relation to Sobieski's exploits.

1. The remarkable resemblance of the tactics Sobieski used in 1683, and also in other campaigns before the coronation, to those of Lord Wolseley at Kassassin and Tel-el-Kebir. The great idea of Sobieski in fighting the Turks was a dashing hand-to-hand charge. The Asiatics rarely could stand before the Polish Hussars, any more than they could before the British cavalry and infantry in close quarters.

2. May not the introduction of Hussars into our Western European armies be partly due to the memory of Sobieski's achievements with light cavalry? If I mistake not, most of the European cavalry of the seventeenth century were heavy. The very uniform of the Hussars and Lancers of the British army seem to point to a Polish origin.

W. S. LACH-SZYRMA.

HAWICK SLOGAN.

I see something about "Teribus" in *THE ANTIQUARY*. I come from the district, and believe Odin and Thor have no more to do with the matter than Gamaliel. The verse might as well have run—

"Tommy Trip and Tommy Dodin,"

and is a mere bit of nonsense, to rhyme (in the Hawick lingo) to "Flodden." If any evidence can be shown that Teribus and Teriodin existed *before* Flodden, I will withdraw my remarks, and make an abject apology. But clearly what we need, first of all, is evidence as to the antiquity of the refrain. If none exists, one might as well look for myth in *Fol de Rol*, which is (doubtless) *Foi de Rollo*, or in *toora looral*, or Hay, nonny no. A. LANG.

OLD FAIRS.

Mr. Walford's valuable remarks on Southwark Fair remind one of the curious change effected in the last half century in English habits by the suppression of such a number of our country fairs. Many of them became abused, and ultimately were regarded as nuisances. One of the liveliest survivals I know of at the present day is Penzance Corpus Christi Fair, which is still (*i.e.* in 1883) kept up with the old spirit. The very title and day for holding it have a mediæval ring, and the fair is extensively patronized by the upper classes of the town and Land's End district, like the fairs of the Tudor and Stuart times were.

W. S. L. S.

BISHOP PARR.

Can any reader of the *ANTIQUARY* furnish particulars of the family or pedigree of Richard Parr, S.T.P., Bishop of Sodor and Man 1635—43? He seems to have held the Rectory of Eccleston, Lancashire, along with his bishopric *in commendam*.

Browne Willis has the following brief notice of him:—

"Richard Parr, S.T.P., Rector of Eccleston, Co. Lancashire, consecrated June 10, 1635. He was an excellent bishop, rebuilt Ramsey Chapel, and was eminent for his preaching, and instructing the natives of his diocese. He died 1643, and was buried in the Cathedral of St. German's, Peel, in the unhappy times of the Rebellion."

Members of his family were rectors and vicars in the Diocese of Sodor and Man till 1730.

It would be esteemed a favour if further information were supplied. MONENSIS.

BALLAUGH RECTORY,
October 12, 1883.

TOOSY.

In a remote corner of Essex, on the estuary of the river Colne, may still be seen the remains of the priory of St. Osyth. The local pronunciation of this name is not Saint Osyth, but Toosy. In an entertaining little work, entitled *Glimpses of Great Bentley in the Past*, the authoress says:—"Many of the ancient names of places are preserved in village conversation. Barfold and Brecklesea invariably stand for Bergholt and Brightlingsea. Both names are used in old documents. Sometimes, however, the common name is merely a corruption. "Toosy" gives us an instance of this. The story runs that one small Bentley boy was asked by a stranger the way to St. Osyth. He answered bewilderedly, "Never heard of the place, sir." The road to Toosy, he could have shown easily enough.

This illustrates and confirms the derivation of Tooley from St. Olave, and Tawdry from St. Awdrey. We are familiar with Tooley Street and tawdry finery; but Toosy has not made its way into the general language, and seems, therefore, to be worth noting. D. P. F.

October, 1883.

[To the instances mentioned above may be added Taphyns, which occurs on Norden's map of London, and stands for St. Alphage, or St. Alphin.]

The Antiquary Exchange.

Enclose 4d. for the First 12 Words, and 1d. for each Additional Three Words. All replies to a number should be enclosed in a blank envelope, with a loose Stamp, and sent to the Manager.

NOTE.—All Advertisements to reach the office by the 15th of the month, and to be addressed—The Manager, EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT, THE ANTIQUARY OFFICE, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

FOR SALE.

A Horn Book, £5. Turner's Views in England and Wales, full calf, highly gilt, splendid copy, 4to., £12 12s. Roscoe's Novelist's Library, full set, 17 vols., original cloth, 1831, etc., £10 10s. Pickwick, 1837, Buss' plates, full calf, £3 3s. Tale of Two Cities, fine copy, 1859, half-bound, £2 10s. Sketches by Boz, original cloth, 1839, £6. Dickens' Five Christmas Books, all first editions, cloth, £6. Ruskin's Modern Painters, 1873, cloth, £21. Ruskin's Stones of Venice, 1851-3, calf, £12 12s.; Seven Lamps, 1855, cloth, £4 4s.; Two Paths, 1859, cloth, £1 10s.; Ethics of the Dust, 1866, cloth, 18s.; Political Economy of Art, 1857, 7s. 6d.; Lectures on Architecture and Painting, 1854, cloth, £1 16s.; Selections from the Writings of John Ruskin, portrait, 1861, cloth, £1 10s. Book of Gems, original blue cloth, gilt edges, spotless, 1836, 1837, 1838, £3 10s. Fielding's Works, 12 vols., old calf, illustrated, 1783, duodecimo, £2. Dr. Syntax's Three Tours, cloth, 1855, royal 8vo., Rowlandson's illustrations, £2. Swift's Works by Scott, full calf, 1814, 19 vols., £5. Boccaccio's Decameron, 1741, in English, splendidly bound in full morocco, highly gilt, £1 10s. Humphrey's Clock, 3 vols., first edition, cloth, with emblematic covers, £2. Arabian Nights, 3 vols. 8vo, by Lane, 1859, £1 10s., cloth. Macgillivray's British Birds, 5 vols., cloth, £4 4s. Grote's History of Greece, 12 vols., cloth, fine Library copy, 8vo, 1849, £6; Ditto 12 vols., cloth, 12mo., 1869, £2. Tennyson's Poems, illustrated, 1857, full morocco, by Hayday, £2. Chansons de Béranger, 2 vols., calf, 1828, coloured plates by Monnier, very rare, £2 10s. Storer's British Cathedrals, 4 vols., half morocco, 8vo, £1 10s. Story of Little Dombey, 1858, £1. Carpenter's Foraminifera, folio, £2 2s. Lubbock's Collembole, scarce, £1 10s. Westwood's Classification of Insects, 1839-40, scarce, £2 10s. Chippendale's Cabinet-makers' Directory, 1755, folio, very rare, £14. Ruskin's Seven Lamps, 1849, equal to new, £6 10s. Turner's Rivers of France, 1837, royal 8vo., £2. Knight's Pomona Herefordiensis, thirty coloured plates, cost £5 5s., folio, boards, 1811, £1 10s. Greenwich Hospital, by Cruikshank, boards, 1826, £1 12s. 6d. Leech's Comic Latin Grammar, 1840, first edition, £1 1s. Dickens' Hard Times, cloth, 1854, £1. Marryat's Pottery and Porcelain, splendidly bound, morocco, 1850, £1 10s. Haslem's Derby China Works, imperial 8vo, £1 10s. Binn's Worcester China Works, 1877, scarce, £2 10s. Ruskin's Modern Painters, 1857—1846, vols. 1 and 2, £4 4s.—236, Care of Manager.

Fine rare gold, silver, and bronze Roman coins; also some seventeenth century tokens.—T., 37, Green Lane, Small Heath, Birmingham.

A copy of St. Thomas Aquinas, bound in vellum, illuminated, and beautifully printed in 1488; size, 13" by 9".—Apply to Miss Moss, Broomfield, Chelmsford, Essex.

Maitland's London, complete in one vol., published 1739.—Apply M. Pope, Thurlow Hill.

Illuminated Sea Chart, date 1659, unique, price five guineas, full particulars free.—E. Spicer, Grimsbury, Banbury.

Lajard's Mithra, folio and quarto, letter-press; Forbes' Kalendars of Scottish Saints; Chronicles of Fictes and Scots; Lee's Paisley Abbey; Macgeorge's Old Glasgow; Lacroix Manners and Customs, Military, etc., Life in Middle Ages, 2 vols.; Muir's Church Architecture of Scotland; Caledonia Romana; Cutt's Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses; Hone's Popular Works; Caxton's Playe of Chesse; Wright's Court hand restored; Audsley's Architectural Dictionary, 3 vols.—237, Care of Manager.

Ancient armour, several pieces plain and engraved, portions of suits, also few old swords, suitable for museum or decoration of old halls.—Apply, Mr. Wade, Portland Square, Plymouth.

Ruskin's Modern Painters, first edition, fine condition, £30. Selections from Writings, cloth, £1 10s. Giotto and his Works in Padua, £1. Two Paths (with plates) £1 5s. Lectures on Architecture and Painting, first edition, £1 16s. Milton: Paradise Lost, first edition, 1668, fine copy, £10; fifth edition, with plates, 1692, folio, £1. Sir T. Browne's complete Works, folio, 1686, 15s.—J. Lucas, Claremont House, Cawly Road, South Hackney.

Several Poesy, Intaglio, and curious Rings for sale, cheap.—Particulars, 220, care of Manager.

A Collection of over 6,000 Book-plates to be sold. Apply for owner's name and address to Briggs & Morden, 5, Longley Terrace, Lower Tooting, S.W.

WANTED TO PURCHASE.

Armorial Book Plates purchased or exchanged.—Dr. Howard, Dartmouth Row, Blackheath.

Dorsetshire Seventeenth Century Tokens.—Also Topographical Works, Cuttings or Scraps connected with the county.—J. S. Udall, 4, Harcourt Buildings, Temple.

Swift's Works, 19 vols., 1824; Walpole's Letters, edited by Cunningham, 9 vols.; Books published by Pickering, ante 1855; Hervey's Memoirs of George II., 2 vols., 1848; Doran's Their Majestie's Servants, 2 vols., 1864. Good prices for good copies.—Biblios, 20, King Edward Street, Lambeth Road, London.

Wanted, Poll Books, for County Elections in Essex, Herts, and Cambridgeshire.—Thomas Bird, Romford.

Old works on Craft Freemasonry.—Briggs & Morden, 5, Longley Terrace, Lower Tooting, S.W.

Historical Manuscripts Commission, 3rd Report Index to 6th Report, 7th Report and Index.—J. H. Round, 15, Brunswick Terrace, Brighton.

Volume I. of Encyclopædia of Antiquities, by Thomas Dudley Fosbrooke, 1825.—220, Care of Manager.



The Antiquary.



DECEMBER, 1883.

Pepys as a Citizen.

BY HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.

THE Court of Aldermen, "in acknowledgment of the great zeal and concern for the interest of Christ's Hospital which Samuel Pepys, Esq., hath manifested upon all occasions, and in hopes of his continuing the same regard and inclinations for its preservation and advancement for the future, doth present him with the Freedom of the City, and doth order that he be admitted into the same by redemption in the Company of —, without paying any fine for the same; and Sir Robert Clayton and Sir Owen Buckingham, knights and aldermen, are desired to acquaint him of this resolution." This is an extract from the Repertory of the Court of Aldermen, under date of 27th April, 1699. I do not, however, propose to commence my article at this late period,—four years only before Pepys's death,—but to take a more liberal interpretation of the word citizen, and to consider it to refer to one who lived in the city, and was mixed up with the movements of its inhabitants.

Samuel Pepys was scarcely seven-and-twenty years of age when he commenced to write his immortal *Diary*, and then he and his wife and servant Jane were living in a small house in Axe Yard, Westminster. His finances were not then in a very flourishing condition, and he had some difficulty in finding the money to pay the rent. He shortly afterwards obtained the lucrative post of Clerk of the Acts, and moved to a house attached to the Navy Office, where he remained for several years. On the 4th of July,

1660, he went with Commissioner Pett to view the houses, and was very pleased with them; but he feared that the more influential officers would shuffle him out of his rights. In the end, however, he was satisfied with the house which fell to his lot. The Navy Office was situated between Crutched Friars and Seething Lane, with an entrance in each of these places. Pepys's house was a part of the Seething Lane front, and it was only a stone's throw from his door to the Church of St. Olave's, Hart Street, where the officers of the Navy Board were expected to attend. Here he buried his wife, and here, when the time came for him to leave this scene, his bones were laid.*

This church has many claims to attention. It escaped the Great Fire, and is one of the few relics of the past in a city which is fast ceasing to possess a right to be considered of any antiquity at all. The whole place appears to be pervaded by the spirit of Samuel Pepys. All his attendances he carefully set down; what he thought of the sermons, how he slept, and whom he saw, will all be found in these wonderful pages. The result is that St. Olave's is not, like many other interesting churches, peopled with passing shadows, but the men connected with it who died two centuries ago are still real beings—such is the wonder-working power of the Diarist's pen. For instance, there have been a goodly number of rectors of this church, but what do we know of them all? Nothing save of the Rev. Daniel Milles, D.D., rector for thirty-two years, and all the world knows him. We learn how, soon after the Restoration, he did begin to nibble at the Common Prayer, by saying, "Glory be to the Father," etc., after he had read the two Psalms; but the people had been so little used to it, that they could not tell what to answer (Nov. 2nd,

* Pepys raised an elaborate monument to the memory of his wife, but no stone has hitherto marked the spot where he himself was buried. At last this neglect is remedied, and a handsome monument, designed by Mr. Arthur Blomfield, has been raised by the help of a public subscription. Some more money is still required for the purpose, and those who have received pleasure from reading the *Diary*, and wish to do honour to its author, are asked to send their subscriptions to Owen Roberts, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Clothworkers' Hall, Treasurer to the Pepys Memorial Fund.

1660). How on the Sunday after he had done this he read all the service (Nov. 12th, 1660), and how it was nearly two years before he ventured to wear the surplice. We seem to see him now pulling it "over his ears" before leaving the reading-desk, in order to preach in the pulpit without it.

Pepys seems to have liked Dr. Milles's sermons on the whole, although he criticises them pretty freely. In 1660 he calls him "a very good minister"; while in 1667 he styles him "a lazy, fat priest." One day the rector made a curious blunder in reading the service, for instead of saying, "We beseech Thee to preserve to our use the kindly fruits of the earth," he said, "Preserve to our use our gracious Queen Katherine." Pepys once thought Dr. Milles would take in snuff (or be angered) because his wife did not go to the christening of the rector's child.

On the occasion of beating the parish bounds, we are introduced to several of the chief inhabitants of the parish. Sir Andrew Riccard, Chairman of the East India and Turkey Companies, was at the head of these. Besides him there were Benjamin Vandeputt, Sir John Frederick, Sir R. Ford, Mr. Harrington, and several others. Sir John Minnes, Sir W. Batten, and Sir William Penn, all from the Navy Office, also put in an appearance. Sir John Minnes (or Mennis) was buried in this church, and a monument erected to his memory. He may have been a good sailor, and he certainly was a wit, but there is little doubt that he was not a business man, and that he was quite unfitted for the office of Comptroller of the Navy, which he held for a time. Captain Holmes called him "the veriest knave and coward in the world," and Sir William Coventry likened him to a lapwing, who was always in a flutter to keep others from his nest; but rivals and enemies did not mind using pretty strong language in those days. At one time Pepys calls him a fine gentleman and a good scholar; at another, excellent company; but after a few quarrels he hints pretty plainly that he was an old coxcomb, and a mere jester or ballad-monger. There is no doubt that he was a man of fine taste, and he taught Pepys to love Chaucer. •

Let us now look at the church with Pepys's

eyes. The gallery in which the officers of the Navy Home sat occupies an important place in the *Diary*. On August 29th, 1660, one or two of these officers go to view the place where they had resolved to build a gallery, and to see the men at work on it. On 26th September some consultation was needful. On November 11th they used the new gallery for the first time; but, although Pepys sat in the foremost pew, he was ill at ease, for his servants were behind him, and he adds: "I hope it will not always be so, it not being handsome for our servants to sit so equal with us."

Lady Batten comes to the pew in November; later on Lord Brouncker was there at a funeral, and in the season some very fine ladies connected with the parish made their appearance. On the whole, this pew was a constant source of annoyance. The servant difficulty breaks out again in August 1661:—

So church, where I all alone, and found Will Griffin and Thomas Hewett got into the pew next our backs, where our mayds sit; but when I came they went out: so forward some people are to outrun themselves.

On November 16th, 1662, several Turkey merchants filled the best pews, because a probationer for the Turkey Company, who was to be sent to Smyrna, preached.

In the following year we read—

Up, and with my wife and her woman, Ashwell, the first time to church, where our pew was so full with Sir J. Minnes's sister and her daughter that I perceive when we come all together some of us must be shut out; but I suppose we shall come to some order what to do therein.

Often the church was "mighty full," and after the Fire, being one of the few churches left, it was thronged with strangers. These strangers were not good enough looking to please Pepys—

Not one handsome face in all of them, as if, indeed, there was a curse, as Bishop Fuller heretofore said, upon our parish.

We all know how pleased he was to look upon a pretty face. On October 9th, 1664, he went to hear Tom Fuller preach at Barking Church, and then, as he came back, he found St. Olave's still open, and he stood at the great door, somewhat hidden from sight, and gazed upon a pretty lady. "I think her to be one of the prettiest women I ever saw."

A few years later he was afraid that Mrs. Markham (formerly Nan Wright) would push

into his pew, so when he heard the great door open he set his back against the pew door, so "that she might be forced to shove me to come in. But, as God would have it, she did not come."

Two or three curious practices connected with the church are mentioned in the *Diary*. At Christmas time the sexton collected his money during the service. January 6th, 1660-1—

Before sermon a long psalm was set, that lasted an hour, while the sexton gathered his year's contribution through the whole church.

January 5th, 1661-2—

Before sermon there was a long psalm and half another sung out, while the sexton gathered what the church would give him for this last year. I gave him 3s., and have the last week given the clerk 2s., which I set down that I may know what to do the next year, if it please the Lord that I live so long. But the jest was the clerk begins the 25th Psalm, which hath a proper tune to it, and then the 116th, which cannot be sung with that tune, which seemed very ridiculous.

With regard to the collection for the sexton, on December 30th, 1666, he justly observes—

It came into my head why we should be more bold in making the collection while the psalm is singing than in the sermon or prayer.

The custom of having collections in answer to briefs was much honoured at St. Olave's, and Pepys decided to give to no more of them. It appears that he was justified in saying that they were held too frequently, for these collections had taken place successively on the fourteen Sundays previous to the appeal which irritated the Diarist. Although Pepys liked Dr. Milles's sermons fairly well, some of the other preachers he did not at all approve of, especially of one he calls the Scot. He usually managed to go to sleep when he did not care to hear the preacher. At other times he took the heads of the sermon in Latin. He was very pleased with a sermon by Mr. Giffard, in which "he showed, like a wise man, that righteousness is a surer moral way of being rich than sin and villainy." Assuredly Pepys was a believer in the precept to make the best of both worlds.

On October 29th, 1660, which was, according to the old style, the date of Lord Mayor's Day, Pepys neglected his business and went to the house of a linen-draper in Cheapside to see the show. He was pleased

with the company of ladies, but did not think much of the pageants. He writes:—

Had a very good place to see the pageants, which were many, and, I believe, good, for such kind of things, but in themselves but poor and absurd.

In the following year all the officers of the Navy Office were invited to the Lord Mayor's Feast, and our hero put on a new fashionable coat and a beaver for the occasion, but when he found that Sir William Batten and Sir William Penn did not intend to go on account of the crowd, he also stayed at home.

The Trinity House on Tower Hill was not far from the Navy Office, and Pepys often found his way there. His patron, Montague, Earl of Sandwich, was Master, as also were several of his other friends at different times. On February 15th, 1661-2, he was sworn a younger Brother, and he observes, "After I was sworn all the Elder Brothers shake me by the hand. It is their custom, it seems."

Fourteen years later, when he had become a more influential man, he himself was sworn in as Master. On July 20th, 1685, not long before the sun of his prosperity set, he was a second time chosen Master. Evelyn writes in his *Diary*:—

The Trinity Company met this day, which should have been on the Monday after Trinity, but was put off by reason of the Royal Charter being so large that it could not be ready before.

Pepys was living in the city when the two most important events in the history of Old London occurred, and he showed himself a worthy citizen during the course of the plague and the fire. It was on the 7th of June, 1665, that Pepys saw for the first time the red cross with the words "Lord, have mercy upon us!" marked upon the doors of two or three houses, and the sight made him feel ill at ease, but though the deaths increased and all his friends fled from the infected city, he stayed through the whole time of the raging of the pestilence. On the 4th of September he wrote an interesting letter to Lady Carteret, from Woolwich, in which he said—

The absence of the Court and emptiness of the city takes away all occasion of news, save only such melancholy stories as would rather sadden than find your ladyship any divertissement in the hearing. I have stayed in the city till above 7,400 died in one week, and of them above 6,000 of the plague, and little noise heard day or night but tolling of bells; till I could walk Lumber Street and not meet twenty persons from one end to the other, and not fifty upon

the Exchange; till whole families ten and twelve together have been swept away; till my very physician, Dr. Burnet, who undertook to secure me against any infection, having survived the month of his own house being shut up, died himself of the plague; till the nights, though much lengthened, are grown too short to conceal the burials of those that died the day before, people being thereby constrained to borrow daylight for that service; lastly till I could find neither meat nor drink safe, the butcheries being everywhere visited, my brewer's house shut up, and my baker, with his whole family, dead of the plague.

The plague at length was stayed, and then the question of the overcrowded graveyards began to agitate the public mind, but before anything could be done the greater portion of the city had become a void. On the morning of the 2nd of September, 1666, Pepys was called up at three o'clock to see a fire, but he saw little cause for alarm and went to bed again. When, however, he did get up he found that at least three hundred houses had been burnt in the night. The flames grew rapidly, and those in authority lost their heads. Pepys found panic on all sides of him, but he himself was energetic and equal to the occasion. He went to Whitehall, and told the King that unless he commanded houses to be pulled down nothing could stop the fire. On hearing this Charles instructed Pepys to go to the Lord Mayor and command him to pull down houses in every direction. Sir William Bludworth, the Lord Mayor, was but a poor creature, and when he heard the King's message he cried like a fainting woman—

"Lord! what can I do? I am spent: people will not obey me. I have been pulling down houses, but the fire overtakes us faster than we can do it."

Fortunately others were more resolute, and were able to grasp the reins that fell from his nerveless hands. Among these our hero stands out prominent, and even now we may thank him for the preservation of relics that still remain as monuments of the wide devastation. On the 4th of September there seemed to be little hope of saving the Navy Office unless some extraordinary means were taken with that object. Pepys therefore suggested that the workmen from Woolwich and Deptford Dockyards should be sent for to pull down the houses round it. Sir William Penn went to see after the men, and Pepys wrote to Sir William Coventry for the Duke of York's permission. In the letter he

remarks that the fire is very near them, both on the Tower Street and Fenchurch sides; and that unless houses are pulled down there are little hopes of their escape. The next day the men came, and to their work Pepys mainly attributes the stoppage of the fire. When this was over he went up to the top of Barking Church, and there he saw "the saddest sight of desolation"—"everywhere great fires, oil cellars and brimstone and other things burning." Clothworkers' Hall burnt for three days and nights on account of the oil in the cellars. From the steeple Pepys came down to walk about the city, and he found the ground so hot that it burnt his feet. So great was the heat that we learn the ground continued to smoke even in December (*Diary*, Dec. 14, 1666). The streets were deserted, for the inhabitants had escaped with such property as they could carry to Moorfields, and some went further—to the hills of Hampstead and Highgate.

About 1672 Pepys received the higher office of Secretary to the Admiralty; and it may therefore be presumed that he left his house at the Navy Office. Soon afterwards he was living at the corner house on the west side of Buckingham Street, Strand, from the windows of which he had a pleasant view over the river. This place was then known as York Buildings, from being built on the site of the famous York House, where lived Lord-Chancellor Bacon, and subsequently the worthless Duke of Buckingham. Although Pepys moved to the West End, he still kept up his intimate connection with the city.

On the 7th of August, 1677, he was elected Master of the Clothworkers' Company; and on the next day the following entry was made upon the minutes of the Court:—

This day alsoe ye Ho^{b^{le}}. Sam^l. Peepys, Esq^r., Secretary to ye Right Ho^{b^{le}}, the Lord Commissioners of the Admiraltie, was pleased first to take ye oath of Master of this Company for the yeare ensuing.

There is no mention in the books of the date when he was made free of the Company.* He presided as Master on

* I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Owen Roberts, M.A., Clerk to the Company, for these particulars; and for the loan of memoranda, relating to Pepys, collected by the late Mr. C. F. Angell, F.S.A., Master of the Company in 1858-9; and I take this opportunity of expressing my warm thanks for this favour.

the 19th September, 7th November, 1677; when his troubles were passed over, he again 20th August, 1678 (election-day); and 21st August (confirmation-day). On the 6th December, 1677, the thanks of the Court were given to Pepys for presenting them with one large standard, with arms, etc., "very richly gilt with fine gould," also a banner of his coat-of-arms. On the 21st August, 1678, thanks were voted to him for having served the office of Master. Pepys presented a richly chased silver cup and cover and a silver gilt rose-water dish (weight 150 ozs.) to the Company in commemoration of his having filled the office of Master. This cup (see illustration) is one of the best known pieces of corporation plate, and it has frequently been publicly exhibited. It was used for many years as a loving cup, but now it only appears on festive occasions as a piece of show-plate; the weight of this is 166½ ozs.

In 1679 Pepys was in trouble, for on May 22nd he and Sir Anthony Deane were committed to the Tower under the Speaker's warrant. His secretaryship was taken from him; but his former clerk, Thomas Hayter, was put into his office as a warming-pan by the King.



THE CLOTHWORKERS' CUP.

became Secretary of the Admiralty; but the slur still stuck to him; and in 1688, when he was a candidate for Harwich, some one in the street called out, "No Tower-men, no men out of the Tower"

He does not appear to have attended the Clothworkers' Company after the completion of his master-ship until 1684. On the 15th April he was one of the deputation appointed to wait upon the King at Hampton Court with a petition. On the 28th April he was present at a Court; and on the 29th May he was one of the committee appointed by the Court to have the management of erecting a statue or effigy of James on the Royal Exchange. In 1685 James II. came to the throne on the death of Charles II.; and on the 6th of May Pepys was present at a Court when the oath of allegiance and supremacy was taken. On the 19th August he was present for the last time at the Clothworkers' Hall.

When Pepys had the ear of Charles II., he used his influence to obtain the establishment of the Mathematical School at Christ's Hospital, and for many years he continued his interest in the hos-

In course of time, pital. Even when his public life was closed,

and old age was coming upon him, he continued to act as a governor.

This article was opened with a notice of the honorary freedom of the city conferred upon Pepys in acknowledgment of his interest in Christ's Hospital. A few months afterwards he was requested to accept the office of Vice-President, as appears from the following minute from the Court of Aldermen's records, 20th and 28th June, 1699:—

Sir John Moore, Knt. and Alderman and President of Christ's Hospital, representing unto the Court his great age and infirmity of body, which rendered him unable for such attendance and application in his own person as the trust and service of that hospital (as President) required; and desiring if the Court would not permit him wholly to lay down his presidentship, they would at least have such regard to his indisposition as to nominate such a person as they should think best qualified for his assistance; the Court taking the same into consideration, and being willing to contribute as much as in them lay to his ease under the weighty duties of such a charge, complied with his request; and upon the consideration had of the many eminent proofs given by Samuel Pepys, Esq., citizen and clothworker, one of the governors of Christ's Hospital, of his zeal and vigilance for the interest and prosperity thereof, and also of his approved inclination and ability to carry on and perfect its reformation, this Court is of opinion that the said Mr. Pepys is the person qualified for answering the foregoing request of the said Sir John Moore; this Court doth therefore (with the concurrence of him, the said Sir John Moore) nominate the said Mr. Pepys to his assistance in the administration of the government of the said hospital, and accordingly doth hereby authorise him to the supplying the absence and infirmities of the said Sir John Moore, by taking on him the immediate execution (as Vice-President) of the duty and trust of that place as fully in all respects as the said Sir John Moore in his own person might and ought to do; and it is the request of this Court that the said Mr. Pepys (in consideration of its being at this time especially so great an office of charity) will accept the same.

In 1700 Pepys retired to Clapham, and there he died on the 26th May, 1703; but in his old age he did not forget the home of his early manhood, and he left directions for his body to be buried in the church of St. Olave's, Hart Street, where the remains of his wife had long rested. Thus he returned to the city from which he had so long been separated.



May Fair.

BY CORNELIUS WALFORD, F.S.S., V.-P. OF ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

THIS was at one period a metropolitan fair of considerable renown; yet its history is particularly obscure, and hence, at some points, difficult to distinguish from that of Westminster Fair, to which parish it originally belonged. It is, however, quite distinct from the "Westminster Fair," properly so called, as will appear when I present the history of the latter, on some early occasion.

The once fashionable assembly—designated at a later period the "Festival of Misrule"—which I now proceed to describe, was not always simply a pleasure fair. Its history goes back a very long way. There had been founded, "before the time of man's memory," as Stow quaintly says, an hospital "for fourteen sisters, maidens, that were leprous, living chastely and honestly in divine service." Certain grants of lands had been made for the support of the same. In the thirteenth century, Edward I. confirmed the gifts of land, and granted to the Abbot of Westminster a fair to be kept on the eve of St. James, the day, the morrow, and four days following—seven days in all; but Morley says, "with revelry for fourteen days." The fair became known from this cause as *St. James's*. The hospital was surrendered to Henry VIII., in the twenty-third year of his reign, the then sisters being compounded with by pensions for the terms of their lives. The site of the hospital became incorporated in St. James's Park.

1560. The fair held on 25th June this year was visited by Machyn "the diarist," who says that it was—

So great that a man could not have a pygg for money; and the bear [beer?] wiffes had nother meate nor drink before iiij of cloke of the same day. And the chese went very well away for a penny farthing the pounce. Besides the great and mighti armie of beggares and bandes that were there.

1603. On the 11th July a proclamation was issued by James I. relating to his coronation. He ordered therein that the fair "used to be kept in the feilds neere our house of St. James and City of Westminster, commonly called St. James's Fair," should be put off for

eight or ten days, because, if it should be held—

At the time accustomed, being the very instant of our coronation, [it] could not but draw resort of people to that place much more unfit to be near our court and trayne, than such as by former proclamations are restrained.

From this reference we shall not be surprised to learn that in the *Newes* (of Roger L'Estrange, the King's Censor) of 28th October, 1664, there was the following:—

Whitehall, July 27. The fair of St. James's is put by as considered to tend rather to the advantage of looseness and irregularity, than to the substantial promoting of any good common and beneficial to the people.

Another thing seems clear, viz., that long after the palace had been substituted for the leper-house, this fair was kept in courtly fashion, not on the anniversary of the saint's coronation as a martyr, but on the coronation of his most sacred majesty!

1651. On Thursday, 17th July, Parliament passed a resolution—

That the fair usually held and kept yearly at St. James's, within the Liberty of the City of Westminster, on or about the 25th day of July, be forborn this year; and that no fair be kept or held there by any person or persons whatsoever, until the Parliament shall take further order.

1664. The fair, which had become again revived, was once more suppressed.

1699. In the *Postman*, 6th April, there appeared the following:—

These are to give notice that on the first day of May next will begin the fair at the east end of Hyde Park, near Bartlet House, and continue for fifteen days after. The two first days of which will be for the sale of leather and live cattle; and care is and will be taken to make the ways leading to it, as well as the ground on which it is kept, much more convenient than formerly for persons of quality that are pleased to resort thither.

Vide Wheatley's Round about Piccadilly.

Probably soon after this period it became known as May Fair. The first authentic record fixing the precise location of the fair is found in the rate book of St. George's-in-the-Fields in 1704. A few years later (1708) Mr. Sheppard was rated "for ground of the Faire, market and one house, £1 1s. 0d." After this person was named "Shepherd's Market," held on the site of the fair. In the following year Christopher Reeves was rated for the play-house in the fair.

1700. In some of the London newspapers,

under date 27th April, appeared the following:—

In Brookfield Market-place, at the east corner of Hyde Park, is a fair kept for the space of sixteen days, beginning with the 1st of May; the first three days for live cattle and leather, with the same entertainments as at Bartholomew Fair; where there are shops to be let, ready built, for all manner of tradesmen that usually keep fairs. And so to continue yearly at the same place.

1701. Frost says this fair first assumed importance this year, when the multiplication of shows of all kinds caused it to assume dimensions which had not hitherto distinguished it. It was held on the north side of Piccadilly, in Shepherd's Market, White Horse Street, Shepherd's Court, Sun Court, Market Court, an open space westward, extending to Tyburn Lane (now Park Lane), Chapel Street, Shepherd Street, Market Street, Hertford Street, and Carrington Street. The ground-floor of the Market House, usually occupied by butchers' stalls, was appropriated during the fair to the sale of toys and gingerbread; and the upper portion was converted into a theatre. The open space westward was covered with the booths of jugglers, fencers, and boxers, the stands of mountebanks, swings, roundabouts, etc.; while the sides of the streets were occupied by sausage stalls and gambling tables. The first-floor windows were also, in some instances, made to serve as the proscenium of puppet shows.

This change of the site of the fair is important; it clears up some difficulties in the record. The fair now lasted sixteen days. A letter of Brian Fairfax, dated 1701, in Nichols's *Tatler*, i. 418, says:—

I wish you had been at May Fair, where the rope dancing would have recompensed your labour. All the nobility in town were there, and I am sure even you, at your years, must have had your youthful wishes, to have beheld the beauty, shape, and activity of Lady Mary when she danced. Pray ask my Lord Fairfax after her, who, though not the only lord by twenty, was every night an admirer of her while this fair lasted. There was the City of Amsterdam, well worth your seeing; every street, every individual house was carved in wood, in exact proportion one to another; the Stadthouse was as big as your hand; the whole, though an irregular figure, yet that you may guess about ten yards diameter. Here was a boy to be seen, that within one of his eyes had DEUS MEUS in capital letters, as GULIELMUS is on half-a-crown; round the other he had a Hebrew inscription, but this you must take, as I did, upon trust. I am

now drinking your health at Lockett's, therefore do me justice in Yorkshire.

1702. A great concourse of people attended the fair this year from all parts of the metropolis. An attempt made by the local authorities to exclude persons of an immoral character led to a serious riot. Some young women being arrested by the constables, they were rescued by a party of soldiers. A conflict was commenced, which extended as other constables came up, and the "rough element" took part with the rescuers of the incriminated women. One constable was killed, and three others dangerously wounded, before the fight ended. The man by whose hand the constable fell contrived to escape; but a butcher who had been active in the affray was arrested and convicted, and was executed at Tyburn, close at hand.

There was published this year *A Sermon preached at the Parish Church of St. James, Westminster, on the 21st May, 1702, at the Funeral of Mr. John Cooper, a Constable, who was barbarously Murder'd at May Fair, in the execution of his office in Suppressing the Public Disorders there. By Josiah Woodward, D.D., Minister of Poplar. Published at the request of the Justices of the Peace, High Constables, and other Officers and Gentlemen that heard it.* London, printed by Joh. Downing; and are to be sold by D. Brown, at the *Black Swan and Bible*, without Temple Bar, and E. Evans, near the *Blue Boot* in Piccadilly, 1702.

After the fair held in 1708 the Grand Jury for the County of Middlesex and the City of Westminster made a presentment for the fourth time to this import :—

That being sensible of their duty to make presentment of such matters and things as were public enormities and inconveniences, and being encouraged by the example of the worthy magistracy of the City of London in their late proceedings against Bartholomew fair, did present, as a public nuisance and inconvenience, the yearly riotous and tumultuous assembly in a place called Brookfield, in the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, called May Fair, in which place many loose, idle, and disorderly persons did rendezvous, draw, and allure young persons, servants, and others to meet there to game, and commit lewdness, etc.

The bench of justices then addressed the Queen, and procured from her the Royal proclamation by which the fair was suppressed.

Strype (fourth edition, *Stow's Survey*) gives

the following more detailed account of the causes which led to the suspension of the fair :—

Between St. James's and Hyde Park is kept May Fair, yearly, where young people did use to resort, and by the temptation they met with here, did commit much sin and disorder. Here they spent their time and money in drunkenness, fornication, gaming, and lewdness, whereby were occasioned oftentimes quarrels, tumults, and shedding of blood.

1709. There was published *Reasons for Suppressing the Yearly Fair in Brookfield, Westminster, commonly called May Fair, for the Consideration of all Persons of Honour and Virtue*, wherein it is stated :—

Multitudes of the Booths erected in this Fair are not for trade and merchandise, but for musick, shows, drinking, gaming, raffling, lotteries, stage-plays, and drolls. It is a very unhappy circumstance of this fair that it begins with the prime beauty of the year, in which many innocent persons incline to walk into the fields and out-parts of the city to divert themselves, as they very lawfully may.

In the *Tatler*, No. 4 (18th April, 1709), there was the following :—

Advices from the upper end of Piccadilly say that May Fair is utterly abolished, and we hear Mr. Penkethman has removed his ingenious company of strollers to Greenwich.

Again in the same publication, No. 20 :—

Yet that fair [May Fair] is now broke as well as the theatre is breaking, but it is allowed still to sell animals there. Therefore, if any lady or gentleman have occasion for a tame elephant, let them inquire of Mr. Penkethman, who has one to dispose of at a reasonable rate. The downfall of May Fair has quite sunk the price of this noble creature.

But after a few years the fair was revived, without some of the objectionable features previously existing.

About this period, several of the London theatres closed during the continuance of this fair.

1711. A very attractive exhibition at the fair about this date was "posturing." The more it could be made to appear that the posture masters had neither bones nor muscles in their bodies, the more certain were they of public favour. A handbill issued for the fair this year was as follows :

From the "Duke of Marlborough's Head" in Fleet Street, during the fair, is to be seen the famous posture-master, who far exceeds Clarke and Higgins. He twists his body into all deformed shapes, makes his hip and shoulder bones meet together, lays his head upon the ground, and turns his body round twice or thrice without stirring his head from the place.

An attempt was again made to extend the duration of the fair to fourteen days, but without success. A Tract was published, specially addressed by the author to the civil authorities, to oppose and denounce the project.

1716. Two plates were published this year, showing the fair; wherein it appears as a country village, with booths, fencing and boxing encounters, etc.

1720. About this date the fair, which had been long falling into disrepute, ceased to be held. It had been presented by the grand jury of Middlesex for four successive years as a nuisance; and the county magistrates then presented an address to the Crown praying for its suppression by Royal proclamation.

Pennant, who remembered the last May Fair of this period, describes the locality as "covered with booths, temporary theatres, and every enticement to low pleasure."

1721. The *London Journal* announced that—

The ground on which May Fair formerly stood is marked out for a large square, and several fine streets of houses are to be built upon it.

1736. An ass-race attracted great crowds to the fair, which was probably held in a locality nearer to Hyde Park than formerly.

1748. A handbill issued this year was as follows :—

At May Fair ducking-pond, on Monday next, 27th June, Mr. Hootton's dog, Nero (with hardly a tooth in his head to hold a duck, but well known by his goodness to all that have seen him hunt), hunts six ducks for a guinea against the bitch called the Flying Spaniel, from the ducking-pond on the other side of the water, who has beaten all she has hunted against, excepting Mr. Hootton's Goodblood. To begin at two o'clock.

Mr. Hootton begs his customers won't take it amiss to pay twopence admission at the gate, and take a ticket, which will be allowed as cash in their reckoning. None are admitted without a ticket, that such as are not liked may be kept out. Note—Right Lincoln Ale.

In 1816 the facts and recollections concerning this fair (of which the following is an abstract) were communicated to the *Gentleman's Magazine* by Mr. Carter, an antiquary who was born and lived all his life near the spot:—Fifty years have passed away since this place of amusement was at its height of attraction. The spot where the fair was held exists much in the same state as at the above period.

For instance, Shepherd's Market and houses surrounding it on the north and east sides, with White Horse Street, Shepherd's Court, Sun Court, Market Court. Westwards, an open space extending to Tyburn (now Park) Lane, since built upon, in Chapel Street, Shepherd's Street, Market Street, Hertford Street, etc. Southwards, the noted Ducking-pond [used for the then fashionable sport of duck-hunting] house and gardens, since built upon in Carrington Street, where the noted Kitty Fisher once lived. The market-house consisted of two stories—first story a long and cross aisle for butchers' shops, externally other shops connected with culinary purposes; second story used as a theatre at fair time for dramatic performances. Below the butchers gave place to toy-men and ginger-bread bakers. At present [1816] the upper story is unfloored, the lower ditto nearly deserted by the butchers, and their shops occupied by needy peddling dealers in small wares; in truth, a most deplorable contrast to what was once such a point of allurements. In the areas encompassing the market-building were booths for jugglers, prize-fighters, both at cudgels and back-sword, boxing matches and wild beasts. The sports not under cover were mountebanks, fire-eaters, ass-racing, sausage-tables, dice-tables, up-and-downs, merry-go-rounds, bull-baiting, grinning for a hat, running for a shift, hasty-pudding eaters, eel-divers, and an infinite variety of other similar pastimes. . . . A mountebank's stage was erected opposite the Three Jolly Butchers public-house (on the east side of the market area, now the King's Arms). Here Woodward the inimitable comedian and harlequin made his first appearance as Merry-Andrew; from these humble boards he soon found his way to Covent Garden theatre. Then there was "beheading the prophets" in a coal-shed attached to a grocer's shop. This representation had a political significance. In a fore one-pair room on the west side of Sun Court a Frenchman submitted to the curious the astonishing strength of the "Strong woman" who lifted an anvil brought from a neighbouring forge with her hair, and bore the same upon her bare breast, and a horse shoe was forged upon it while in this position; she walked upon red-hot iron, etc. Here too was "Tiddy-doll," the celebrated vendor of ginger-

bread, who from his eccentricity of character and extensive dealings in his way was always hailed as the king of itinerant tradesmen. In his person he was tall and well made, and his features handsome. He affected to dress like a person of rank; white gold-laced suit of clothes, laced ruffle shirt, laced hat and feather, white silk stockings with the addition of a fine white apron. Among his harangues to gain customers, take this as a specimen:—

Mary, Mary, where are you *now*, Mary? I live when at home at the second house in Little Ball Street, two steps under ground, with a viscum riscum, and a why-not. Walk in, ladies and gentlemen; my shop is in the second floor backwards, with a brass knocker at the door. Here is your nice gingerbread, your spice gingerbread; it will melt in your mouth, like a red-hot brick-bat, and rumble in your inside like Punch and his Wheelbarrow.

He always finished up his address by singing the fag end of some popular ballad, and his nick-name of "Tiddy-doll" was derived from one of these. His name became perpetuated in various slang phrases of the period, as "Tiddy-dollish" for very smart or tawdry-dressed people. In Hogarth's execution of the *Idle 'Prentice* at Tyburn Tiddy-doll is seen holding up a ginger-bread cake with his left hand, his right being within his coat, and he is addressing the crowd as usual.

1809. The fair was abolished at the instance of the sixth Earl of Coventry, who represented to the King (George III.) the uproar it created.

It remains to be said that there existed in various parts of the kingdom other May-fairs—one at Boston in Lincolnshire very famous. These will be mentioned in their turns. The *May Fair in Four Cantos* published in 1827 has no reference to the fair of which I have been speaking. It is but a brilliant sketch of the society of that now select locality—

Land of *ponch romaine* and plate,
Of dinners fix'd at half-past eight;
Of morning lounge, of midnight rout,
Of debt and dun, of love and gout,
Of drowsy days, of brilliant nights,
Of dangerous eyes, of downright frights;
Of tables where old Sidney shines,
Of ladies famous for their wines;
Grim countesses that make their way—
Resistless charmers!—by Tokay.

This amusing poem was published by William Harrison Ainsworth, then a bookseller in Old Bond Street.

A Suffolk Brass.

BY HENRY C. CASLEY.



OBSERVE in THE ANTIQUARY (viii., p. 135) your correspondent J. H. S. communicates the interesting fact of his having handsomely restored to the Church of St. Mary at the Tower, Ipswich—after due evidence had been furnished to him of its identity—a missing plaque of the "Drayles" brass. Some twelve or more years ago, when the church was in course of restoration, the brasses were all removed and temporarily screwed upon old tombstones to preserve them, pending the progress of the work, and also to admit of the beds being refaced, all of them being much decayed on the surface. The brass in question is a delineation of John Drayles and his two wives (he was apparently married twice), one on either side of him. At their feet are two small plaques representing three daughters and two sons, the latter of which was found to be missing when the brasses were again laid down. It has now been replaced. The whole was formerly enclosed within a border, bearing the inscription, but this, with two escutcheons containing the trickings of the arms, was unfortunately lost long before the work of restoration commenced.

It is not often that one is enabled to obtain much information with respect to the objects of these memorial brasses of the fifteenth century; for this reason I venture to think the following extracts from the will of John Drayles will not be uninteresting to your readers, casting as the will does charming side lights upon the customs and habits of his day.

In the name of God, on the 10th June, 1464, and in the 4th year of Edward IV., etc. I John Drayles, of the parish of St. Mary the Virgin, at the Tower in Gippewic, and in the diocese of Norwic, being of calm mind and sound memory, make, ordain and dispose my testament in this form. In the first place I bequeath and commend my soul to Almighty God, the glorious Virgin Mary and all the saints, and my body to be buried in the conventual church of the Friars Carmelites of Gippewic aforesaid, next the tomb of William Debenham, merchant, deceased. Also I leave to the high altar of the said parish church of St. Mary at the Tower aforesaid, in recompense of tithes forgotten, 6s. 8d. Also I leave to the parochial clerk of the same church 20 pence. Also I

leave for the use of the said parish church of St. Mary at the Tower £10, to buy a vestment for the safety of my soul, in which vestment I will that my name may be inserted, that my soul may be had in memory of the parishioners. . . . Also I bequeath to Robert* Wymbyll, notary, my best cloak of scarlet with a cape, my best silver cup with a cover with gold letters engraved thereon. Also I leave to Alice, wife of the said Robert, ten marks to divide between herself and her boys. Also I leave to John Wymbyll, son of the said Robert, six silver spoons, over and above his share in the aforesaid ten marks. Also I bequeath to the Sir John Drayles chaplain my son, a cloak of blood colour with a cape with fastenings, six silver spoons, one flat silver bowl weighing eight ounces, two mattresses, two sheets, two pairs of linen cloths, one coverlet, one "celour," one hand towel, one footbath with a laver, one chest of "prews," two quart pewter pots, two pint pewter pots, two candlesticks, one flat chest for keeping his clothes, one brass pot, and all things pertaining to my oratory. Also I leave to the said Sir John 40 shillings in money to pray for my soul. . . . Also I leave to my servant Margaret Copping, for her unpaid service to me in my infirmity over and above her wages, a sufficient reward according to the discretion of my executors. The residue of all my goods I give and bequeath to the disposition of my wife Margaret, my son Thomas Drayles, and Robert Wymbyll the notary, whom I constitute, make and ordain my faithful executors, that they may faithfully pay my debts and distribute the legacies aforesaid, execute my last will, and take measure, order, and dispose for my soul as they shall deem pleasing to God and profitable to my soul. In testimony of which thing I have put my seal.

To the testament in Latin is annexed, after the usual custom, the last will in English. This is of considerable length, and is chiefly occupied with devises of the real estate and sundry other provisions in favour of his wife and sons. The following extracts, however, are interesting :—

This is the last wylle of me John Drayles, of Seynt Marye pariche at the Toure in Yppiswich, maad the xth day of Juin in the yeere of our Lord m^cccclxiiiⁱ and in the yeere of oure Souerayn Lord Kyng Edward the iiiⁱth after the conquest of Ingland iiiⁱ. In the fyrst begynnyng I wyll haue a messe xxx^{ti} yeere next followyng after my decesse in the Church of the Fryers Carmys in Yppiswyche afornseid in the chapelle of Seynt Johan Baptist, for me and for William Debenham, Johan Deykyn and Thomas Kemp, my fadyr and my modyr and alle my good benefactoures, and alle chrysten. Item, I wyll that the pryoure and bretheryn of the hous of the seyde Fryers Carmys and their successoures shall keepe and hold my yearly Menday the same yeeres for me and for the personys afornreherysyd, and for the charge of these premisses I wyll that the seyde Fryers Carmys

shall have an c. and v. marcs, yeerly to be payd xlviii^s. viii^d. be the handes of my executoures or the executoures of myn executoures tyll the seyde summe of an c. and v. marcs be full payed and content. Item, I wyll that the Greye Fryeres of Yppiswyche shalle haue of my goodes v. marcs for to have a preste syngyng for me and alle my goode doers be an hole yeere. Item, I bequethe to the Blak Fryeres in Yppiswich v. marcs for to haue a messe be an whole yeere at the auter where Johan Deykyn lyeth for his soule and myn and alle my goode doers. Item, I wyll haue a preste syngyng at Seynt Marye Church at the Toure vi. yeeres for my soule and for the sowlys of my fadyr and my modyr, William, Johan, and Thomas, and alle my goode doers, and if Syr John Drayles my son wyll haue that seruyce for ix. marcs yeerly, I wyll that he haue before anothyr man, and ellys I wyll haue anothyr goode preste in his stede aftr the discrecyon and pourvyauys of my executoures. . . . Item, I wyll haue a ston upon my graue of marbyll, with an image therinne aftr my persone and my name wrytyn thereon.

The will concludes with provisions for the prompt performance of the relief of the poor, and the benefit of the testator's soul.

I may add that it is preserved upon the Roll de Recognicionibus ac de testamentis probatis of 5 Edward IV. of the Court of Petty Pleas for the borough of Ipswich, which, together with other municipal archives, has recently been placed in excellent order by Mr. J. Cordy Jeaffreson, at the cost of the Corporation.



Borough English.



NE of the most interesting anomalies in the English law of real property is the custom commonly known as Borough English.

Some boroughes (says Littleton)* have such a custome, that if a man have issue many sonnes and dyeth, the youngest son shall inherit all the tenements which were his father's within the same borough, as heire unto his father by force of the custome; the which is called Borough *English*.

The name is traced to the report of a trial which took place in the first year of the reign of Edward III., and which is duly recorded in the Year-book of that date.†

* Wymbyll's brass is also in this church, and now lies in the chancel, next to that of the testator.

* Sec. 165.

† *Term Pasch.*, No. 38, p. 12a.

There were then in Nottingham, we are told, two tenures of land, *Burgh Engloyes* and *Burgh Frauncoyes*; and

the usages of these same tenures are such that all the tenements whereof the ancestor died seised in Borough English ought to descend to the youngest son, and all the tenements in Borough French ought to descend to the eldest as at the common law.

This curious preference of the youngest still prevails in many boroughs and manors throughout the southern portion of England; and though the custom is no doubt of less importance now than formerly, a few words respecting it will perhaps not be wasted.

We may begin by remarking that the custom obtains under different forms in different places. The paragraph from Littleton cited above may be said to contain a definition of Borough English in the strict sense of the phrase. But the same rule or principle—whether in these cases we call it Borough English or invent some other term for it—was, and is, extended in many cases beyond the scope of Littleton's definition, and made to apply not merely to sons, but to brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, and next of kin in general. On the other hand, the custom was in a few cases confined to the descent of estates in fee simple. It is obvious, however, that in all cases the preference of the youngest was the cardinal principle of the custom.

For the origin of this principle many reasons have at different times been assigned. At one time it was commonly attributed to a barbarous feudal privilege, for the details of which we may refer our readers to Beaumont and Fletcher's play, *The Custom of the Country*, and to Buchanan's *Rerum Scotticarum Historia* (*Opera Omnia*, I., *Hist.*, pp. 59 and 117; Edinb. 1715). For our present purpose it is enough to say that, whatever may have happened in Italian towns under governors like Count Clodio, or in Scotland down to the reign of Malcolm III., there is no reason to suppose that the revolting practice in question ever reached South Britain.

A better explanation is that given by Littleton,* who says that

this custome also stands with some certaine reason; because that the younger son (if he lacke father and

mother), because of his younger age, may least of all his brethren helpe himself, &c.

By which "&c.," says Coke in his Commentary, "are implied those causes wherefore a youth is lesse able to ayd himselfe, &c." And thereupon he proceeds to quote Horace's *Ars Poetica* (161—5).

Another explanation, or rather, perhaps, a developement of that given by Littleton, is given at some length in the Appendix to Robinson's book on Gavelkind. The custom, as we have already said, was prevalent in certain ancient boroughs and manors. Now the main part of the population in both cases—the tradesmen in the boroughs and the copyhold tenants in the manors—must have been men who very rarely, if ever, accumulated anything approaching to a considerable fortune. The tradesman, says Robinson,*

could not bring up his sons to idleness, but found it most for his own ease and their benefit, as they severally grew up, to send them out into the world, advanced with a portion of his goods, thereby enabling them to acquire their living by arts and industry . . . But as the youngest son was last in turn, he was the child, if any, left unadvanced at the death of his father; and therefore the custom prudently directed the descent of the real estate (generally little more than the father's house) where it was most wanted. But because it might happen that the youngest son was, in his father's lifetime, placed out in as advantageous a way as the rest, to avoid any inconvenience or inequality that might arise from an undue preference to him, the custom of most boroughs gave a power, unknown to the common law, of devising the tenements by will.

The copyhold tenants on a manor held of course a still inferior position. Their estates were "little more beneficial than leases at a rack rent," and were wholly inadequate to the support of a large family:—

The elder part of their family, at a proper age, either applied themselves to husbandry, or in those manors where all the demesnes were not already parcelled out, might obtain estates on the same hard terms; and the small advantage of the father's tenement was left to descend to the youngest son, the only, though a mean, support of his infancy.

Why the youngest son should always have been an infant when his father died, or why, if he was an infant, he should have been the only infant son in the family, or why the youngest daughter was not equally well pro-

* Page 388, 3rd edition (by Wilson). Comp. I. Bacon's *Abridgement*, *sub voc.* "Borough English."

* Sec. 211.

vided for, this explanation of the custom fails to show. There can, however, as we think, be little doubt that, though it does not explain the origin of Borough English, Robinson's account at any rate helps us to see why it was that the custom, having once arisen, prevailed with such vigour and tenacity in a considerable part of England.

If we try to discover what originally gave rise to this practice of preferring the youngest, we shall speedily find ourselves enveloped in a mist of pre-historic doubts and difficulties. Sir Henry Maine, who is probably the most eminent English authority on ancient laws and customs, traces the custom of Borough English to the position and privileges of the father of a family:—

The home-staying, unemancipated son, still retained under *Patria Potestas*, is preferred to the others. . . . Those who are most emphatically part of the Family (so in Maine) when it is dissolved by the death of its head are preferred in the inheritance.*

In his recent work on *Early Law and Custom* the same learned writer, referring to the Turkish custom of dividing the inheritance in the ancestor's lifetime, makes the following interesting observations:—

Perhaps there are few things which at first sight seem to have a more distant connection with one another than the customs of Primogeniture and Borough English and the Scriptural parable of the Prodigal Son. Yet precisely the same group of usages lies at the root of the institution and gives its point to the story. The division of the family property does not wait for the father's death. The son who wishes to leave the family home takes his share with him, and goes abroad to add to it or waste it. The son who remains at home continues under *patria potestas*, serving his father and never transgressing his commandments, but entitled at his death to the entire remnant of his property. "Son, thou art ever with me, and all that I have is thine," says the father in the parable, and this is precisely the foundation of the rule of ancient law. Which indeed shall be the home-staying son is a point on which there has been much diversity of usage. In the Scriptural example, it is the eldest son. Primogeniture, as we know it in our law, had rather a political than a civil origin, and comes from the authority of the feudal lord and probably from that of the tribal chief; but here and there on the Continent there are traces of it as a civil institution, and in such cases the succession of the eldest son does not exclude provision for the younger sons by what are called appanages. The evidence of ancient law and usage would, however, seem to show that it was usually the youngest son who remained at

home with his father to serve him through life, and succeed to his remaining property at his death (pp. 260, 261).

It is to the history of primogeniture "as a civil institution,"—traces of which may be found here and there in England as well as on the Continent,—that Mr. Elton, one of the best authorities on this and kindred customs, looks for the origin of Borough English. The subject is, as we have already suggested, so difficult and so obscure that we cannot pretend to enter upon it here with any fulness of detail. To those of our readers who feel an interest in it we recommend the study of chapter viii. of Elton's *Origins of English History*. Briefly, we may say, Mr. Elton's view is this. Various relics of ancient custom seem to show that the oldest rules of descent in this country and in Germany

were in their remote beginnings connected with a domestic religion and based upon a worship of ancestral spirits, of which the hearth-place was essentially the shrine and altar (p. 216).

The old pre-feudal form of primogeniture, under which the eldest son succeeded to his father's hearth and home, was the natural outcome of the view that he was the proper person to

take the lead in the domestic priesthood and in the performance of the funeral and commemorative ceremonies.

May not the various forms of "ultimogeniture" (as some persons have termed the right of the youngest)

have been derived from some other domestic religion, based on the worship of ancestors and a consequent reverence for the hearth-place, but belonging to a people who saw no natural pre-eminence in the eldest?

It is satisfactory to find that, though Mr. Elton here opens out a vast field of inquiry, and collects a number of facts which show, at least, that his theory has a good deal to say for itself, he is careful to refrain from dogmatizing in any way upon so uncertain a subject.

Hitherto (he says) all the explanations appear to have been unsuccessful; and it may be that the problem is not only difficult but insoluble (p. 185).

Whether or not he has himself put us in the way of solving it remains to be seen. There can, however, be little doubt that some exceedingly wide hypothesis is needed to account for the existence of a custom which

* *Early History of Institutions*, pp. 223, 224.

is said to have been traced in China as well as in Cornwall, amid the Ural Mountains and among the Maories of New Zealand. We shall be glad to hear that fresh researches of the experts have thrown new light upon the matter. F.



Yorkshire Parish Registers.

BY FRANCIS COLLINS, M.D.

DURING our summer vacation, we this year visited Alne, a parish situated in the Forest of Galtres, in the North Riding, four miles to the south of Easingwold, and eleven miles to the north-west of York. The registers, which commence in the year 1560, have few entries of public interest beyond, in 1585, the accompanying complaint, "*Cetera nuptiorum nomina p^r gardianos neglecta et ommissa fuerunt,*" and that in 1680 the Rev. William Emmott announces his induction in the following terms:—

Ego Gulielmus Emmott, Presbyter, præsentatus fuit ad Vicariam de Alne decimo secundo die Martii 1680, per Slingsbeium Bethel, Armigerum, isto anno Vicecomitum Londinensem: indubitatum vacarie patróni, institutus decimo tertio Aprilis sequentis per Johannem Radcliffe, peculiaris istius jurisdictionis officialem sive Commissarium, eodemq: die actualiter et corporaliter inductus per Edoardum Osborn, Rectorem de Skelton, jurisdictionis prædictæ, aquo die matrimonio conjuncti, baptizati & sepulti infra paræciam prædictam in hoc libro fideliter propriâ manu scriptis mandantur.

The account-books, however, during the time that the living was held by the Rev. James Scroggs, are particularly interesting, for he entered from year to year many facts concerning the weather, the prices of food, and the state of the country. Some of these are given below.

1739. This year was the severest frosty winter that had been in the memory of man, which succeeded a cold dry spring and cold dry summer, so that hay was exceeding scarce, for the snow dissolved, by little and little, without any rain, and only 2 or 3 showers of rain fell about a fortnight before Christmas to the latter end of July following.

1748. This year, and a year or two before it, a great mortality among the horned Cattle raged in England, and we lost in the parish of Alne upward of 1,300 beasts of all ages. This dreadful disorder was beyond sea before it came to England, and manifestly was a

judgment from God, for it was not in the power of man to find out a cause for it.

1766. N.B.—At Easter this y^r wheat was 7s. 6d. p. Bush: Mutton 4d. a lb., and Beef 4d. and 5d., and all other eatables equally dear. This was owing, in regard to Corn, to a wet summ^r and shipping such quantities of grain to foreign parts, and with respect to the latter, it was owing to inclosure of commons all the nation over, so that there was want of [grass for] young cattle which used to be kept on such, etc.

Many of us, no doubt, would be glad if we were now able to purchase meat at the above prices, and in these times we can scarcely realize that our forefathers had any cause to complain of the dearthness of food. It may be digressing, but interesting, to give here a quotation from a private letter we have before us, which, though the date is twenty-four years earlier, gives us some idea of the value of meat at that period. The letter is from a gentleman who was living in York, and is addressed to his sister, who resided in the neighbourhood of Thirsk, and not many miles from Alne. It is dated York, 12th March, 1742, and the following is an extract from it:—

I have not seen Tod since the day he killed my Beast, but Mr. Baker (who took some part of it) tells me that it was not so good as he expected; he paid for the best parts of it 2½ (pence), we had some of it at our house, and Cous. Strangways took some, and they paid about 2½, and to-day the best Beef in the Market is no more; how it comes to be dearer with you I can't tell, but whatever it sold for, 'tis nothing more to me than that I wish he may have a moderate profit at it, for his Bargain with me was for £11 and 16s. apiece the sheep.

1767. Another wet summer this year, all things were as dear as the year before, for the Reasons above, and raising Rents.

1769. A very fine hay time this year, but Wheat and Rye were scarcely got in hereabout before a rainy season came on, which continued partly to the 5th of November.

1770. This year the months of March, April, May, June, and part of July were the most rainy, cold, and tempestuous that were ever known in the memory of man, but after a violent fall of rain on the 24th July the weather took up, so that there was a good season for hay, but not the same for Corn, which was about half a crop hereabouts. There were seven great floods betwixt the 5th of November and New Year's Day, so that the seedtime was an exceeding bad one, and thousands of acres could not be sown.

1771. At Easter this year Wheat was 7s. 6d. per bushel, and 8s. afterwards. There was such a Winter, Cornfield the 6th of May, the day of the perambulation, as never was seen soe bad, owing to the long severe winter and a most dismal seed time before, that many were forced to sow their lands over again with barley or oats. What is to be the consequence of

this frightful prospect God only knows, notwithstanding (through the goodness of God) wheat though thin was a yielding crop. But Rye failed all the nation over, and there was a glorious seedtime afterwards.

1772. Nothing but enclosing of commons and raising of rents. That year Wheat and Rye were prodigiously sprouted. As this was the most uncomfortable and worst harvest in the memory of man, I will set down the methods that were used to make the sprouted corn better. Some baked their flour before they used it. Others ground old beans with their corn, and the proportion was one quartern to a bushel of wheat, etc. Others, I was told, mixed rice or whole oatmeal with their corn, and the dressing mills, where they made London flour, used white pease. After all, old wheat or that got before the rain, however dear, was certainly, considering all things, cheapest in the end. In this year, 1772, and the year after, some hundreds of people from Ireland and Scotland went to America, not being able to live at home by reason of the dearth of provisions.

1773. There was a terrible high wind in September, which did terrible havoc to corn which was standing.

In the year 1774 many hundreds emigrated to North America again, and many went out of Yorkshire.

New Agricultural Societies to dive into the value of land were in vogue, very much, among the Gentry. It is said that the seasons have been so unfriendly of late, that corn has been only half a crop for 7 or 8 years past. Others say that we have not had a good harvest since 1759.

1775. More thunder and lightning than was ever remembered.

1778. There was everywhere a scarcity of money, due to a four years' unsuccessful war with America.

About this time Mr. Scroggs remarks that, as food had returned to its normal price, he should make no further allusion to the subject.

From Alne we went to Easingwold, where the parish registers date from 1599. Here we found some very interesting notes on the fly-leaves of the earlier volumes. One of these referred to a squabble about the parish rates, between the inhabitants of Raskelf, a chapelry in the parish of Easingwold, and those of the latter place. It is probable that the former, having their own chapel to keep up, did not quite see the force of paying towards the repairs of the mother church at Easingwold. The matter was referred to arbitrators, who gave their award in the following terms:—

Copy of an order made betwixt Easingwold and Raskelf, xxiii. daie May, 1557, by John Rookebye and John Dakin, Doctors of Law and Viccars General of the Reverend father in God, Nicholas, by y^e grace of God Arch B^p Yorke, etc.

When the Church shall need reparations of building

or decete ornaments hereafter, p^{te}ynninge the charge of the p^{re}shoners, that the Churchwardens of Easingwold shall give notice to the inhabitants of Raskelf, openly, in the Chapple there, on Sundaye or holidaye by the space of six days before. That fowre, at the least, of the Ancyent and discreete Inhabitants of Raskelf shall come to Easingwold Church at the day appointed to comon and [consult] with the Churchwardens of Easingwold upon the said charges, and that the inhabitants of Raskelf were to be charged 5/8 in the pound, or more or less, according to the rate of 5/8 in 20/-, and in case of dispute each party was to bear its own costs. The parties agreed, that forasmuch as it pleased Almightye God to call unto His mercye the aforesaide Mr. John Dakin, before the sealinge and delyverie of this Awarde, that the sealinge, subscribing, and deliveringe of the said Awarde by me, John Rookebye, shall be as good and effectuall in the Law as if subscribed by the saide Mr. Dakin.

Seventeen years later, on the strength of this award, the inhabitants of Raskelf determined that they would not be "put upon" when the Easingwold folks proposed certain extravagant innovations, and in 1574, John Gibson, the "Vicar (sic) General," when appealed to, made the following award:—

That Bells and a Clocke be and are Decente and necessarye Ornaments for the said Church of Easingwold. But Organs are not necessarye for the same. xiiij Maye, 1574.

How things have changed since then!

It is probable that the clock was put up about this time, and, some sixty years later, we find the following agreement made between the churchwardens and one John Crosby, of Raskelf, a blacksmith, for the repairing of certain ironwork belonging to the clock:—

Memorand: Y^e John Crosbie of Raskelf Blacksmith hath covenanted to mainteyne the Ironwork of the clock of Easingwold for seaven years, y^e churchwardens allowing him v^s p^{er} ann^o to be paid the xvth day of August yearly. In witnesse whereof he hath set his hand the 24 of August 1636.

Witnesses hereof

John Crosby.

Ri. Sandyman, Viccar.

Willm. Driffeld.

John Ffewster.

We found an inventory, immediately below this, of various articles belonging to the church, that were handed over by one set of churchwardens, in the presence of witnesses, to another, of which the following is a copy:—

Delivered 9 day of October by Willm Driffeld & John Ffewster, old churchwardens, to Willm Parker & John Tew, new churchwardens, those books and other things belonging to the church. I A Bible,

2 commin p bookes, 2 homyly bookes, Jewell workes,* the canons, 2 surplisses, a font cloath, 2 tablecloathes, a pulpitt cloath & a quishion, one stoope, one chalice, one —, 2 plates for breade, napkin to cover them, a linnen poole (?) for the surplisse and other things belonging to the church.

Delivered before these witnesses

Ri Sandyman, Viccar.
Thomas Wilkinson.
W^m (W) Dobson.

There appear to have been many benefactors to the parish of Easingwold, who are honoured in the following paragraph:—

The names and surnames of all such persons eyther deceased or yet alive, till this day of March the thirtieth, one thousand six hundred and twenty-four, who have given land or howses or money to the use and behoofe of the poore people of Easingwold, w^{ch} is to continue for ever to the poore according to the true intent and purport and meaning of the said divers bequests, w^{ch} whose names are under written doe think most fitting.

Then follows a list of the various bequests (and in some instances extracts from wills, among them that of Ffrancis Driffeild, Esqr., dated "April y^e 10th 1676"), which are numerous, and, collectively, of considerable amount. The registers are records that in many instances the designs of the benefactors were faithfully carried out; for, in the case of apprentices, we found, from an early period, the names of the youths who were apprenticed, and the names and trades of their masters.

The purchase of one of the church bells was the cause of the following entry in the registers:—

William Oldfeild of York, wth in the same county, Belfounder, doth pmise and bind himself, his executors, administrators, and assigns, by these p'sents, to uphold and mainteyne the middle bell belonging to Easingwold, w^{ch} he hath now casten and hung up, for one whole yeare and a day if need be, and in consideraçon hereof the churchwardens, Richard Copland & Matthew Marshall, have this day payed to the said W^m Oldfeild, according to articles entred, the some of viii^{ti} & vii^{ti}, of w^{ch} said some, & of every p^t & pcell thereof, I doe acquitt & discharge the said churchwardens & township for ev^r. In witnesse whereof I have set to my hand the xith day of December Anno Doi 1639.

Witnesses hereof

William Oldfeild.

Ri Sandyman Viccar.
Stephen Slater.

Edward [I] Benson.
his m'ke.

The earliest volume of the registers of

* Probably works by Bishop Jewell.

Bilton Church, a parish in the Ainsty, about ten miles from York, is particularly interesting, from the registration of the names of the godfathers and godmothers with each baptism. The register commences:—

A perfect and trewe Register of all Christeninges burialles and Mariages wythin the pyschinge of Bylton wythin the Countye of the Cyttye of Yorke, since the yeare of our Lorde 1571. And the following is the first entry—In p'mis the viiith of Auguste a childe of John Bensons of Bycarto baptysed, called Brydgett, y^e Godfather John Coggell, the Godmothers, M^{rs} Brydgett Yaxlay & Margaret Rosse.

On one of the fly leaves we observed the following:—

N.B. November 4 1669 the bell fell out of y^e steeple while it was ringinge one of the pikes being broken in y^e gudgeon. Novemb^r 20, it was hung again by a pully cast about y^e steeple.
Oct^r 2 1629.

The Lord be blest for all His gifts and praised ever more, defie the devell wth all his shiftes bowth everie day and eare.

The briefs in these Registers are numerous and interesting, some of them being entered at considerable length. We copied the following as an example:—

August 21st, 1653. Collected at Bilton, within the Ainstie of Yorke, for the Great Losse by fire at Marleborough, in the Cōnty of Wiltshire, cōmended unto us by an order from the Councell of State and also by the assemblie of Divisions. I say, Collected at Bilton towne tenne shillings.

Thomas + Pallister.
his + marke.

at Bickerton fower shillings nine pence

John [H] Hutchieson Churchwarden.
his [H] mark.

at Tockwth eight shillings three pence

John Abbey, Churchwarden.

All 1st 3s.

George Hesletine, an assistant.
Christ. Hoddinge, Minister.

Amongst others we noticed that there was collected

June 17, 1655. For the inhabitants of Lucerna and Angeona within the territories of the Duke of Savoy, £1 14s. 2d.—Oct. 15th, 1665. On account of the plague, 26s. 6d.; and again, for the same purpose, Nov. 10th, 8s. 6d.—For the fire of London, 6 Nov. 1666, no less sum than £4 15s. was raised in the parish.—In 1671, a collection for the release of the Christian slaves in captivity under the Turks amounted to 16s. 6d.—In 1688, the French Protestants benefited to the amount of £1 1s. 9d., while in 1689 an appeal for the relief of the Irish Protestants was only answered by a collection of 17s. 6d.

On the 3rd July, 1644, the day following that on which the battle of Marston Moor

was fought, Captain John Carmichael was buried here, and in the register, by the side of his name, but in a different and apparently more recent handwriting, is the following marginal note:—"On the King's side under the Earl of Bedford, 60 Troop of Horse." One "William Shep^a" was buried the same day, but whether he belonged to either army or not is not stated. On the 5th July, Captain David Ashton was buried, and there is a note stating that "Miles Ashton was in Lord Rochford's Regt."

We went next to Marston, a village about two miles nearer to York, partly in hopes of finding in the registers there some interesting facts relating to the great battle of Marston Moor, but in this we were disappointed. Perhaps we should have done well had we first consulted the local or other histories of those times, for there is not a vestige of information regarding that great event to be found in the registers. The registers profess to commence in 1624 (?), when the Rev. Mark Micklethwaite was inducted into the living, but practically only in 1648, the earlier pages being almost entirely blank, owing, we presume, to an inferior quality of ink having been used, which, except in two or three instances, has faded quite away.

The earliest volume commences:—

A Register for Marston Parrish in the County of the City of York, made [by me] Mr. Mark Micklethwaite, Rector.

Mr. Morton was inducted into the Rectory in Anno 1595 (?).

Mr. Allerton, the elder, inducted into the Rectory

Mr. Allerton, the younger, inducted

Mr. Mark Micklethwaite inducted into the Rectory.

Time has obliterated the dates of all the inductions except Mr. Morton's, which, though very indistinct, we read as above. He, Mr. Morton, was a man of considerable eminence, and held several high offices in the Church, finally becoming Bishop of Durham, and dying at the very advanced age of 95 years.

Mr. Mark Micklethwaite was succeeded by his son, whose induction is alluded to in the register in the following terms:—

Mr. Elyas Micklethwaite was inducted parson of Marston 18 December Anno Domini 1648. Since which time hathe beene Baptized, Married, and Buried as followeth.

VOL. VIII.

And at this date, as stated above, the Registers really commence.

Beyond the Briefs there is little to be found that is interesting, but we thought the two following entries worth copying:—

Aug. 5, 1678. Isabel the wife of Richard Tomson was buried, the churchwardens were certified by the minister in writing how that noe affidavit of her being buried in Woollen came to his hands.

And—

Will. Corlas, Laité Rector of Marston, whoe departed this life the 23 of November 1693, had a son borne at Hunslet within the parish of Ledes the 10 day of Aprell 1694, and was baptized the 22 of the said month of Aprell, named William.

The briefs are very numerous, occurring, at times, almost every fortnight, and a faithful record seems to have been kept of them in the registers up to an early date in the eighteenth century, when a special book was provided for this purpose. This volume bears the appearance of being a correct account of every collection made in the parish from the time that it was put in use.

The following is one of the earliest, if not the first brief, noticed in the registers:—

In 1660 Dec. 16 There was collected 10 shillings for Thomas Berifford, William Blunt, etc., inhabitants in the parish of St. Bartholomew Exchange and Bennet finch within the City of London, according to letters patents dated Aug. 29 in the twelfth of the King's Reigne.

The earliest Terrier is dated 25th July, 1770. As it gives an interesting description of the Rectory House, we copied a portion of it, which is given here.

A Parsonage house 70 foot long and 22 foot broad, built with Brick and covered with Slate and Tile, Containing 4 Rooms besides Pantries and Cellars on the ground floor, 4 on the second floor and 2 garrets. Two of the Rooms on the ground floor are wainscotted and floor'd with Deal, the other 2 are ceiled ones, the one floor'd with Deal, the other with Brick. Three of the rooms on the 2 floor are hung with Tapestry and Paper and floor'd with Deal, the other on the same floor is a ceiled Room and floor'd with Deal. The two garrets are ceiled Rooms and floor'd with Deal. A Kitchen and Brewhouse 45 feet long and 15 foot Broad built with Brick and covered with Slate and Tile. The Kitchen is floor'd with Brick and the Brewhouse is paved.

It is almost needless here to say that the tapestry has disappeared from the second floor rooms, and that the house has undergone many alterations during the last hundred years. Following the description of the house

is that of the barns, stables, outhouses, gardens, and lands. The churchyard is said to be "half an acre," and it is observed that in 1766, for the township of Long Marston—

A compensation in land was given the Rector in lieu, recompense, and full satisfaction of the tithes and ecclesiastical dues, Surplice fees and Mortuaries only excepted, and the Tythes of a close called y^e Inholms, belonging to Elias Thornhill.

The tithes of the townships of Hutton and Angram continued to be paid in kind.

We have only in conclusion the pleasant task of thanking the clergy of the parishes we visited for the very kind manner in which they received us, and for the trouble they took to supply us with the information for which we were seeking.



Early River Conservancy.

BY HUBERT HALL.

THE "common" rivers, to use a designation the significance of which is now almost forgotten, were of even greater importance to the trader of olden days than the well-worn high-road or boggy lanes of the overland route; and for this reason, they were especially placed under the protection of the Crown.

The principle on which common rivers were designated speaks for itself. They were those that for the most part of their course bounded shires or hundreds, being thus readily accessible to the various districts, and also forming a sort of neutral frontier, along which the interests of the collective populations were most fitly entrusted to the supervision of the Crown.

In course of time, however, the broad designation was lost sight of: the enjoyment of most great rivers became more and more restricted, and a favoured few alone retained their ancient status in all its integrity. Thus the Trent was only allowed to be common to the citizens of Nottingham, "as far as one perch shall extend out of the main current." The Severn, another tidal river, was declared still later to be common only for traffic between great cities such as Worcester, Gloucester, and Bristol.

Two other rivers generally noticed under

this head are the Ouse and the Lea, the latter of which has always formed an excellent instance of a common river diverted by neglect and misapprehension from its original condition.

Again, rivers, such, for instance, as the Idle, Don, and Sheaf, were, we are told, once of considerable value for their fishery. The former probably at no time produced more than muddy jack and gigantic eels, but in the latter the oldest inhabitant will still relate with awful pride how salmon swarmed so thickly that the indentures of apprentices contained a stipulation that this food should not be set before them on more than three days in the week.

The fact is, however, that no indentures of this kind have ever been discovered, in spite of the eager search that is now being made for them, nor (to those that know) will any such ever be forthcoming. The whole tale is a myth, for salmon was always the most costly species of the whole finny tribe.* Some day, perchance, students of folk-lore may discern that the story was an elaborate sarcasm current among masters at the expense of the proud stomachs of their 'prentices!

Thus it was that none of the above ever gained the status of a common river. At Retford, indeed, in early times, a riparian baron actually diverted the whole course of the stream to improve his private fishery, and made the assumption of his "rights" conspicuous in various other ways. Finally, upon a certain holiday, when the worthy burgesses were plying the "gentle craft" upon the open river near the town, their churlish neighbour sent forth his retainers to assail them with a shower of arrows from the banks. The townsmen withdrew in disgust, and commenced a Chancery suit, but the case aroused little interest amongst the non-angling population.† However, the magnate was rash enough to violate the sanctity of a local hermit of repute, and then the whole neighbourhood was in arms

* Eels were also highly priced. The English salmon fisheries were in Tudor times at a very low ebb, and there was an extensive importation from Ireland of cured fish, which may have proved unpalatable to the middle classes. The upper classes preferred trout.

† Chancery Proceedings, Ric. II.

against him, and made the place too hot for him.

The fact is, that in the case of one at least, and probably of all these rivers, an inquest of the freeholders had declared them to be private fisheries. The public might thus be trusted to recognise their own interests. Nevertheless, the conservancy of most of the "great" rivers cost the Crown much anxious care. It was constantly enacted by statute, under Plantagenet kings, that weirs, stakes, and kiddels, with all other obstructions, should be removed out of the rivers. This was in response to an appeal for the better maintaining of the provisions of Magna Charta with regard to such matters. That charter, indeed, had been confirmed in principle something like a hundred times within the century in which it was issued, but then the temptations for infringing its self-denying clauses touching the rivers were so manifold. In the case of the Lea, the Government was once authorized to levy a rate from vessels which navigated its course to enable the shelves of sand which blocked its bed to be removed.* So, too, in Tudor times the conservancy of the Thames was very closely looked after.

A great change was taking place in the commercial position of England as a great producing country. Instead of most of its wool being shipped abroad, it was now manufactured into cloth to supply the home market, and the importation of foreign wines and luxuries was stringently curtailed. Therefore, for every reason, an improved conservancy of the rivers became a necessity. Some ports had become so blocked with accumulated deposits of sand and refuse, that ships, on the greatly increased scale of burden in vogue, could no longer effect an entrance. The result was, that on more commodious sites, younger rivals sprang up, and the old towns fell into hopeless decay.† Then the latter became civic bankrupts. They could pay no more taxes to the Crown, so the Crown was compelled to exonerate them. They could not even get an honest living, so the Crown had to help them out by licensing them to plunder the few unwary customers

who still sought their marts. Thus they watched and ravined, old and cruel and impotent as Bunyan's wayside ogres, until the gospel of progress swept them too away. To such a pass the Thames itself more than once has nearly been reduced. At one period of its early history its upper waters were blocked with weirs and stakes, and all the poaching instruments of a selfish and systematic fishery. Then the Crown for ever removed the possibility of a repetition of the evil by abolishing the fishery, and left the capture of fish by the general public to be regulated by the Conservancy, as far as its jurisdiction extended. Then, again, the state of the lower river caused even more apprehension in later times to thoughtful observers. Huge banks of sand or gravel had silted up in mid-channel between London Bridge and Richmond. At low water, or on an ebb tide, no barge, or even wherry, could navigate the river for any distance without running helplessly aground; while cables, stretched a few inches under the surface in the shallow water, formed a network of treacherous snares in which wherries entangled their oars, or precipitated their passengers into the gulf of black mud. Then there were the floods, caused chiefly by this stoppage, which laid waste the low-lying country, in spite of the embankments and dykes constructed to confine the river within its shallow bed. The suffering entailed by such a disaster was terrible. We hear that it drowneth their cattle and destroyeth their corne and heye and all things else, which, by the taking away of the said impediments and making the channel of the Thames deeper, will avoyd most of these inconveniences.

It is both curious and also highly instructive to read the causes of this growing evil. These we hear are many,

which may be in very reasonable tyme redressed if there were some orderly course set downe and observed for that business.

In the first place, it is said, the "channels" of London, "which are many," wash down gravel and sand from the streets into the river. These "channels," which were always held a fruitful source of nuisance, were the sluices or surface-drains which swept down all the refuse of the river-streets when flushed by a heavy rain-fall. Moreover, the northern bank, from Blackfriars to Charing Cross, was

* By Acts of Parliament, temp. Hen. VI.

† Hist. Manuscripts Commission, 8th Report.—*Corporation of Chester Records.*

a slope covered with princely gardens, and from these too rubbish and soil in vast quantities found their way into the river. This was bad enough, but there was still worse neglect to be pointed out. The poorer riverside population made a point of throwing all their "dust, sea-coale, ashes, boans, oistershells, and all other filthy things into the Thames." Again, the oyster-sellers at Billingsgate, to save themselves labour, or, perhaps, to set a fashion like that of modern fish-dinners upon the river, received their customers on board their vessels, where "natives" were consumed in quantities which the price of the period alone could warrant, and every empty shell dropped into the stream, "without being as much as called in question by any officer of the Lord Mayor." Also the common mariners "doe likewise eat great quantities of oysters," and dispose of the shells in a similar way. That philosopher Mr. Weller senior, we may remember, once observed that "oysters and poverty" were inseparable characteristics of certain quarters of a riverside city, and we can here recognise the force of the remark.

The remaining causes of obstruction were chiefly these: that "sea-coal men," whilst unloading their vessels, dropped much small coal into the river; and the "lighter-men," in the same manner, added their contribution of straw, hay, and fish. A long string of these lighters were moored between London Bridge and Tower Wharf; and each of them, it was said, laid the foundation for a separate "bank" in the channel. It would seem also to have been the universal practice for vessels in ballast to empty the whole of it into the river before loading. The southern side had a nuisance of its own, for here the lime-kilns along the shore carted all their refuse bodily into the Thames.

The means by which it was proposed to deal with this stupendous evil were as follows. The mayor and corporation were to be invited to contribute towards the expense of dredging and guarding the river, because the greatness of their city depended upon its facilities for commerce. Secondly, the "Trinity House men who live thereby" ought also to contribute, as, too, should all riparian owners whose lands were exposed to sudden floods. With the funds thus available, the old slow method

of dredging out the banks and shoals, and carting the soil away, was again to be put into practice.

Another scheme was indeed proposed, though it met with little support, that since the Trinity House was now obliged to rent waste grounds and dig gravel for ballast, the owners of vessels should be induced to dredge their ballast from the bed of the river itself. But this expedient could hardly have recommended itself to those who were in the secret of the oyster-shells and fish bones. Besides, if they only took in again what they threw out, matters would not at this rate soon be mended.*

Three hundred years have passed, and we are again face to face with the old difficulty. The river bed is more or less blocked lower down, and its capacity is enormously taxed by the drainage outpour into its upper waters. The banks in many places have fallen in through the perpetual "wash" of the steam launches. The shore line has been encroached upon by sheds and wharves and weirs. There is no great outfall above the tide-way, and little or no attempt on the part of riparians to protect their low-lying grounds. The result has been a series of disastrous floods, until once more the legislature is invoked to meet the difficulty.



Two Old Country Residences.

By T. MORGAN OWEN, M.A.



THE other day, in company with the rector of Pentrevoelas and Mr. Edward Morris, of Rhyl, I visited two old country residences. They are situated a little more than a mile from Pentrevoelas, and their position is unknown to the ordinary traveller along the great Holyhead highway. There is a peculiar charm in visiting on a quiet summer evening, when the bright sun has set, quaint old places whose history is of the past, and whose originators have long been forgotten, if they were ever known, in the tomb. •

* *Cotton MSS., Otho, Eix. Tit. B v.*

The one place is called Gilar (arable retreat). This is a most appropriate name, as it lies in a small secluded vale whose soil is apparently of a fertile nature. The other is called Plâs Iolyn (Iolyn's Hall). They are about a quarter of a mile apart, and the latter lies nearer Pentrevoelas than the former. A family of the name of Price were the founders of Gilar. One of its members was Baron Price (Chief Justice of the Common Pleas), famous for his parliamentary speech, known as "the speech of the bold Briton against the Dutch Prince of Wales." The ancestors and descendants of Rhys ap Meredydd, who led the Welsh Highlanders (*Gwyr y wlad uchaf*), and carried the British standard for Henry at Bosworth, lived at Plâs Iolyn.

We visited Gilar and Plâs Iolyn from the direction of Ysptyty Ifan. This veritable Welsh village lies in a hollow upon the banks of the river Conway. Its church has an alabaster figure of the above-mentioned Rhys, and an interesting brass commemorative of a family of the name of Gethin.

After we had journeyed along the road leading from Ysptyty for about two miles we left it, and continued our course towards Gilar along a bridleway; this road in the olden times wound its course through dense forests, and was much frequented by those on their way to the hospitium founded by the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, the Ysptyty Ifan of to-day.

It not unfrequently happens in Wales that a family name is handed down to posterity for centuries after every member of that family has been dead. Thus, as we went along we came to Bwlch *Prys* (Price), a mountain pass or narrow gorge. And further on we came in sight of a mountain upon the right of Gilar, which is known by the name of Garn (mountain) *Prys*. This bridleway is now seldom trodden by the foot of the stranger—we met not a soul as we went along it; but in days bygone it was the great highway from Chester (through Ruthin and Cerrigy-druidion) to Ffestiniog, Lleyn, and to other parts also. According to Sir John Wynne, it was frequented by gangs of desperadoes whom he asserts herded together at Ysptyty Ifan, "which had privilege of sanctuary," and which "became a receptacle for 1,000 murderers. . . . No place within twenty miles

was safe from their incursions and robberies." Sir John's ancestor (Meredydd ap Ifan) went to live in this vicinity when Henry VII. was king, "because," said he, "I had rather fight with outlaws and thieves than with my own blood and kin. If I live in my own house, I must either kill my own kindred or be killed by them." Those were happy days for the fraternity of Esau! They had been preceded by the Owain Glyndwr's war for independence, and by the Wars of the Roses. Meredydd demolished the "wasps' nest" at Ysptyty. It is not impossible that the robbers who escaped from Meredydd's bowmen betook themselves to Dinas Mowddwy (amidst the Berwyn range of mountains), where as "*gwylliad cochion*" (red-headed prowlers) they became the terror of the surrounding country, and were finally destroyed because of their murder of Baron Owen whilst on his way to the Assizes in 1555.

Before we came to the farmhouse (Gilar is now occupied by a farmer) we were confronted by an Elizabethan gateway built of solid masonry. Upon a stone on the left hand were the date 1673 and the letters R. P. (the initials of Robert Price, high-sheriff for Denbigh in 1658). On the right hand was an old horse-block, with an overhanging tree. How often did its branches re-echo the sweet laughter of fair ladies or the warlike words of brave men? Its door consists of oak, apparently as old as the gateway, and encrusted with great nails of the same age. Having passed through it, we entered a court. On the path leading to the house, we observed the letters T. P. W. (the initials of Thomas Price Wynne, high-sheriff of Denbigh in 1742), formed of white stones which were embedded in the pavement. The porch that formed the entrance to the house was a most substantial one; and the door beyond appeared to be the twin of the one in the gateway. This door was protected by a bolt—a veritable wooden bolt all of the olden time. What a bolt it was, thicker than an ordinary man's leg! There had been two of them. On the right hand of the passage a door led into the present kitchen of the establishment; the door on the left admitted us into what had apparently been the ladies' sitting-room of

the old family. It was wainscotted, and had two windows with seats beneath, doubtless made from the same oak tree that had supplied the timber to make the wainscot. There were two windows in the room; one was open, the other was plastered up. This room resembled, to a certain extent, one of the old parlours at Owlbury, an old place in the vale of Churchstoke, and at other places also. This resemblance enables us to determine the date of the erection (or possibly the restoration) of such residence, that is, during the second half of the sixteenth, or the first half of the seventeenth century. Upon our return we were able, by means of some stone steps, to enter what was at one time a sort of watch-tower, and afterwards a ladies' bower. Its window overlooked Plâs Iolyn. Its fireplace had been closed up; above it were the date 1623 and the letters T. P. W., together with the coat-of-arms of the family of Price, and the letters VM MEVM IN DOMINO. The letters UM are, doubtless, part of the word auxilium; and thus we would have the inscription complete: "My help is in the Lord."

Its present proprietor (Mr. Ashley, of Llanrwst) has taken pains to keep up this most interesting place in its olden state.

At Plâs Iolyn we saw the remains of an old tower, which gave several tokens of good workmanship, and of firm and careful erection. It was plainly evident that it once consisted of three stories. Upon the ground-floor were to be seen a recess and a fireplace. Close at hand a long and very narrow barn was pointed out to us. The story goes that it was erected as a tennis-court; be this as it may, it is much more narrow than an ordinary barn. It is built upon the rock, and its masonry looks very old—so old that plaster and stonework appear to be quite firmly cemented together.

If we had continued along the bridleway, we should have joined the Holyhead road somewhere near the once famous hostelry of Cerinoge, at which O'Connell and his tail were wont to put up for the night. A few of the oldest inhabitants remember the days when the Agitator passed along this highway.

Little would the stranger reckon that the locality was connected with the history of

the past—a history commemorative of national struggles and aspirations, lavish bounty, foul and desperate deeds, dynastic changes, Celtic eloquence and ignorance—as he listened to the loud laughter of the farm boys, engaged in playing quoits with horse-shoes, before Gilar, or to the shrill cry (peewit) of the lapwing above Plâs Iolyn—the only sounds that reached our ears as we made our way back to Pentrevoelas.



Reviews.

The Butterfly's Ball and the Grasshopper's Feast. By Mr. ROSCOE. (London, 1808.) *The Peacock at Home.* (London, 1807.) *The Lion's Masquerade.* (London, 1807.) *The Elephant's Ball and Grand Fête Champêtre.* By W. B. (London, 1807.) Facsimile reproductions. (Griffith & Farran: London, 1883, 4to.)



CHILDREN seem now-a-days to be getting quite an archaeology of their own. The above four titles are reproductions of the first four numbers of *Harris's Cabinet*, published at the beginning of the century. The illustrations are by Mulready, and they have been most excellently reproduced. Mr. Charles Welsh gives a very interesting introduction to this series of once celebrated nursery books, and we have no doubt they will prove of great interest to the curious. Mr. Welsh would compare them favourably with the "showy productions" of our own time. There is a simplicity and chasteness about them which cannot but be admired; but we must join issue with him in his verdict against the children's books of to-day, so long as Mr. Caldecott gives us his masterpieces.

On the Genius of George Cruikshank. By WILLIAM MAKEPIECE THACKERAY. With all the original woodcuts. (London, 1883: George Redway.) 8vo, pp. xvi., 60.

This is a verbatim reprint from the *Westminster Review* for June, 1840, and not only on account of the author, but of the object, we must welcome most cordially this production. Every bookman knows Thackeray, and will be glad to have this production of his which deals with art criticism—a subject so peculiarly Thackeray's own. Here we are in the midst of all Cruikshank's fun and Thackeray's keen humour, and who can say that the two do not meet on even ground? One of the illustrations gives us a glimpse of John Gilpin, and a picture of the past that Cruikshank loved and pencilled so truly and Thackeray loved and described so truly. The old inn is ideal only that it has no special locality; it is real enough to those who know the few examples that still exist in our land.

My Grandfather's Pocket-book, 1701-1796. By Rev. HENRY JOHN WALE. (London, 1883: Chapman & Hall.) 8vo, pp. viii., 341.

Pepys has taught us to love diaries, and we have no reason to say that the one before us is not very interesting for the period of which it treats. It picks up and records facts that are nowhere else to be found, and the quaintness of some of the notes is well worth preserving.

Love is a kind of all over dissiness
That won't let a poor fellow go about his business,

is a specimen of the happy turn which "my grandfather" had for expressing himself. All sorts of things—observations on men and manners, cures for rheumatism and other ailments, prices, wages, travelling notes—are interspersed with much of the garrulous propensities of a gossip. He went about to a good many places, and met some interesting people, and there is something to say about all of them. At Hales Owen, in 1779, he saw "Letteous, late Schenstone's, but now Mr. Horn's, from London; wonderfully pleasant and engaging for its waters, walks, grottoes, falls of water, groves, temples, aqueducts, wondrous delightful, which inspired Schenstone." Military matters are touched upon by Lieutenant Charles Wale in letters to his father, the siege of Gibraltar by the Spaniards in 1782 being described. There are some things we could well have dispensed with, but the volume altogether makes an interesting record of the times; but Mr. Wale ought to have put an index, for when there is so much miscellaneous matter intermixed it is next to impossible to look for anything in particular.

Preservation of Ancient Monuments: Fortress Gwalior. By Major J. B. KEITH. (Calcutta, 1883.) 8vo, pp. 79.

Major Keith has been actively engaged in the good work of preserving the ancient monuments of our great Eastern dominion, and the little volume before us gives an account of his labours in one particular district. It appears that in India, as elsewhere—our own country, for example—what the ruthless hands of the invader and conqueror have left unspoiled the still more ruthless hands of the engineer and utilitarian of modern days have gone far to entirely sweep away; and worse still, as Major Keith bears witness, the amount of puerile mischief accomplished by ignorant officials is astounding. But, thanks to more enlightened opinions, there is some little chance for the future, and we are sure that Major Keith has done much to bring about this happy change. It would be impossible within the short space at our command to give any adequate idea of the magnificent remains of antiquity at Gwalior; they include six palaces, five temples, five groups of Jaina caves, a number of tanks, cisterns, baories, and wells, a masjid, and several tombs. The palaces are wonderful structures, and Major Keith's careful and interesting description is accompanied by a ground plan. It is almost impossible to convey an adequate idea of the artistic nature of some of the courts, and still more impossible to conceive the English vandalism which blockaded the colonnade with ugly masonry and fixed common

doors on to the arcaded entrances. The ground plan of three of the temples is given, and also of one of the tombs. As Major Keith observes, "the extent to which monumental preservation may influence the domain of art and industry will only be felt when people appreciate the wealth that lies at their feet"—a wealth, be it observed, that seems unmeasurable by existing standards of value. We cannot too highly appreciate the value of Major Keith's labours, and we trust our readers may be induced to turn their attention to the immense treasures which lie unheeded and unknown in the East. We hope to give at some future time an account of the arts and industries of the people, which Major Keith has added in an appendix to his report.

Panjab Notes and Queries: a monthly periodical. Edited by Captain R. C. TEMPLE. (Allahabad and London: Trübner & Co., October, 1883.) 4to, pp. 12.

Captain Temple is so well known as an ardent student and worker in Hindu lore, that our readers will expect great things from this eminently useful mode of collecting all that is ungathered about the Panjab. Our own *Notes and Queries*, the pioneer and model of all its kin, is sufficient evidence of what can be done, and we can certify to the interest and value of this first number of the Panjab offspring. The sections are divided into Religion, Social Customs, Folklore, Castes and Tribes, Geography, Language, Arts and Industries, Law, District Work, History, Miscellaneous, and Proverbs; and then Captain Temple adds a sort of appendix, consisting of extracts from native authors and folklore from difficult sources. This is an excellent plan. To comparative folklorists this publication will be a mine of wealth, and it will gather up much that the *Indian Antiquary* must of necessity leave alone. We heartily thank Captain Temple for his acceptable work, and we congratulate him upon the signs of success which this first number indicates. Hindu matters will thus be brought still more frequently to the notice of English students, and there will be no excuse for the latter if they ignore their great interest and value.

The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1751-58. Now first printed from the Manuscript in the Collections of the Virginia Historical Society, with an Introduction and Notes. By R. A. BROCK, Corresponding Secretary and Librarian of the Society. Vol. i. Richmond, Virginia. Published by the Society, 1883. 8vo.

The papers here printed have long been known to historians, and among others they were used by Sparks in his *Writings of Washington*. They are comprised in five folio volumes, the first four containing the records of the administration of Governor Dinwiddie, being copies of his official letters, addresses, reports, etc.; and the fifth, original letters of Washington, complementary thereto. This last volume has undergone various vicissitudes, for the documents were dispersed as autographs; but Mr.

Henry Stevens succeeded in gathering them together again. The five volumes were bought at Mr. Stevens's sale by Mr. William W. Corcoran, who presented them to the Virginia Historical Society.

Robert Dinwiddie, descended from a good Scottish family, was born in 1693. In 1727 he was appointed a Collector of the Customs in the Island of Bermuda, and eleven years later he obtained the office of "Surveyor-General of Customs of the southern parts of the Continent of America." In 1751 he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, and when he arrived in the colony he was received with some enthusiasm. Questions, however, soon arose which placed him in opposition to the Assembly, and also in conflict with Washington, then Colonel of the Virginia Regiment. At this time the encroachments of the French seriously threatened the safety of the American colonies, and Governor Dinwiddie was fully alive to the danger. He urged upon the English Government the need which the colonies had of assistance, and in 1756 the Earl of Loudon arrived in America with the appointment of Governor of Virginia, and a commission as Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in America; but the Earl was never in Virginia, and Dinwiddie continued the control of affairs until January 1758, when, worn out with fatigue, he returned to England. It has been unfortunate for the Governor's fame that Washington's many admirers have been inclined to give an unfavourable estimate of his character. The publication of this book will help to place him in the position he deserves of a thoroughly high-minded and successful administrator. He died at Clifton in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and there is every reason to believe that the character given of him upon his tombstone is a true one. We are there told that the annals of Virginia "will testify with what judgment, activity, and zeal he exerted himself in the public cause, when the whole North American continent was involved in a French and Indian war. His rectitude of conduct in his government, and integrity in other public employments, add a lustre to his character, which was revered while he lived, and will be held in estimation while his name survives."

This volume contains documents dating from the 20th November, 1751, until May 17th, 1755, the first one being a copy of the address of the Corporation Authorities of Williamsburg to the Governor. The printing is good, and the notes are full of useful information; so that our readers may guess from what we have said that this is a valuable addition to American historic literature. The frontispiece is a portrait of Mr. Corcoran, who presented the papers to the Society.

Outlines of German Literature. By JOSEPH GOSTWICK and ROBERT HARRISON. Second edition. (London: Williams & Norgate, 1883.) Small 8vo, pp. xii, 642.

We are very pleased to welcome a second edition of this excellent book, which contains in a handy form a full and satisfactory view of German literature. To students it will be exceedingly useful, even though they may be able to use larger German works, on account of the clearness and compactness with which

the information is conveyed; but to those whose knowledge of the language is slight, it will be of special use, as giving them an insight into a literature of which they must otherwise remain ignorant. The translations are spirited, and the index of subjects and titles of books adds much to the usefulness of a very entertaining work.

The Table Talk of Doctor Martin Luther. 18th Centenary Edition. (London: T. Fisher Unwin.) Pp. 141.

Messrs. Unwin have produced an exquisite little edition of selections from the Table Talk of the great German reformer. Printed on hand-made paper, and bound in vellum, it is a suitable and worthy remembrance of "the monk who shook the world." The contents are: Of the Works of God, Of the Word of God, Of Jesus Christ, Of the Law and the Gospel, Of the Church, Of Preaching and Preachers, Of Confession and Absolution, The Lord's Supper, Good Works, Of the Devil, Prayer, Of Death, Of the Resurrection of the Dead and Life Eternal, Of Marriage, Of the Jews, Of Ecclesiastical Legends, The World and its Ways, Of Princes and Rulers, Of the Use of Learning, Of Comedies, Of the Power of Music, of Singing, Of Germany, Of Languages, Of the Schools and Universities of Germany, Of the Turks, Of the Heroes and Wise Men of Antiquity, Of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church. Most of our readers will doubtless know Luther's pithy, if occasionally rough, expressions of thought, and to those who do not, yet possess any of the many editions of his Table Talk, we can safely recommend this book as the means of enjoying many a quiet half-hour.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Biblical Archæological Society.—Nov. 6th.—Dr. S. Birch, president, in the chair.—Mr. Budge read a communication upon the Fourth Tablet of the Creation Series, relating to the fight between Marduk and Tiamat. The text which forms the subject of this paper is obtained from fragments of a tablet belonging to the library of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, and from a large and very important piece of a tablet written in Babylonian.—A communication was read by Mr. Pinches on Babylonian Art, illustrated by Mr. H. Rassam's latest Discoveries. This paper was a short description of Mr. H. Rassam's latest discoveries at Abu-habbah, or Sepharvaim, and consisted of remarks upon the more interesting of the objects of art brought to England by the able explorer. The most important (from a historical and antiquarian point of view) was a small egg-shaped object, of beautifully-veined marble, pierced lengthwise with a rather large hole, and engraved with an inscription in seven lines (two double), containing the name of Sargon of Agade (3800 B.C.).

Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society. The Annual Excursion (continued from page 221).—We come now to the foundation of the college before us. Edmund Goneville, the powerful rector of Rushworth, had since his brother's death in 1333 been gradually acquiring more and more power with his brothers, John, the rector of Lerling, and William, rector of Thelvetham, in the control of the family possessions, which had descended to their unfortunate nephew, the actual head of the family. Their united part seems to have been the securing of the means for building and endowment of the college, his, Edmund's, special part that of obtaining by his personal influence the necessary licenses from the superior authorities, ecclesiastical and secular. A bull for the impropriation of the rectory of Rushworth to the intended college was obtained from the Pope, and the consent of Antony Bec, Bishop of Norwich, was, we may well believe, heartily given to the good work, the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral being, as is noteworthy, mentioned as necessary coadjutors in the scheme. The royal license of alienation was obtained, and those also of the great lords under whom some part of the intended endowment was held. On the 31st of August, 1342—five hundred and forty-one years ago almost on this very day—he had gathered his friends together as and where we are standing now, to witness the last solemn act of foundation. The great Lord of Wormegay had come from his stronghold amid the waters of the Nar. Robert de Morleygh, Lord Marshal of Ireland, had left awhile the cares of his unquiet government. Sir Constantine de Mortimer, Sir Anselm de Mariscal, and Sir John Howard, Sheriff of the county and Admiral and Captain of the Royal Navy in the North, were here with a crowd of the best-known gentlemen of Norfolk, as their names on the foundation deed testify, to witness the sealing of the deed by which a new departure in the religious history of Norfolk might be made. So Edmund Goneville passed away from his twenty years' home. He became rector of Terrington and Commissioner of the Marshlands of Norfolk, and subsequently Professor or Doctor of Divinity at Cambridge. And within a few years the hospital of St. John at Lynn, and the still nobler foundation of Goneville Hall—known to us all by the famous name of Gonville and Caius College at Cambridge—bore fresh witness to the zealous virtues of Edmund Goneville, my honoured predecessor in this place, and the builder of this college and church. Forty-one years only after the death of their greatest benefactress (1541), the master and fellows of her college met for the last time in their chapter house. A few strokes of a pen were enough to destroy the work of two hundred years, and the College of St. John Evangelist ceased to be. Church and chancel and churchyard, grange and master's lodge, grammar school and guests' house, all passed with the fair lands so carefully laid together into the royal spoiler's hands. Sampson Michell, a clerk of the Chancery, stood ready to carry off the deed of surrender for registration in London, and, seven days afterwards, the grant of the whole to Henry, Earl of Surrey—the poet earl—passed the Great Seal. The machinery by which this mere job—as we must needs call it—was carried

through has been laid open to us in these papers. The Archdeacon of Norfolk was not only master of this college, but we here learn he was also almoner to the Duke of Norfolk. And when we learn further that, for a whole year before the surrender, the duke's sheep had been feeding by thousands on the college manors without fee or payment, we can see something of an understanding between the archdeacon and the eldest son of his ducal master, by which the surrender of the college was brought about. For some two years a feeble show of service was kept up in the church, but this soon ceased; and in 36 Henry VIII. (1545) the whole place was laid waste by the earl's order. The lead was stripped from the church and great hall, and the roofs torn down. For forty years the *ecclesia vastata et ruinata* lay open, a quarry for stones and a witness of pure reforming zeal. At this point begins what we may call the third birth of Rushworth—or, as it now began to be called, of Rushford—Collegiate Church. From its connection with one ancient family who had done their best here for the glory of God, it was to pass now into the hands of another family, who were for three hundred years to take the place of the old ecclesiastical lords. In 1585 Robert Buxton—lord of the great manor of Chanonz, in Tibenham, and the closely trusted friend and counsellor of the fourth Duke of Norfolk, and his son, the Earl of Arundel—became tenant here during one of those accessions of treason which threw the rents of the Norfolk lands from time to time into the hands of the Crown. And one of the first things he did here was to restore again the worship of God, which had been silent for forty years. At his own cost he threw across the remains of the ruined nave of the Collegiate Church, filling up the empty window spaces with the brick-work windows as they now appear, and closing in the eastern end at the chancel arch and the openings of the transepts with strong timber partitions. And thus he framed, out of the ruins of the church, the oblong square room with which we have to do at the present day. In 1599, this Mr. Buxton obtained license from the Crown to purchase the property from the Norfolk family, and from that time to this it has remained with his descendants, who have maintained the church and services as he did, at their own cost. Thus it has come to pass that there is here a private chapel, the freehold property of a private person, and, as such, free from all exterior jurisdiction. And yet, as it falls within the exemptions of the Marriage Act of 1762, it possesses by the usage of 300 years all *jura sacra* as fully as if it were a parish church. Whatever changes await the Church of England, there is one place here at least in Norfolk where her sacred associations remain beyond the reach of political treatment.—The party then proceeded to Shadwell Court. In the library many of the charters and ancient documents which had supplied Dr. Bennet with the materials for his paper were displayed. Here were exhibited the charter and seal of Edmund de Goveille, the founder of Gonville Hall, Cambridge; fragments of ancient music scores, beautifully written, found on the covers of an old court roll; a charter of Roger Bigod; the writ for collecting ship money, addressed to the High Sheriff of Norfolk, an ancestor of Sir Robert Buxton; a cushion cover, supposed to

have been worked by members of the Buxton family, wrought with an artistic scene, commemorative of the marriage of Charles II.; the deed granting the nunnery at Thetford to Sir Richard Fulmerston (1538); the deed granting Rushworth College to the Earl of Surrey; the deed granting the Manor of Brettenham to the College of Rushworth; the achievement of Le Seneschal Buxton, constable of Bordeaux, *temp.* Richard II., preserved in the Nunnery of Bungay until the Dissolution; a picture of Chanon Hall, Tibenham, the grand old ancestral home of the Buxtons; the crown grant of Rushforth to Robert Buxton in the time of Elizabeth; the Common Form Book of Edward Stannage, clerk to the Privy Council of Queen Elizabeth; a gold coronation medal of George IV.; Sir Robert John Buxton's Pitt Club medal; a relic of Mary Queen of Scots; the original Rushworth register; a patent of High Shrievalty of Charles I.; the MSS. of the charge of Robert Buxton, Chairman of the Quarter Sessions, 1552; and many curious books.

St. Albans Architectural and Archæological Society.—Sept. 20.—Assembling within Dunstable Priory Church, the Rev. Canon Davys read the following paper on the Priory Church of St. Peter: We are assembled in a priory church, built and endowed by King Henry I. towards the latter end of his reign. The King died in 1135, and there is evidence that the foundation charter was drawn up soon after 1131. The character of the Norman portions of this church is of the period I have just mentioned, and we have, therefore, at Dunstable Norman work to which we may, without hesitation, give the date commencing, let us say, at 1132; a most valuable point, when comparing it with other buildings of much the same character. But, if the work of building the whole Priory Church was commenced in 1132, or thereabouts, we must remember that the structure would be begun, as usual, at its eastern end, and that it would then take some time to complete the presbytery, the transept, and central tower, so that twenty years at least might well elapse before the work of the actual nave could be completed. It is not surprising that a town containing within it a great religious foundation should have sprung up under royal patronage soon after the establishment of the Norman power in England, at Dunstable, for the place was an important centre of communication. The great Roman north-west road, the Watling-street, running from London to Chester, was intersected nearly at right angles here by the Icknild-street, running from Salisbury to Bury St. Edmunds. These roads, though now doubtless much changed from their original appearance, still cross each other in the midst of the present town, and besides these two, the Fosse-way also passed through Dunstable. The town itself is supposed to have been built at the junction of all these ways for the protection of travellers against highwaymen, and to have derived its name from a celebrated character in that fraternity, Thomas "Dun." Thus the original church here, as designed by the builders probably employed under Henry I., consisted of a choir with apsidal termination, transepts with apsidal chapels and central tower, and the constructive nave, of which we see the remains. The lines of the original roofs of the aisles including the triforium can still be made out in the ringing-room of the tower, and would

indicate a clerestory, giving much greater height to the nave than it at present possesses. The south aisle is vaulted, a recent restoration from the authority provided by the original vaulting found in its two easternmost bays. The Dunstable west front of this period, judging from these remains, must have been remarkably rich of its kind, and we learn from the chronicle that it was flanked by two towers, for in the month of December 1221 they both collapsed, the south tower falling upon the Prior's Hall, a great part of which it destroyed, and the north tower falling upon the church, and demolishing the parts where it fell. The Norman and Transitional church of Dunstable Priory then must have been a three-towered structure, of which the western towers and the front which they flanked must have been of very rich character; but the building must have been singularly unfortunate, either in its foundation or construction, for not only was there ruin at the west front in 1221, but it may be inferred from the chronicle there had been occasion to renew the eastern parts of the church before 1213, since in that year mention is made of a great dedication of the Ecclesia proper, or choir, which must have been the second on the former site. Early English builders soon after this occurred must have set to work to repair the fearful damage at the west front of the church caused by the fall of the towers in 1221, and they conceived a design of singular beauty. In this west front the great central door of the Transitional Norman design was retained, and side doors of extraordinary richness, and of pointed form, were arranged to lead into the aisles, of which that at the north side still remains, the walls being enriched with elegant flat diaper carving, much like that in the choir at Westminster Abbey. Above these doors are lines of arcading of extraordinary beauty, and a west window of two lancet lights, with a niche of great richness between them. Within this window is what we see, three noble lancet arches taking the lines of the windows and niches without, which are flanked by two openings with arches descending on either side. It is by no means easy now to trace the intended sky line of this front; it appears to have risen in stages, after the manner of steps, as the west front of Wells does, and I should conclude that there were windows, probably triplets or more, with arcading and niches above. But whatever the complete Early English design, this again was doomed to great obliteration in Early Perpendicular times.—Mr. Ridgway Lloyd then read a paper as follows: The Priory of Dunstable was founded in honour of St. Peter, for Augustinian (or Austin), also called Black Canons, towards the end of the reign of Henry I. These Canons, belonging to the class called "Regular," lived in common, having a cloister, refectory, and dormitory. The altars of St. Mary, St. Frehemund, St. Nicholas, and St. James were dedicated. 1208.—The almonry was begun in March, and finished before St. Luke's day, October 18th. 1212.—Miracles ascribed to St. Frehemund, king and martyr. 1213.—On the feast of St. Luke, the church was dedicated by Hugh II., Bishop of Lincoln, in the presence of earls and barons, abbots and priors, many nobles, and of common people without number. On this occasion thirty days' pardon was given to penitents making a true confession who should come thither in fifteen

days, and there was also granted by the same Bishop twenty days' pardon, thenceforth for ever, to those who should come on the anniversary of the day of dedication, or within the octave. Relics of many saints, obtained by the Prior from numerous friends, were by the Bishop deposited in the high altar. 1220.—On April 18th, the Bishop of Lismore dedicated the altar of Holy Cross in honour of All Angels, and the altar of the parish in honour of St. John the Baptist. 1222.—In the month of June the roof of the presbytery fell in, and it was repaired before the autumn of the same year. During a storm in the month of December fell two towers in the west front of the church, one of which fell upon the Prior's Hall, and ruined a great part of it; the other struck the church, a portion of which it shattered. 1228.—A dispute arose between the Prior and ten of the townsmen in reference to offerings, resulting in the excommunication of these persons, who, nevertheless, persisted in entering the church, accompanied by the populace. In consequence of this, the convent and the parish priest ceased to celebrate solemn masses in the church from August 1st to the feast of St. Denys (October 9th); solemnly celebrating meanwhile in the Infirmary chapel. For this cause Hugh II., Bishop of Lincoln, came to Dunstable with a number of clergy and chaplains, and from the rood-loft in the church he solemnly excommunicated the aforesaid ten persons, unless they should make satisfaction before the feast of St. Martin, November 11th. 1228.—In this year was founded the chapel of St. Mary, in the Canons' cemetery. 1231.—In this year was dedicated the altar of St. Mary, by Hugh, Bishop of Ely, with the assistance of Thomas, Bishop of Norwich. 1247.—On the vigil of St. Lawrence's day (August 9th), the King (Henry III.) came to Dunstable with the Queen and their children, Edward and Margaret, to each of whom the Canons gave presents, namely, to the King a gilt cup, and to the Queen another; to Edward a golden buckle, and to Margaret another, at a cost of 22 marks. The King and Queen then offered eight pieces of silk, and the King gave 100 silver shillings for making a thurible and a pix. 1248.—In this year, on St. Simon and St. Jude's day (28th October), died Simon of Edelesbure, and was buried in the church of Dunstable before the cross. Of his substance was provided for the altar of the cross a silver chalice, a missal, a vestment, a lamp to burn continually, a light at two masses; namely, a wax taper from the Purification (February 2nd) to the feast of All Saints (November 1st), for which two candles were to be substituted from the feast of All Saints until Purification. It was also provided from his estate that a mass of Our Lady should there be perpetually sung, and a pittance granted for ever to the convent on every Monday which was not a feast-day; and that on the day of his anniversary as much bread as could be made from five quarters (of wheat), together with a thousand herrings, should be bestowed on the poor for ever. 1250.—In the month of March was begun the inner gate within the Court of Dunstable, which was finished the same year. The refectory was roofed with ten loads of lead. 1251.—A new private dormitory was built. 1254.—Great stable built. 1258.—On Saturday in Easter week (March 30th) the great stable fell to the ground;

it was repaired before the feast of St. Michael. 1272.—Simon of Weston, a blind cleric, was admitted into the almonry. 1273.—In this year, the nave of Dunstable Church was restored at the cost of the parishioners; namely, from the altar at the cross as far as the west door towards the north (that is, the northern porch at the west end). The same year was erected a great dove cot, near the tailors' workshops. 1275.—King Edward I. and his queen were entertained here on St. Andrew's day (30th November). 1276.—Dormitory mentioned. Great bells rung on the occasion of the murder by the King's falcons of the convent chaplain. 1277.—Two great bells given, and a third shortly after. 1282.—A new body to the bakehouse, and a wall to the brewhouse built. 1283.—A clock was made and placed over the rood-loft. 1288.—William le Breton, prior, buried in the Chapter-house. 1289.—The parishioners of Dunstable completed two pinnacles in the front of the church towards the north, and they, in like manner, restored the stone carving in the north porch, which was ruinous throughout. 1290.—In December the body of Queen Eleanor was brought to Dunstable, and remained one night. In the middle of the market-place a bier was set up, until such time as the Chancellor of the King, and other great men who were then present, had chosen a suitable spot, where, later on, was erected, at the King's cost, a cross of wonderful height; the Prior being present and sprinkling holy water. 1293.—The great cross in the church and the figures of Mary and John were newly painted, and many images of saints in the church were likewise renewed. 1295.—Two robbers escaped from the gaol, one of whom fled for sanctuary to the church; in consequence of this, the principal gaol was entirely rebuilt of stone and cement. 1302.—The old chapel of Blessed Mary, which was ruinous, and which had been built by Richard, fourth Prior of this church, was pulled down, and rebuilt from the foundations. 1349.—In the time of the plague, the parishioners of Dunstable made a bell, and called it Mary, and Prior Roger provided lead for roofing the bell-tower.—Dr. Griffith then read some extracts from the church registers, which by the permission of the rector and churchwardens he was enabled to produce.—Leaving the church, the party proceeded to the Priory, where Mr. Cookson showed them "the vaulted chamber," the only part now remaining of the original structure. Some ancient wax candles found behind the wainscoting were inspected.—Having driven to the foot of the knolls, the party walked up to the ancient earthworks.—Dr. Griffith said that there were two old Roman ways which met near this spot—he meant the Ichnield-street and the Watling-street. The latter street ran from Anglesea right through the country into Kent, and the other road ran from Totnes, in Devon, to Bury St. Edmunds. Along both these roads marks of the Roman occupation were constantly found. The British ways were marked by a series of parallel tracts, similar to what they saw lower down the hill. No one could tell what the five knolls on which they were standing were. They had been examined, and marks of sepulture were noticed. It was a tradition in the neighbourhood that five kings with golden boots were buried beneath them.

Brighton and Sussex Natural History Society.
 —Sept. 27.—Dr. W. A. Hollis, President, in the chair.
 —Mr. F. E. Sawyer read a paper on "The Birds and Mammals of Sussex." "On April 8th, 1875, I read a paper on this subject, and now wish to add some further notes. *Mammals*.—I then stated that the wolf was long extinct in Sussex, but have since found from Professor Boyd Dawkins' *Early Man in Britain*, p. 493, that 'the wolves of Sussex devoured the bodies of the English slain on the battle-field of Senlac.' Mr. J. E. Harting, in his work on *Extinct British Animals* (1880, p. 154), says, 'In the parish of West Chiltington, near Pulborough, Sussex, on the south edge of the lower greensand formation which overlooks the Weald, is a spot called Wolfscrag, where tradition says the last wolf of the Weald was killed.' Camden refers to Sedgwick Castle in Sussex as once known 'to those that hunt the marten cat.' Writing in 1853, the Rev. G. M. Cooper says a few years since three otters were seen in the moat of Michelham Priory, through which the river Cuckmere flows. Two otters were shot on January 14th, 1883, on the banks of the Adur, near Henfield. The male measured 3ft. 6½in., and weighed 16½lbs.; the female measured 3ft. 1in., and weighed 11½lbs. (*Brighton Herald*, June 20th, 1883). I find that I omitted to mention the seal amongst the extinct Sussex mammals. Bede, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, states that Selsea (formerly Selesen) derived its name from the seals found there, and though one or two writers seem to think this absurd, I see no reason to doubt the fact, as seals are occasionally found on the English coast; and recently, when visiting Heligoland, which is a little farther north, I saw three seals sitting on a sand-bank, and I believe they are common at the mouths of the Elbe and Weser in Germany. The Sussex fishermen call the porpoise 'Bluely.' Mr. Rolf (an old Brighton fisherman) has told me a curious anecdote of the porpoise. About forty-five years ago, when fishing about thirty miles off Brighton, they caught a young porpoise in a mackerel net. The mother came to the surface of the water and cried like a child at the loss. The fishermen then put the young one over the side of the boat, and the mother came and took hold of it with her mouth, and tucking it under her fin, carried it off in triumph! *Birds*.—Amongst the forty-two species of birds which I added to the Sussex was the black-winged stilt (*Himantopus candidus*), another of which has since been seen on May 6th, 1880, at Eastbourne, by Captain Clarke Kennedy (*Zoologist*, 1880, p. 300). I referred to the bustard as an extinct bird, and find that White, in his *Natural History of Selbourne* (Letter vii. to Barrington), states that there were bustards on the wide downs near Brighthelmston. Mr. Borrer, of Cowfold, writing in the *Zoologist* (1880, p. 143), says, that 'in February 1880 he saw a great skua flying over the Chain Pier, Brighton.' From the Sussex Archaeological Collection (xvii., 115) I learn that the date of the introduction of the pheasant into England is uncertain, but that it is known they were breeding in Sussex in 1245. The *Sussex Daily News* of August 28th, 1876, records that 'on August 20th an immature specimen of the Glossy Ibis was shot in a water meadow near Arundel.' I have compiled two lists of Sussex Folk Names of Mammals and Birds.

Sussex Mammal Folk Names.—Bluely—the porpoise; Flit—a bat; Futtice—a weazel; Kime—a weazel, Cooper gives *kine*, Mr. Parish mentions a curious story of a boy in a Sussex Sunday-school who thought that Pharaoh's fat and lean *kine* were weazels; Sheere-Mouse—a field-mouse; Sow Cat—a female cat. *Sussex Bird Folk Names*.—Barley-bird—Ray's wagtail, *Motacilla flava*; Brown-bird—the thrush; Caffercher—the chaffinch; Clod-bird—common bunting, *Emberiza miliaria*; Culver—a pigeon or dove, there is a field at Selmeaton called the Culver Ake, i.e., pigeon's oak; Cutty, also Kitty—the wren; Duck Hawk—peregrine falcon; Fanner—a hawk; Flappers—young wild ducks, which have just taken to wing, but are unable to fly; Forky-tail Kite—the kite, *Milvus vulgaris*; Galley-bird, Gallows-bird—the woodpecker; Grey-bird—the thrush; Gull—a gosling; Hedge-pick or Hedge Mike—the hedge sparrow; Jack Hearn—a heron, referred to as 'a gurt old jack-hearn'; Little French Woodpecker—lesser spotted woodpecker, *Picus minor*; Mew—Sea-gull; Parson-Gull—great black-backed gull, *Larus marinus*; Parrot-billed Willock or Willy—razor-bill, *Alca torda*; Puttock—common buzzard, *Buteo vulgaris*; Real Titlark—the Brighton birdcatchers' name for the tree pipit, *Anthus vulgaris*; Rinding-bird—wryneck, *Yunx torquilla*; Screecher—common swift, *Cypselus apus*; Scutty—the wren; Sea Parrot—puffin, *Fratercula arctica*; Shag, or Seaford Shag—the cormorant, Shag is also a nickname for the inhabitants of Seaford; Skiff—common tern, *Sterna hirundo*; Spudger—common sparrow; Squab—an unfeathered bird; Stone-Falcon—male sparrow-hawk in winter; Stone-Runner—ringed plover, *Charmorus hiaticula*; Stony Redpole—mealy redpole, *Linota canescens*; Titterel—whimbrel, *Numenius phaeopus*; Tom—any cock bird, as a 'tom turkey' or 'tom parrot'; Willock or Willy—common guillemot, *Uria troile*; Windhover—kestrel, *Falco tinnunculus*; Yaffle—green woodpecker, Yarrel says it is so named because its notes are like a laugh."

Keith Field Club.—5th Sept.—The Club had an excursion to Auchroisk and Boat o' Brig. At Taucher's Mill they stopped to examine one of the best of those remarkable heaps of slag that are to be found at various places in the counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Elgin. This heap is on the farm of Cur-lusk. Mr. Fraser led the way to Boat o' Brig, where he pointed out the site of the Hospital of St. Nicholas, of the graveyard, and of the old bridge. The most interesting thing Mr. Fraser pointed out was a part of the old Bridle Road, on which files or strings of horses laden with goods of various kinds passed and re-passed between Elgin and Keith. These bridle roads were so narrow that one string of horses could not pass another, so there were *loops* or *sidings* at intervals, where the horses going in different directions could pass each other. The part seen was just at one of those loops. The next stage in road-making was also seen. It was for wheeled vehicles, but narrow and rough. It was interesting to compare these with the present road and with the railway. In few places can these four stages of progress be seen so well as near Boat o' Brig.—Mr. Linn read the following notes on the early working of iron in the country with reference to the slag heap that had been visited:—

"On our way to Auchroisk to-day we had an opportunity of examining on the farm of Curlusk one of the best of a remarkable set of small mounds or heaps, that are evidently the sites on which iron has been smelted. Similar remains are found in the south of Scotland. They are found also in England, as in the Forest of Dean. Some of these Forest of Dean ones show that iron had been worked there in Roman times, because Roman coins and other articles have been found deeply buried in the heaps of iron cinders. In Scotland, so far as I know, we have no such evidence of the early working of iron. Indeed, there seems to be nothing at all known of its beginnings in Scotland. In the introduction to *Early Records relating to Mining*, collected by R. W. Cochran-Patrick, we find that the earliest historical notice of the working of iron in Scotland is in a grant made by David I. to the Abbey of Dunfermline, in 1153, of a tithe of all the iron brought into the town. Again, in the Charter of St. Peter's Hospital in Aberdeen, by Bishop Matthew Kinnimont, who died in 1199, there is also a grant of a tenth of the iron. 'In 1263, the Bull of Pope Urban IV. confirmed to the Monastery of Pluscardin their grant of the tithe' of the iron which was dug in the forests of Pluscardin and Whitetree. For a long time after this there is hardly any mention of the working of iron. The next date we have is 1609, when it was proposed to erect iron works in the Highlands on account of the abundance of wood. An Act of Parliament forbade this because the waste of timber would be too great. I shall give the 'Act anent the making of Yrne with Wode.' 'At Edinburgh, 27th Jan. 1609. Forsamekle as it hes pleisit god to discover certane vaynes of ritche mettall within this kingdome; as alsua certane wodis in the helandis: whilkis wodis by reason of the savagnes of the inhabitants thair about wer rather unknowin or at the leist unprofitable and unused: And now the estatits presentlie conveyned being informit that some personis upon advantage of the present generall obedience in those partis wald erect yrne milnis in the same partis: To the utter waisting and consumeing of the saidis wodis: whilkis mycht be reserved for many better vseis: and vpoun moir choise and profitable mettaillis for the honnour benefite and estimatioun of the kingdome: Thairfore the estatits presentlie conveyned statutis and ordanis: and thairwith commandis chargeis and inhibitis all and sundrie his maiesties leigis and subiectis: That nane of thame presone nor tak upoun hand to work and mak any Yrne with wod or tymmer vndir the pane of confiscatioun of the hail yrne that salbe maid with the said tymmer; to his maiesties vse: And ordanis publicatioun to be maid heirof be oppin proclamatioun at all places neidfull quhairthrow nane pretend ignorance of the same.' By 1613, a change of feeling in regard to the matter had some way been brought about; for at this date we find the Privy Council making a 'Proclamatioun restreaning the Transporte of Yrne Vr.' 'At Edinburgh, 7th April, 1613.—Forsamekle as certane of his Majesties subiectis oute of thair affectioun to the credite reputatioun and commoun weil of this thair native countrey haveing interprisit the practise and making of yrne within the same and haveing with verie grite troublellis chargeis and expensis broght that work to ane ressounable good perfectioun of purpois

and resolutioun to prosequete and fallow out the same work for the good of the countrey: Thay ar lyk to be hinderit and disapointit in the cours and progres of the saidis workis by the frequent transport is now become sa ordinar and common alsweill in the personis of strangeris as of the borne subiectis of this realme as thair cannot be haid sufficientlie whairwith to interteny the sadis workis and since this art and practise of making of yrne is most necessar and expedient for the commounweill of the countrey and that the same can not be intertenyed and haldin fordwart yf thair be not abundance and sufficiencie of vre within the countrey whairwith to work the same,' etc. I need not quote more. The substance of the remainder of the 'Proclamatioun' is to forbid all his Majesty's subjects as well as strangers from carrying forth of the realm any iron ores under certain specified penalties." "In 1610, Sir George Hay of Nethercliff had a gift of the manufacture of iron and glass 'within the hail boundis of the kingdom of Scotland' for thirty-one years, and this was confirmed by an Act of Parliament in 1612; and at the same time Archibald Primrose, clerk of the mines, had his license for making iron within the sheriffdom of Perth ratified. In 1621, Sir George Hay of Kinfauns had permission to transport any iron made by him to any port or harbour of any burgh, notwithstanding the privileges or liberties formerly granted to the burghs." "In 1728, the York Building Company, among their other extensive but short-lived works, had furnaces for smelting iron erected in the parish of Abernethy. No great progress was made in the manufacture of iron till the beginning of the present century. In 1805 or 1806, Mr. David Mushet, manager of the Calder Iron Works, discovered the rich and valuable Blackband Ironstone, which, in honour of him, was called the 'Mushet Blackband.' The next great step was the discovery and introduction of the hot blast by Mr. J. B. Neilson in 1830. We all know what a state of perfection the manufacture of iron has reached now, and what changes have been brought about in the appearance of a great part of Central Scotland since the beginning of the century. But all this throws no light on such heaps of slag as that we have just examined. How and when the iron was got we do not know, though we do know that iron is not at all uncommon in the quartzites, etc., of this district, as may be seen in the railway cutting and in the Burn of Mulben quite near at hand, and also on the side of Ben Aigan, near Arndilly. Whether it was derived from such sources or from bog iron, or whether the ore was brought from a distance—just as we know limestone used to be brought from considerable distances, and in some cases is so still, and prepared in a kiln on the farm—we have no means just now of knowing. It seems likely, however, that it was brought from a distance. Dr. Ivison Macadam, of Edinburgh, is at present experimenting on such 'slags,' and we may expect, I think, that some light will thus be thrown on the matter. The solving of the problem is another case in which the members of the Keith Field Club may do good work. Some of you may know more places than I do where such heaps are to be seen. The first one that I knew of is at Auchinroath, near Rothes. About twenty years ago Dr. Gordon of Birnie sent me a fine specimen of the slag, which most of you have seen.

To the heap we have just visited I was directed by Mr. Steuart of Auchlunkart. There is one on the side of the Bin of Cairnie, from which I got some good specimens, and in a field on the farm of Gedloch, in the parish of Birnie, scattered pieces are very numerous, showing that a mound or heap had once been there. The greater part of Scotland has only very recently come into possession of the advantages of the Age of Iron. It is not a very great while since wooden ploughs went out of use. Nor is it so very long since the carts had wooden axles and solid wooden wheels. Wooden forks and graips have not very long ago gone out of use. In the case of these latter articles there was a kind of transition or passage to the 'Iron Age' by tipping the prongs with iron. Indeed, almost up to our own time so scarce and dear was iron that wherever wood or stone could be made to serve the purpose they were used."

Cambridge Antiquarian Society.—Oct. 22nd.—Mr. J. W. Clark, President, in the chair.—Mr. Ridgeway exhibited two Roman coins lately found in Cottenham Fen—a *middle brass* of Trajan and a *denarius* of Alexander Severus, *rev.* Hope advancing to left and holding the flower of immortality SPES. PVBLICA; also an unpublished copper Ely token WILLIAM. GOTOBED. 1662 ELEY; on a shield ermine three Ely crowns in chief.—Mr. Lewis exhibited a plated *denarius* of Trajan (COS. VI. = 112 A.D.) found last July near the surface in a field opposite to Cavendish College; and also nine fragments of pre-historic Mexican pottery from Southern Utah, presented by Mr. E. A. Barber, of Philadelphia.—The Rev. G. F. Browne described "some sculptured stones of Anglian character in Lothian (Abercorn, Morham, etc.) and some recently discovered sculptured stones in Durham and Yorkshire (Auckland. Cawthorne, Chester-le-Street, Filey, Gilling, Kirk-Levington, Northallerton, Ripon, Whitby, York, etc.)." His remarks were illustrated by a large number of outlined rubbings of the stone crosses and other objects to which he alluded. The stones in Scotland south of the Forth differed entirely from those north of the river, of which latter Mr. Browne showed very fine specimens from Pitfour and Dunfallandy. The stones north of the Forth were for the most part flat stones, with crosses and figures sculptured on them. The stones south of the Forth were entirely of the nature of pillar stones, with the four sides sculptured. With regard to ornamentation, the characteristic difference was that the finest stones from the Forth to the Humber bore upon them scrolls, of very great grace and beauty; while among the whole of the stones in the Pictish parts of Scotland there was only one instance of a decided scroll of the classical character, and that stone, curiously enough, was the only one in those parts which bore an inscription, in Roman minuscules. The time when the whole of the district was under one management, politically and ecclesiastically, was very well defined, and the dates of such monuments as were dated brought them to the earlier part of that period. The pillar at Bewcastle had beautiful scrolls on it, and it bore runes declaring that it was set up in memory of Alchfrid, who died in 664. But a case where perhaps the date was more clear was found at Hackness. He showed rubbings of the various sides of the

Hackness fragment, bearing scrolls of much beauty; also one of the numerous inscriptions on the stone, which were in Roman letters and in Anglian runes and in tree runes, showing that Oedilburga was the person whom the stone commemorated. She was abbess of Hackness at King Aldfrid's death in 705. Proceeding to Chester-le-Street, he showed a number of stones found this year. One was a shaft, bearing a man on horseback—a most unusual feature on an English stone—with two dragons bearing down upon him from above, and on them was inscribed, in Roman and Runic characters mixed, the word EADMVND. Edmund accompanied his brother Athelstane to Chester-le-Street, on his way to repel an inroad from the north, and on that occasion Athelstane made very rich offerings at the shrine of St. Cuthbert. The other stones found were portions of the large socket stones in which the shafts of the crosses had been placed. They were sculptured on all sides with subjects. One of those subjects was a figure trampling on a dragon, with a figure on either side having a head not human. He showed a stone at Bishop Auckland bearing a continuous scroll, in the members of which were birds and animals feeding on fruit, and he pointed out various stages in the decadence of these scrolls. The first idea was that developed at Ruthwell and Bewcastle, the Christian tree of life in which birds and animals rested and fed in peace and plenty. He believed the early teachers meant to contrast this tree with the ash, which was the object of pagan worship, and he showed a fragment of a fine shaft at York, on one side of which were two harts feeding on fruit, probably two of the four harts which the pagan Saxons represented as feeding on the ash tree, while on the other side was a beautiful series of scrolls with grapes and wheat-ears, representing the Christian vine and the true bread, that being the first idea of the scroll. The stone at Auckland, which was of later date, introduced the idea of sporting, and on it was represented a man lurking among the scrolls and taking aim with his bow and arrow at one of the animals. The head of the man was beautifully cut, and he wore a tight skull cap and a pair of very carefully trimmed moustaches, but no other hair about his face. That circumstance pointed to the later period of the Saxon monarchy, up to which period the Saxons had worn beards. In the manuscript of Aldhelm's treatise *De Virginitate* were scrolls with beautifully wrought lions and other animals involved in them, but the animals were quite stiff, the scrolls were there merely for ornamentation, and not as representing life and peace and plenty. After the Norman Conquest a scroll of like character was to be found, at the west door of Lincoln Cathedral. But there the departure from the original was still greater, for not only was there a man below, attempting to slay one of the animals, but in the member above was another man engaged in a similar attempt. Mr. Browne then showed a group of rubbings from a remarkable cylindrical pillar at Masham; and also of two stones which he had found high up in a buttress of the north transept of Ripon minster, a portion of that cathedral which had remained almost untouched since it was built by Archbishop Roger in 1160.

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.—Oct. 31st. —The Rev. Dr. Bruce in the chair.—The Chairman read “Notes on the recently discovered turrets on Walltown Crag.” At a recent meeting of our society I mentioned that a specimen of that nearly obliterated class of buildings, the turret, which originally were thickly set along the whole line of the Roman Wall, had been found upon the westernmost height of the Walltown Crag. Through the kindness of our friend Mr. Lamb, I have been supplied with an accurately drawn ground plan of the building, from which I glean the following particulars. The wall at this point of its course is 7 ft. thick. The turret is let into the wall to the extent of $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft., leaving the wall immediately to the north of it of a thickness of only 4 ft. 6 in. The interior measurement of the turret from east to west is 13 ft., from north to south 11 ft. 10 in. The thickness of its walls is 3 ft. 2 in. The present height of its walls varies from 3 ft. to 6 ft. The wall which forms the north wall of the turret stands nine courses high. In my recent notice of this turret, I expressed a hope that further investigation would be made in order to ascertain whether some more turrets could not be found to the east of it, so as to settle the question how many of this class of structures there were between two neighbouring mile-castles. I am glad to say further light has dawned upon us. Our vice-president (Mr. Clayton) sent the other day his chief excavator (William Tailford) to examine the spot. I give the result of his inquiries. At a distance of 578 yards eastwards, measuring closely by the wall, he found another turret in all respects similar, so far as appearances went, to the previously discovered one. Following the line of the wall closely for a distance of 412 yards, a mile-castle is reached. This mile-castle is laid down in Mr. McLauchlan’s survey of the wall. Proceeding eastwards again for a distance of 522 yards, our explorer found a third turret. This turret stands on the top of the hill, on the east side of the gap in which King Arthur’s Well is situated. Ordinary observers would not have detected the presence of a turret or other building here, but the experienced eye of Tailford noticed that the herbage on this spot was richer and of a different colour from that of the contiguous parts; he, therefore, put down his spade, and found the turret. Like all the others, it was let into the wall, and it measured from east to west 11 ft., and from north to south 9 ft. 6 in. Until a thorough excavation is made the height of its walls cannot be given. Horsley thought that there were four of these turrets, or, as we may call them, stone sentry boxes, between each mile-castle. So far as we can at present see, there were but two.—The Rev. Thomas Stephens read a paper on fragments of Roman pottery found on the new road leading from Harton to Marsden, where a cutting had been made. He said:—“Happening, in the course of a ramble a short while ago, to be passing along the new road leading from Harton to Marsden, or rather the recent extension towards the latter place of the road already existing, I noticed on either hand, at a point where a cutting had been made, evident traces of fire. I was thus led to examine the cutting more closely, and was pleased in the whole of my search to find here and there fragments of pottery, which, though small, were of such a character as to leave no doubt

as to their being Roman. Amongst these were pieces of the coarse, dark ware, the brown or yellow, and the red lustrous, or what is commonly termed samian ware. Whatever doubts I may have had as to the former being Roman, there could be none as to the latter. I also unearthed, besides a quantity of animal remains, such as the bones and teeth of the ox and sheep, and the shells of the common limpet and periwinkle, a portion of a bronze nail of characteristic Roman workmanship.”—Mr. Cadwallader Bates called the attention of the meeting to Newburn Hall, a small but quaint specimen of thirteenth century architecture, belonging to the Duke of Northumberland, and probably the oldest non-ecclesiastical building on the north bank of the Tyne between Newcastle and Aydon Castle. A considerable, but, fortunately, the least interesting portion of this has been recently demolished. What remains possesses an arched doorway, some corbelling, traces of a small original window, and a curious zigzag chimney; but the whole, having been let out into tenements, is in deplorable condition. Representations have been made in the proper quarters, which it is to be hoped will result in the rest of this singular relic being not only spared but repaired. The township of Newburn Hall, like those of Bothal Demesne and Aydon Castle, represents the home farm of the manor.



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

The Antiquity of the Spoon.—The following quotation will be welcomed by our readers:—“The use of the spoon is wide-spread, and dates from remote antiquity. The form which we use at the present day—a small oval bowl, provided with a shank flattened handle—is not that which has been universally adopted. If we examine into the manners and customs of some of the people less civilized than we—the Kabyles, for example—we shall find that they use a round wooden spoon. Romans also used a round spoon, which was made of copper. We might be led, from the latter fact, to infer that the primitive form of this utensil was round, and that the oval shape is a comparatively modern invention. But such is not the case, for M. Chantre, in making some excavations on the borders of Lake Paladan, the waters of which had been partially drawn off, found, in good state of preservation, wooden spoons which in shape were nearly like those in use at the present day; the only difference being in the form of the handle, which was no wider than the shank. The lacustrine station where these were found dated back to the ninth century, and we therefore have evidence that oval spoons were already in use during the Carolingian epoch. The Neolithic people used oval spoons made of baked clay; several fragments of such have been found in the Seine, and M. Perrault has also discovered a number in a Neolithic deposit in Burgundy. This gentleman found, in addition, a pot ladle. ‘The tablespoons,’ he says, ‘are elongated, and exactly

resemble the wooden spoons in use in our kitchens. Their bowls vary from three to fourteen mm. in depth.' The portions of handles which he collected were too fragmentary to allow it to be determined whether or not they terminated in a flattened handle like the modern forms. It might be pertinent to inquire to what possible use a spoon could have been put in the Reindeer Age, when raw meat was eaten, and when skin bottles were the only water vessels. Yet a genuine spoon, made of reindeer's horn, has been discovered in the grotto of Gourdan. It is oval, very long, and quite shallow. Its handle is very elegant, being covered with engraved figures. Unfortunately it is so broken that it is impossible to say whether the handle was flattened. The slight depth of the spoon should not surprise us, for the men who made it knew neither soups nor sauces, and they could only have used it for the purpose of extracting the marrow from the bones of large animals, or for eating the brains of the latter; and for such uses the depth of the bowl was of small consequence. M. Piette has likewise found other well-characterized spoons in deposits of the Reindeer Age. One of these, more delicate, narrower, deeper, and less elegant than the one just mentioned, was found in one of the lowermost strata. At a still greater depth in the same deposit he came across a thick, rudely made spoon, which appeared never to have had any handle. It was made of rough-dressed bone, with polished edges, and its shape was oval. Before the invention of such an implement as a spoon, men of the Reindeer Age employed the spatula; and this is found at all depths in the Gourdan and Lortet deposits. Mr. Garrigan discovered in the grotto of Alhat a fragment of reindeer's horn hollowed out in its whole length, and apparently designed for holding liquids; and utensils were found by M. Piette at Gourdan. These, however, were probably only temporarily used as spoons, the only genuine spoons which have been discovered being those described above, and which served as models for Neolithic men, who afterwards appeared on the scene."

Old Oak Chest at Stirling Guildhall.—Mr. Robert Shearer, Dean of Guild of Stirling, has been the means of restoring to that town a valuable old oak chest which once belonged to it. The old chest formed part of a large collection of old oak furniture sold in the Royal Exchange Sale-Rooms, Glasgow, on Tuesday, the 19th September, 1882, on which occasion Mr. Shearer purchased it. The entry in the catalogue is as follows:—

"94. UNIQUE DOLE COFFER, originally in the Guildhall, Sterling, the whole being inlaid and Carved in Bold Designs where not covered by Inscriptions, which are both numerous and quaint, viz. :—"NO · BETTER · THOUGHT · THEN · THINCKE · ON · GOD · AND · DAYLY · HIM · TO · SERVE, · NO · BETTER · GVIFT · THEN · TO · YE · POORE · WHYCHE · READIE · ARE · TO · STERVE;" "MAN · SHALL · NOT · LIVE · BY · BREAD · ALONE, · BVT · BY · EVERIE · WORDE · THAT · PROCEDETH · OVT · OF · THE · MOWTH · OF · YE · LORD;" "IOHN · COWANE'S · GVIFT · TO

YE · CITTIE · OF · STERLING;" "16—IT · IS · MORE · BLESSED · TO · GIVE · THEN · TOO · RECEIVE—36;" "I · WAS · HUNGRIE · AND · YE · GAVE · ME MEAT, I · WAS · THIRSTIE · AND · YE · GAVE · ME DRINK, I · WAS · A · STRANGER · AND · YE · TOOK ME · IN, NAKED · AND · YE · CLOTHED · ME, I · WAS · SICK · AND · YE · VISITED · ME."

Thought to have been the Gift of some Dole to Sterling, by JOHN COWANE, who was a great benefactor to the city, and built and gave the Guildhall, as recorded on tablet over entrance."

The dimensions are 4 ft. 7½ in. long, 2½ ft. high, 21½ in. across the top of the lid, and 18 in. deep inside. It has been examined by antiquaries, and John W. Small, F.S.A. Scot., architect, and author of two quarto volumes on *Ancient Furniture*, gives it a page in his volume and a lithograph of the chest. He says the old chest in Stirling is a very rich piece of workmanship, and has had a curious history. Originally it was presented to the Guildry of Stirling in 1636 by John Cowane, who was one time Dean of Guild, and a great benefactor in endowing an hospital or almshouse for decayed Guild brethren. It is next heard of at Doune, some six miles from Stirling, and might have been carried away there by the Highlanders in the rebellion in 1745. An English traveller, *en route* to the Highlands by Callander and the Lakes, during the change of horses strolled into the stable, and the chest attracted his attention, and he bought it from the innkeeper and had it sent on to England. After resting in a mansion in the South for at least half a century, the old homestead was broken up, and along with the collections of a lifetime it was sold in the Auction Mart in Glasgow, and is now again back in the old Guildhall of Stirling, where, after a devious history and many wanderings, it has found a resting-place. Mr. Shearer has given to the Stirling Natural History and Archaeological Society a succinct account of its wanderings, and observes that the strong point is the letter from the son of the purchaser of the chest in Doune more than half a century ago, a gentleman of character and position in the South, who had no interest in framing a story untrue. Another evidence is the letters from gentlemen well able to form a correct opinion as to the chest; and further, there is the fact that Mr. Small, F.S.A., architect, Edinburgh, one of the first authorities on ancient furniture, has accepted it as a genuine relic, and given it a place in his forthcoming volume. The *Stirling Journal* of 27th September, 1882, writes: "Whatever the purposes to which it was put, we accept it as a genuine article. Its shape and style are undoubtedly of the dole order." It may have been that the chest was intended for a poor dole to wanderers and strangers. The *Stirling Observer*, 27th September, 1882, says: "There is no doubt of the genuineness of this relic. It may have been a charter chest for containing the muniments belonging to the Guildry." In the paper by Mr. Cook on the Stirling Guildry Ring, read on 5th April, 1883, speaking of John Cowane, the auditors report on his accounts,

and say that "John Cowane has delivered to his successor in office the gild box with twa keys, ane gild kist with the auld wreats and evidents pertaining to ye said gildrie, with the auld handsenzie [standard] and twa pinsells [pennons] and great wey baak [bulk

for standard weights], and ane irone elwand, and ane gild ring, set with sundrie cullors of stanes, the auld gift of the gildrie, the charter of King David and ane great bunshe of wy wreats pertaining to ye said gildrie."

Dates and Styles of Churches. Chichester Cathedral.—Communicated by Thomas Powell, Sutton Court, Broomfield, Salop.

Section.	Founder.	Style.	Date.
South and West Porches	Bishop Seffrid	Early English	1190
Nave 156' 0" x 92' 0" x 62' 0"	Bishop Ralph Luffa.	Norman	1095
Clerestorey	Bishop Seffrid	Early English	1190
Triforium	Bishop Ralph Luffa.	Norman	1100
North Aisle			
South Aisle	Bishop Langton	Decorated	1332
North and South Exterior Aisles	Bishop de la Wych	Early English	1245
The only instance in England.			
North Transept (Sub-Deanery)			
South Transept	Bishop de Langton	Decorated	1320
Here is a beautiful window, which is a fine example.			
Choir 105' 0" x 59' 0" x 60' 0"	Bishop Seffrid	Norman (Late)	1190
Vaulted Roof		Very fine specimen.	
Reredos	Bishop Sherbourne	Decorated	1520
Organ Screen (formerly Oratory)	Bishop Arundel	Perpendicular	1460
Lady Chapel 63' 0" x 20' 0" x 22' 0"	Bishop de Lespard	Early English	1290
This is really a Mortuary Chapel of the Dukes of Richmond, and it is used as the Chapter Library.			
Chapter House	Bishop Neville	Early English	1230
Sacristy	Bishop de Langton	Decorated	1320
Throne	Bishop Mawson	Perpendicular	1750
Cloisters		Perpendicular	
Their position is unique, being placed east, instead of west, of the South Transept.			
Spire 271' 0"	Bishop Neville	Early English	1230
The glory of the Cathedral was blown down in 1861, and the present one is an exact copy. It is very similar to Salisbury.		Rebuilt in	1862
South-West Tower 95' 0"			
Campanile 120' 0" (detached)	Bishop de Langton	Decorated	1310
This is the only existing instance of a Bell Tower adjoining a Cathedral.			
Presbytery 52' 0" long	Bishop de Langton	Decorated	1310

Old London Paving Acts.—Anno 24 H. 8, ca. 11, an acte is made for pauing of Strād crosse and Charong crosse.

Anno 25 H. 8, ca. 8, an act is made for pauynge
of Holborne and Southwarke.

Anno 32 H. 8, cap. 17, an act was made for paving of diuers streetes & lanes in London.

Anno 34 H. 8, cap. 12, an act is made for pauinge of diuers streetes & lanes in Lōdon, & nere unto Lōdon.

The Origin of Lobby.—It is curious to note that the derivation of Lobby carries us back to times when the meeting-places were under the great trees of the forest, and not in buildings. Sir Francis Palgrave says, "The root of the word *leaf* or *leafie* runs through all the variations of *loff* (Dan.), *loof*, *loove* (Belg.), and *laub* (Germ.). From the latter is formed *laube*, any kind of leafy shade, whether a hut or tabernacle constructed of the branches of trees, or an arbour or covered walk, or a deambulatory in front of any building—*lobia*, *laubia*, *lobiam*. Porticus aperta ad spatium idonea adibus

adjuncta—*Gallerie*—*ex Theutonico, laus folium*
quod ejusmodi deambulatoria in prædiis rusticis foliis
obducantur et operiantur (Du Cange). But in the
usual process of language the primary idea was soon
obscured; and in Italy, in the eleventh century, they
began to apply the term to any arched portico, or
lobia of other materials—*Juxta lobiam marmoream*
... lobium sub diversis arcubus complevit (*Galyanus*
Flamma, apud Muratori, 12, p. 1015) and by another
inflection, from *lobia* or *lobgia*, the Italian *loggia* is evi-
dently derived."—Palgrave's *English Commonwealth*,
vol. ii., p. cccxlvii., note.

Berkeley Square, London, in 1756.—“At one o'clock this morning, on Oct. 4, 1756, the Hon. Capt. *Brudenel* was stopt in his chair, just as it enter'd *Brudenel* square, from the *Hay-hill*, by two fellows with pistols, who demanded his money; he gave them five six-pences, telling them he had no more, which having taken, they immediately made off; the captain then put his purse and watch under the cushion, got out, drew his sword, and being followed by one of the chairmen with his pole, and the watchman, pursued them up

the hill, where the Hon. Capt. *West*, who was walking, having joined them, one of the fellows having got off, they follow'd the other into *Albermarle* meuse, where finding himself closely beset, he drew a pistol, and presented it, upon which the captain made a lunge at him, and run him thro' the body; the fellow at the same instant fired his pistol, which the captain being still stooping, went over his head, and shot the watchman thro' the lungs; at the instant the pistol was discharged, while the fellow's arm was extended, the chairman struck it with his pole and broke it: he was then seized, and carry'd with the watchman to the round-house in *Dover-street*, where Mr. *Bromfield* and Mr. *Gataker*, two eminent surgeons, came, but the captain would not suffer the villain to be dress'd, till he discovered who he and his confederates were; when he acknowledged they were both grenadiers in Lord *Howe's* company. The poor watchman died in half an hour after he was shot; and the soldier was so disabled by his wound that he was carried in a chair to justice *Fielding* who sent him to New Prison, where he died. It is but a year since Mr. *Boudeler* was robbed in that square, in whose defence a chairman was shot.—*Gent. Mag.*, 1756, p. 495.

Ancient Family Custom.—A very ancient custom, peculiar to the Dyotts, of Freeford Hall, Lichfield, was commemorated on the 31st of October last, at the funeral of the Rev. W. H. Dyott, of Anstrey. For many generations past it has been the custom of this family to bury its members within their vault in St. Mary's Church in the city of Lichfield, at night, with a torchlight procession. The first interment took place in the year 1659. Here lie the remains of Sir Richard Dyott, one of the Privy Council to King Charles I. in his court at York, and Steward of Lichfield in the Charter of James I., in 1621; was an active and faithful adherent to the Royal cause in the Civil War. He represented the town of Stafford, and afterwards the city of Lichfield, during the whole reign of Charles I., and suffered much in his service. Close by his side lie the remains of his brother, John Dyott, better known as Dumb Dyott, who, on St. Chad's Day in 1643, took up his position on the battlements of Lichfield Cathedral, from whence he shot Lord Brooke, the leader of the Parliamentary forces, who was at the time standing in Dam Street, directing the attack upon the Cathedral.—At 9 p.m. on Wednesday the remains of the Rev. W. H. Dyott were conveyed from Freeford Hall, the family seat, in a hearse, accompanied by one coach and Colonel Dyott's private carriage, along with the tenants and servants, bearing lighted torches. When the Guildhall was reached, the torch-bearers retired, and the hearse was drawn up to the doors of the church, where it was met by the Rev. Prebendary Scott, who officiated. The coffin was then taken to the chancel, and the 90th Psalm sung by the choir. After the usual lesson, the funeral hymn, "Days and moments," was sung, and the remains were removed into the Dyott Chapel, and then lowered into the vault. At the conclusion of the last collect the hymn "For ever with the Lord" brought the solemn ceremony to a close. No member of the family was present at the burial, it being an invariable custom that none of the family follow their relatives to the grave.—(Communicated by THOMAS POWELL.)

Antiquarian News.

The recent examination of a tumulus situated in the old churchyard of Taplow, near Maidenhead, memorable as the burial place of Sarah Milton, mother of John Milton, has resulted in the discovery of a remarkable series of Anglo-Saxon objects. The articles include an elegant jewelled and enamelled gold buckle, gold fibulae, silver armlets and wrist ornaments, a bronze shield, breastplate and helmet, iron sword, spear, bronze bucket, two drinking horns with ornamented metal mountings, two glass vessels remarkably characteristic of the Early Anglo-Saxon glass manufacture, and other interesting items. Portions of human remains, showing no signs of cremation, were found with the articles at a depth of about eight feet below the natural level of the floor of the barrow which must have been the grave of a person of considerable distinction. The examination of the barrow has been conducted with the permission of the Rector of Taplow, the Rev. C. Whateley. The whole collection is to go to the British Museum, and Mr. Franks is superintending its removal.

The *Illustrirte Zeitung* reports the discovery of a tragedy by Leopardi on the subject of Pompey. It was written when Leopardi was only fourteen.

*Mr. William Paterson, of Edinburgh, has in the press a work on the Scottish game of curling, edited by Dr. James Taylor, of Edinburgh. It will contain numerous songs and anecdotes referring to the game, and will embody a collection of famous curling songs gathered together by Dr. Sidey.

Some interesting remains have been discovered by the French Tunisian Archæological Expedition. The excavations in the neighbourhood of Bograra, El Kantara, have brought to light ruins of great buildings belonging to the Roman times. A marble temple, believed to have been dedicated to Zephyr, is remarkable for the great size of the blocks of which it is constructed.

During some recent excavations at Tarragona a white marble column has been unearthed which is believed to have formed part of the monument erected there to Augustus Cæsar.

In repairing the city wall and buttresses still in existence beside the Dane John at Canterbury a piece of Roman tessellated pavement was found embedded in the structure. It is formed of small stone cubes, the tesserae, all white, being inlaid in a layer of fine salmon-coloured mortar, similar to the remains of a Roman villa recently found at Wingham and at the ancient church of St. Martin. Excavations within a short distance of the old city moat have resulted in the discovery of upwards of a score of skeletons, together with Roman urns of fine red ware, a fragment of a highly decorated bowl, coins, rings, bracelets, some curious flint implements, and rounded sling stones.

A collection of gold and silver ornaments representing two distinct aspects of early Scotch art has recently been presented to the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland by Mr. Dundas, of Arniston. They were discovered at Largo, in Fifeshire, many

years ago, when unfortunately the most valuable portion of the find was dispersed and irretrievably lost.

At a meeting of the Manchester Corporation held on Oct. 25th, Sir Thomas Baker, in moving the adoption of the Court Leet Records Sub-committee's proceedings, said the position in which the sub-committee were placed at present was a very favourable one. The earliest volume of the records had been carefully copied and annotated by Mr. Earwaker, and the committee had received from him a letter informing them that everything was ready now for the purpose of having that volume committed to the press. He believed that throughout England there was not a volume in existence similar to the one they proposed having printed, and that it would excite the admiration of municipal authorities all over the kingdom when it appeared. He had no doubt the general opinion would be that in taking such a step the Corporation of Manchester had acted in a most enlightened manner. Councillor J. F. Roberts seconded the motion, which was then passed.

The remains of a Saxon church have been discovered at Peterborough. As the workmen engaged in the restoration of the cathedral were digging for the purpose of laying foundations for the new piers, they came against masonry which clearly indicates the presence of some building in former times. It is supposed to be a portion of a Saxon monastery, which was built on that spot in the year 665, and destroyed by fire in 870. The stones still bear the traces of having been exposed to fire. A Saxon sarcophagus was also exposed.

A singular case came before the Queen's Bench Division from the little Denbighshire borough of Holt. An information had been filed against the Corporation and the Crown bailiff for the non-fulfilment of certain obligations dating back for a long time. On the attainer of Lord Seymour, in the reign of Edward VI., lordships belonging to that unfortunate nobleman were vested in the Crown. In the fifth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth the rents were defined as twelve pence for every burgage, twelve pence for every curtilage, and two shillings for every acre of domain. Down to 1819 the sum of £62 2s. 4½d., definitely fixed at the time of the Restoration, was annually paid to the Crown official. Then there was an interval of thirteen years, during which £221 appear to have accumulated as arrears, followed again by a period lasting till 1862, when the rents were paid with regularity. For the past twenty years, however, the payments have entirely fallen into arrear, doubtless owing in part to the fact of Holt being an "unreformed" corporation. According to strict law, the Crown was entitled to seize the town and take possession of every tenement in it; but the Attorney-General admitted that such a remedy was not to be thought of now-a-days. This ancient corporation is simply asked to collect one year's rent, and to faithfully fulfil its obligations in the future.

A volume is nearly ready for the press on *Ilkley, Ancient and Modern*, by Rev. R. Collyer, D.D., New York, and J. Horsfall Turner, with chapters on the prehistoric and natural history, by John Holmes, J. W. Davis, F.G.S., F.S.A., Messrs. Clarke and Roebuck, and Dr. Arnold Lees.

The Rev. W. J. Payne has made some interesting discoveries at Toppesfield Church. It became necessary to remove a very ancient incised slab of a man in armour, which formed part of the pavement, to another position, where it would not be concealed by the new stalls. This slab is described in *Wright's History of Essex*, vol. i., p. 649, as follows:—"A tombstone on the ground in the chancel bears the effigy of a man, but no inscription." On the men lifting it, the name "Thomas" appeared as soon as the head part of the stone was raised, though a portion of the inscription was much defaced. On one half of the bevel at the head was "X THOMAS," while on the right side was made out "LE DESPENSER, LORDE HAVE MERCE, MERCE, MERCE. AMEN." The words "Le Despenser, Lorde have" are much defaced. The letters are of the fourteenth century, and the slab bears a great resemblance to the one in Bitton Church to the memory of Sir John de Bitton, figured in *Boutell's Monumental Brasses*. The time corresponds to that when the Le Despensers owned Camoys, the largest manor in the parish. "On the decease of Ralph (Camoys), in 1295, Margaret, his sister, succeeded to the estate, whose first husband was Philip Le Despenser, fourth son of Hugh, Earl of Gloucester," by whom she left sons, as the estate on her death, in 1330, was held by her eldest son, Philip Le Despenser; so probably Thomas was a younger son. The figure bears his shield in a very unusual position, covering, as it does, the whole of his breast. The bevelled edges and the letters on the bevels show that originally the slab covered a raised tomb under a canopy in the north wall, as the other half of the head bevel and the other side bear no inscription. From the legs of Thomas Le Despenser being crossed, he was probably the founder of the church that existed before the present structure, and as his mother's name was Margaret, the probability is increased by the fact that Toppesfield Church is dedicated to St. Margaret, his mother's Christian name suggesting the saint. There is also in the chancel, in the south wall, an altar tomb bearing a rich polished cross, but no inscription, beneath a canopy. This has been restored by the rector, and as one of the quatrefoils (on which the slab bearing the cross rests) had to be supplied, five-sixths of the ancient one being lost, on removing the existing quatrefoil it was discovered that two quatrefoils and a trefoil at the west end were made out of a solid block of clunch that originally had been the middle sill of a decorated window, and here probably in this tomb is the original sill of the old east window's middle light.

An interesting discovery has been made at Andermatt, in the canton of Uri, by some workmen, who were excavating near the old church, well known to tourists. While digging they suddenly came upon several skeletons, and on disturbing them there fell from the lower jaw of one two gold coins of the reign of Charles VIII. of France, at the end of the fifteenth century. Further search revealed the presence in the bony hand of the skeleton of a piece of linen rag in excellent preservation, and on unfolding the rag the men brought to light ten silver coins of the sixteenth century, of the time of Francis I. of France. It is supposed that the skeleton is that of a soldier who

fought at the battle of Marignan, and that having stolen some money and put the gold coins in his mouth for safety, he was immediately afterwards killed on the field.

The ancient and historical church of St. Mary, Bexley, which has been restored, has been reopened. The manor of Bexley was granted by King Cenulph to Wolfred, Archbishop of Canterbury, from A.D. 805 to 832, who used it to build and endow a church. In 1130, three hundred years after the church had first been built, certain alterations were made and works of restoration carried out, remains of which could be seen that day. At that time the patronage of the living was handed over by the Archbishop to a priory which existed in Aldgate. About thirty years after, the trial of Thomas à Becket took place, and Sir John de Lucy, the Lord Chief Justice, took part in his condemnation and banishment. When Becket returned, and was subsequently murdered, De Lucy seemed struck with such repentance and remorse, that he actually retired from his high office of Lord Chief Justice and became a monk, and devoted his wealth to founding an abbey a very short distance from there, and the remains could still be seen.

The Genealogist, which has been edited for so many years by Dr. G. W. Marshall, will from the present time be conducted by Mr. Walford T. Selby at the Public Record Office. A new series of *The Genealogist* is announced to commence with the January number for 1884.

A meeting has been held in Hull to consider the advisability of forming a society under the name of the "Hull Antiquarian Society." It is proposed that the members meet once a week, when papers are to be read on subjects relating to antiquity. The meeting was not numerously attended, but considerable interest was shown by those who were present on the prospect of a club of this nature being formed. It is probable something more of this interesting meeting will be heard, as Hull is a town well known to all the community for the formation of these valuable associations.

It is proposed to invite all who are interested in preserving the records of Northamptonshire to assist in forming a collection of matter that would be useful to future historians of the county. If sufficient interest is shown in the proposal, a quarterly publication, entitled *Northamptonshire Notes and Queries*, will be issued. The first number will appear in January, 1884, and the editor will be the Rev. W. D. Sweeting, Maxey Vicarage, Market Deeping.

In 1800 Dr. Jonathan Scott published a volume of tales and anecdotes, translated from Arabic and Persian MSS., among which is the Arabian version of the book of Sindibad, under the title of *The History of the King, his Son, his Favourite, and his Seven Viziers*—commonly known as *The Book of the Seven Viziers*. Scott's work is now extremely scarce. Professor Compagnot states, in his valuable *Researches respecting the Book of Sindibad* (a translation of which, by Mr. H. C. Coote, F.S.A., forms a recent publication of the Folk-Lore Society), that he found considerable difficulty in procuring a copy. And at his version of the romance is of great importance

to students of the history of fiction, Mr. W. C. Coulston proposes issuing a private reprint of it, with an introduction and notes; and also the substance of another scarce composition, Professor Forbes Falconer's excellent analysis and specimens of the only known Persian text of the romance, entitled *Sindibad Nama*, composed in verse, in the year 1379, which he made from an unique MS. in the library of the India Office, and published in the *Asiatic Journal*, 1841.

The excavations which have been carried on during the last month between the Roman Forum and the Palatine Hill have brought to light the site of the house of the Vestal Virgins. The remains discovered consist of an atrium surrounded by apartments of various sizes, a tablinum with a fine mosaic marble floor, and three large pedestals with inscriptions in praise of the chief Vestals. Several other inscriptions have been found, one in honour of Commodus, another of Alexander Severus; also a head of the former Emperor and a bust of Annianus Verus.

Mr. H. T. Wake, of Derby, has sent us three copies of his curious catalogues, which contain many items of interest to antiquaries.

Some important alterations are upon the eve of completion at Lincoln's Inn. In connection with Stone-buildings, an old sun dial, which has previously stood in another part of the inn, has been removed, and is now placed between the windows of William Pitt's old chambers, No. 4, overlooking the gardens. It bears the following inscription:—"T. Right Hon. W. P. 1794"—the "T." standing for "Treasurer," Mr. Pitt having held this office at the time indicated. It is likewise not generally known, but is worthy of remark, that Stone-buildings were erected in 1780, and up to this date the gardens of the society had abutted on Chancery Lane. More important from an archaeological and architectural point of view are the alterations which have been made to Lincoln's Inn Chapel. This has been restored a good deal (more especially with regard to the ceiling), and its length added to by a "bay" in a westerly direction. The crypt beneath has had to be continued, and although its proportions have been thereby wholly destroyed, the groin work, which has been faithfully copied from the old portion, is probably as fine a specimen of its kind as can be found.



Correspondence.

DORCHESTER ABBEY CHURCH, OXON.

As accuracy is of special importance to the antiquary, perhaps you will allow me to point out in your columns an error into which I have accidentally fallen in my recent work on the above church. In describing the celebrated Jesse window, which is, as you no doubt are aware, quite unique—there is nothing like it either in England or France—the peculiarity being that some of the figures are sculptured in stone on the mullions, while others are on painted glass between them; unfortunately this window was removed to the east end

about the end of the last century, and, after remaining there a generation, was restored to its original place on the north side of the chancel, but when this was done it was not observed that the figures on glass were not restored to their original places. I suggested that if some person conversant with the subject, like my lamented friend the late Mr. Winston, would take the trouble to study the glass in this window, he might be able to replace these figures. I happen to say, "Mr. Winston would probably have been able to restore them to their original places, as he did so ingeniously in a window of Oxford Cathedral, in which the glass of the fourteenth century had been scattered about in the great west window and other places, and was all carefully replaced in the window from which it was originally taken, in a chantry chapel of the south transept on the eastern side. Perhaps some successor of Mr. Winston may hereafter be able to replace the Dorchester glass, and name the figures." I had every reason to believe I was correct in this, and I perfectly remember Mr. Winston showing me the glass that belonged to this window scattered about in other windows, as stated above; but the Dean of Christ Church has kindly informed me that this is a mistake on my part: the replacement took place under his own personal direction. He was not acquainted with Mr. Winston, nor had any one conveyed to him what he had said; his own attention had been called to it by observing the same thing as Mr. Winston had pointed out to me, which it appears I had not mentioned to the Dean. I believe I must have been in Rome at the time the replacement took place, as I have spent fifteen winters there, too much occupied with the archæology of Rome to pay much heed to what was going on in Oxford. I was sent to Rome by Dr. Kilian, of Aix-la-Chapelle, under whose care I had been placed by Dr. Owen Rees, who had attended me during my long illness at Windsor, when my life was almost despaired of, and I had lost the use of my left side from paralysis. By the skill of Dr. Kilian, and the benefit of the waters, I was apparently quite restored to health; but the Doctor told me if I returned to England for the winter I should certainly be a cripple for life. If I went to Rome, as he recommended, I should probably get well, which fortunately proved the case. When I undertook my work on the archæology of Rome, in order to give myself employment for body and mind (and this it has certainly done), a Roman friend, to whom I mentioned that I purposed to undertake a work on the archæology of Rome, exclaimed, "You will find it an ocean without a bottom to it." This has proved only too true, as the excavations for historical objects, which I was the first to set going at ruinous expense, and now carried on by the Italian Government on a magnificent scale, bring fresh objects of interest to light every month; they have completely demonstrated that the old legendary history of Rome must be substantially true, as the fortifications of the Etruscan kings are brought to light in all directions, with the four successive walls of Rome, the last being the city on the seven hills, with the great rampart of Servius Tullius on the eastern side, and the unfinished rampart of Tarquinius II. another mile beyond that. This was left unfinished in consequence of the successful rebellion under Brutus, which ended in a republic. The excel-

lent plan of Tarquinius, which would have made Rome an impregnable city for a thousand years, was eventually carried out by the Emperor Aurelian, but without the earthen rampart in that part where Tarquinius had not completed it; and this is the point at which Rome has always been taken. The parts where the ramparts are wanting is rather more than a mile between the Prætorium and the Pincian; whether the latter is really a hill, or only a part of the great rampart of Tarquinius, is a doubtful question. It is well known that a large part of the imperial wall of Aurelian still remains, and is probably the finest wall of the kind we have anywhere; but the great earthen rampart proved to be the more effectual defence. I have been wandering far from Dorchester, but the readers of *THE ANTIQUARY* will be as much interested with the successive walls of Rome as with Dorchester, although that is a place of great interest to the antiquary. A complete account of the excavations in Rome, from the sixteenth century to the present time, will be found in my volume on the "Via-Sacra," recently published.

JOHN HENRY PARKER, C.B.

Oxford.

WEEVER'S EPITAPH.

In the recently published *History of London*, by the Rev. W. J. Loftie, there is printed an epitaph written for himself by WEEVER, the antiquary. It runs thus:—

"Lancashire gave me breath,
And Cambridge education,
Middlesex gave me death,
And this church my humation,
And Christ to me hath given
A place with Him in Heaven."

The above is clearly a paraphrase of a remarkable epitaph in Kendal Church, written by RALPH TIRER, vicar, for himself, and inscribed on a brass plate within the communion rails. It runs thus:—

"London bredd me, Westminster fedd me,
Cambridge spedd me, my Sister (the Church) wedd me,
Learning brought me, Kendall caught me,
Labour pressed me, sickness distressed me,
Death oppressed me, and grave possessed me,
God first gave me, Christ did save me,
Earth did crave me, and Heaven would have me."

This last epitaph was placed in 1627, and Weever survived this five years; so he may, by his occupation and survival, be naturally supposed to have been acquainted with it. It may be found at p. 61 of *The Annals of Kendal*.

Ventnor.

C. N.

THE HAWICK SLOGAN.

(*Ante*, pp. 164, 231.)

Mr. Lang, in last month's *ANTIQUARY*, questions the antiquity of this singular slogan, and believes that "Odin and Thor have no more to do with the matter than Gamaliel."

He states, as his own view of its origin, that it is "a mere bit of nonsense, to rhyme (in the Hawick

lingo) to Flodden ;" and he thinks that the verse might as well have run—

"Tommy Trip and Tommy Dodin."

He does not say when this "bit of nonsense" may be supposed to have been invented for ballad purposes, nor does he explain how any such "bit of nonsense" can be supposed to be capable of stirring the emotions of the local community. Yet he does not dispute Dr. Murray's statement that the war cry still "retains all its local power to fire the lieges, and the accredited method of arousing the burghers to any political or civic struggle is still to send round the drums and fifes 'to play Tyribus' through the town." If the appeal is really a survival from long-past ages, this effect is intelligible, though, no doubt, remarkable; but it seems scarcely conceivable that such an effect could be produced by a mere modern bit of nonsense.

Mr. Lang refers to "Odin and Thor"; but the appeal was not addressed to Thor and Odin, but to Tyr and Odin—that is to say, to Tyr, the god of war, the Scandinavian Mars, and to Odin, who was not only the chief of the gods, but the special giver of victory. Tyr, the spirit of war, presided, as it were, over actual hostilities, but Odin determined the result, awarding the victory as he thought fit.

The appeal was therefore made precisely to the two gods—the god of war and the god of victory—to whom it would be naturally made by heathen Norsemen in the ninth or tenth, or even eleventh, century; and no ground can apparently be suggested why the names of these two heathen gods should have been selected by a popular poet, in a modern and Christian age, to make a rhyme to Flodden in the form of "Ter-i-Odin." It is hardly possible to regard this phrase as an original invention of the sixteenth century.

It is a mistake to confound Tyr with Thor. The former answered to Mars, the latter to Jupiter, as is shown, among other evidence, by the names of the two days of the week, Tuesday and Thursday. In the original astrological or planetary names of the days, the third day of the week was named after the planet Mars, and the fifth after the planet Jupiter; and in the corresponding northern nomenclature Tuesday represented *Martis dies* and Thursday *Jovis dies*.

There may not at present be any direct evidence to prove the use of this slogan before A.D. 1513, the year of the battle of Flodden; but further inquiry may lead to the production of such evidence, and in the meanwhile the presumption arising from the names of the two gods is not only very strong, but almost conclusive.

There thus appear to be three distinct theories with respect to the origin of this appeal to Tyr and Odin:—

First, that it was introduced by the original Anglian settlers, probably in the fifth century.

Second, that it was introduced by subsequent Scandinavian settlers, perhaps in the tenth century.

Third, that it was invented as a nonsense-rhyme for some ballad relating to the battle of Flodden, which took place in the year 1513.

The third theory fails to account for the use of the names of the two heathen gods as the groundwork of

the supposed nonsense-rhyme (Ter-i-Odin); while the first theory fails to account for the Scandinavian forms of those names, Tyr for Tiw, and Odin for Woden.

Attention having been drawn to this interesting question—interesting both in its historical and in its folklore bearings—further facts may perhaps be elicited, tending to show under what circumstances and at what date the war cry was first adopted.

DANBY P. FRY.

November, 1883.

SUCCESSION THROUGH FEMALES.

(*Ante*, pp. 183, 229.)

Mr. Wake seems to me to have put us in the right path to a satisfactory solution by virtually bidding us ask ourselves the question, What do we mean by "primitive politics"? Do we mean that Prehistoric Custom which Mr. Gomme has done so much to restore to our sight? Or do we mean that historic system which is known to have prevailed in the days of the Old-English monarchy? Now, leaving the general and very wide question of succession through females, and restricting ourselves to our original *propositum*, the claims of Stephen of Blois, we see that this is not a matter of succession through females *versus* succession through males, for both claims were equally through females. It was merely the claim of a *sister's* son as against the claim of a *daughter* and her son. The point, then, that we have to consider is simply this: Which of these claims would be the more valid in the eyes of those who were influenced by Old-English traditions? To answer this, we must, of course, be agreed as to what those traditions were. For my own part, I am fairly satisfied that the only claim they recognised as valid was that (to put it tersely) of "the worthiest *Agnate*." In this I may no doubt be mistaken, but the view has the sanction of Canon Stubbs, who distinctly asserts that "the succession was, by constitutional practice, *restricted to one family*" (*Const. Hist.*, i. 135). Should this view be correct, it is obvious that these traditions were, in the case of Stephen, *nihil ad rem*. Even assuming that the Conqueror and his sons were recognised as now the reigning house *de jure*, as clearly as they were *de facto*, yet the Old-English system, recognising no right outside the four corners of the male house, will not help us in a case where the male house was extinct. Must we not, therefore, after all, exclude from our problem the factor of Old-English (and *a fortiori* of "primitive") politics? For is it not a problem which can easily enough be solved without that aid? On the one hand, we have the Empress, personally unpopular, her position further damaged in just the same way as was that of Queen Mary by the Spanish match. For her rule would have meant that of her Angevin husband, unpopular with the country at large, and peculiarly so with the Norman nobles. On the other hand, we have Stephen of Blois, personally popular, himself a Norman noble (as *Comte* of Mortain), and only too likely to allow his brother nobles to have their own way. Here, then, in merely personal considerations, we have surely a sufficient explanation. And this view is strengthened by the fact that the country

rallied round Prince Henry, when freed from the fear of his parents' rule, just as it rallied round his grandson and namesake when freed from the special influence of John's personal unpopularity.

Mr. Gomme is unquestionably pursuing the truly scientific method in calling our attention to the too-long-overlooked continuity of English politics. I have merely ventured to question whether that continuity is illustrated by Stephen's succession under peculiar and abnormal circumstances. I would suggest that traces of the Old-English tradition (if, as I hold, Agnatic) should be rather sought for in the claim of Arthur, as compared with the striking absence of claim on behalf of his long-surviving sister. Nay, it might even be sought, in modern times, in the Agnatic character of our peerage, and of our whole system of precedence.

I have purposely avoided making any reference to Mr. Freeman's peculiar views on the succession to the crown in Old-English times, for I hope to call attention to these on some future occasion. Meanwhile, I would point out that there is no necessary discrepancy between his "opinions" and the evidence of his "facts" (*ante*, p. 229), for a childless peer, for instance, in our own days, might "naturally fall back on" his sister's son, even though his *title* were doomed to pass to a distant Agnate; and it is but fair to add that he cannot be charged with neglect, at any rate, of political traditions, since he invites our special attention to their influence in the case of John's election:—

"It is worth while to point out how long the old Teutonic feeling survived, and at how late a time it was still formally put forth as a constitutional principle."—*Norman Conquest*, iv. (2nd ed.), 596.

J. H. ROUND.

Brighton.

HISTORICAL CHAIRS.

Will you kindly enable me to ask through the columns of your journal for particulars, with engravings, drawings, or photographs, of celebrated chairs in family seats of the nobility and gentry, with information, also, of notable chairs in cathedrals, churches, colleges, and public institutions at home or abroad? I am preparing an account of historical chairs from available literary sources; but being aware that there are many interesting ones which have escaped my search, as well as some others in private possession little known, and wishing to make the proposed volume as copious as possible, I thus beg your assistance on that behalf, with my best thanks for such valuable favour.—Letters to be addressed to C. B. Strutt, 34, East Street, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.

GUNPOWDER PLOT.

Though I see every reason why "Gunpowder Treason" should "be forgot," and no reason why subjects of Queen Victoria should be blown up with crackers to celebrate the escape of James and his parliament from being blown up with a mine, yet I was interested at recovering the following "Guy Fawkes Day" poem, imperfect still, I fear.

In out-of-the-way parts of Surrey and Sussex it is

sung by men with their shirts or smocks outside their clothes, and with a doleful accompaniment on cows' horns. It begins as usual, "Remember, remember," etc., and then goes on—

"This is the day the Pope contrive
To blow all England up alive.
Old Guy Fawkes lay down below
To plot old England's overthrow,
But as I went up the centre
I saw old Guy Fawkes enter.
Speak, Guy, speak!

(*Slowly and solemnly*)

What's to be done?

(*Slowly*)

Put him in the fire, there let him burn!

(*Rapidly*)

Put him in the fire,*
Burn off his head,*
Holloa, boys, holloa, boys,
Guy Fawkes is dead!
Holloa, boys, holloa, boys,
Make the bells ring,
Holloa, boys, holloa, boys,
God save the King" (*sic*).

(They blow cows' horns, cheer, and demand ale.)

I have heard it twenty years ago, but only recovered the words yesterday.

H. E. MALDEN.

Kitlands.

P.S.—Is there not a reference in lines marked * to the penalties for high treason?

ST. CHRISTOPHER AS PORTRAYED IN ENGLAND DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

(*Ante* p. 193.)

Mr. Keyser's very interesting paper on this subject throws much light on a portrayal of St. Christopher which I should be glad to add to his list. It is a rude, but still distinct, sculpture of the saint, carved out of the wall in the porter's niche adjoining the gateway of Colchester Castle. It corresponds closely with the conventional type as described by Mr. Keyser (p. 197), and differs, moreover, from three adjoining carvings, in that it alone *faces towards the entrance*. Thanks to the singular hallucination that this Norman keep was a Roman temple, a Saxon cathedral, and what not, a careful engraving of the figure will be found in the Rev. H. Jenkins's pamphlet on the Castle (1869), and in Mr. G. Buckler's *Colchester Castle a Roman Building* (1876).

J. H. ROUND.

I herewith send you a few additions to the list of representations of St. Christopher in England, published in your October number.

1. In *Mural Painting*.—Stanford Dingley, Berkshire.

2. In *Sculpture*.—Durham Cathedral; Westminster Abbey [Henry VII.'s Chapel (two)]; Canterbury Cathedral [on the tomb of Cardinal Morton, in the crypt].

CHARLES E. KEYSER, M.A., F.S.A.

Merry Hill House, Bushey,

Nov. 14th, 1883.

The Antiquary Exchange.

Enclose 4d. for the First 12 Words, and 1d. for each Additional Three Words. All replies to a number should be enclosed in a blank envelope, with a loose Stamp, and sent to the Manager.

NOTE.—All Advertisements to reach the office by the 15th of the month, and to be addressed—The Manager, EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT, THE ANTIQUARY OFFICE, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

FOR SALE.

L'Art D'Aimer D'Ovide suivi du remède D'amour. Traduction nouvelle avec des Remarques Mythologiques et Littéraires, par F. S. A. D. L. . . . Paris Chez Ancelle Libraire, rue du Foin-Saint-Jacques's college-Gervais, No. 265, An XI—1803, with engraved frontispiece. 471 pp. with MS. Notes, bound in half vellum, gilt top, 20s.—Shakespeare as an Angler, by the Rev. H. N. Ellacombe, M.A., Vicar of Bitton, 1883. Parchment binding, 10s. 6d., engraved frontispiece, very scarce.—Luxurious Bathing, a sketch by Andrew Tuer, Illustrated with 8 etchings by Tristram Ellis. *Remarque proof* (Copy No. 4), only six printed, signed by the artist, small oblong, old style printing, 1880.—Illustrated Catalogue of The Paris Salon, Edited by F. G. Dumas, containing about four hundred reproductions in facsimile, after the original drawings by the artists, 1883. Paper covers 3s.

The Athenaeum, July, 1879, to June, 1883, eight vols., in numbers as issued, clean and perfect, £2.—*Cassell's Magazine of Art*, vols. 1 to 3, in half morocco, new, and vols. 1 and 2 New Series, half roan, new, £3 the set.—The Hamilton Palace Collection, illustrated priced catalogue, printed on hand-made paper, 1882, cloth new, published at £2 2s., 21s.—*The Theatre*, vols. 1 to 3, first series, in half morocco (containing the portraits of Henry Irving, Ellen Terry, H. J. Byron, F. C. Burnand, and many others), price 30s.—Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, by T. Hall Caine (large paper edition, fifty copies only printed), with portrait, 20s.—Shakespeare, The Plays of, complete in 8 volumes, allegorical and other illustrations, copper-plate, very clean and perfect. London: printed for Bellamy and Roberts, No. 138, Fleet Street, and at 4, Peterborough Court, Fleet Street, 1791, whole calf, 20s.—Thackeray's Works, 24 volumes, very little used, bound in half calf, marbled edges, clean and perfect, £5.—A number of Book Plates (*Ex Libris*), from 2s. per dozen.—Sharpe's British Theatre, eighteen vols., 32mo, calf, covers of one vol. damaged. London: printed by C. Whittingham, Dean Street, for John Sharpe, opposite York House, Piccadilly, 1804-5. Very fine engraved title page to each vol., and portrait of W. H. W. Betty as Douglas. Book plate of Francis Hartwell in each vol., 20s.—Caxton's Game and Playe of The Chess, 1474: a verbatim reprint of the first edition, with an introduction by William E. A. Axon, M.R.S.L. Forming part of the first issue of The Antiquary's Library, 10s. 6d.—W. E. Morden, 5, Longley Terrace, Lower Tooting, S.W.

The seven volumes of Antiquary—Bound in Roxburgh, good as new—Three guineas.—R. H. Barlow, Childswyckham Vicarage, Broadway, Worcestershire.

Rubbings of Monumental Brasses in exchange for others, or Coins, Medals, or War Medals.—F. Stanley, Margate.

Autographs for sale of Cardinal Wiseman, Archbishop Whateley, Lord Brougham, and Father Gavazzi, the last three being letters. What offers? 239, Care of Manager.

A set of Sotheran & Co.'s Edition of Richardson's works, edited by Leslie Stephen, now publishing in 12 volumes, (10 issued bound in half morocco, marbled edges. Copy Number 9 can be seen at the Office of the ANTIQUARY. Price complete £7 7s. Apply to the Manager, ANTIQUARY Exchange Department.

Set of four Chairs with two Arms, Gothic Shape, Mahogany, Chippendale, £2 2s. Set of six Chairs, Mahogany, Adams inlaid, £2 10s.; other Chippendale Articles.—Mr. Hetherington, Writtle, Chelmsford.

Several Poesy, Intaglio, and curious Rings for sale, cheap.—Particulars, 220, care of Manager.

A Collection of over 6,000 Book-plates to be sold. Apply for owner's name and address to Briggs & Morden, 5, Longley Terrace, Lower Tooting, S.W.

A fine tall copy of Hasted's History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent, 12 vols., 8vo, half calf, rather stained by damp, complete with plates but no maps, £5 10s.—240, care of Manager.

The Manager wishes to draw attention to the fact that he cannot undertake to forward POST CARDS, or letters, unless a stamp be sent to cover postage of same to advertiser.

WANTED TO PURCHASE.

Armorial Book Plates purchased or exchanged.—Dr. Howard, Dartmouth Row, Blackheath.

Dorsetshire Seventeenth Century Tokens.—Also Topographical works, Cuttings or Scraps connected with the county.—J. S. Udall, 4, Harcourt Buildings, Temple.

Swift's Works, 19 vols., 1824; Walpole's Letters, edited by Cunningham, 9 vols.; Books published by Pickering, ante 1855; Hervey's Memoirs of George II., 2 vols., 1848; Doran's Their Majestie's Servants, 2 vols., 1864. Good prices for good copies.—Biblios, 20, King Edward Street, Lambeth Road, London.

Wanted, Poll Books, for County Elections in Essex, Herts, and Cambridgeshire.—Thomas Bird, Romford.

Old works on Craft Freemasonry.—Briggs & Morden, 5, Longley Terrace, Lower Tooting, S.W.

Wanted by a Private Collector all Kinds of Coins, Curiosities, Engravings, etc.—125, Coltman Street, Hull.

Wanted English and Foreign War Medals and Decorations, cheap.—F. Stanley, Margate.

Vol. XIX. Percy Society Collection, containing Legend of St. Brendan.—238, Care of Manager.

Wanted large or small quantities of book plates (*Ex Libris*), early dated ones preferred, such as Rev. John Lloyd, 1730; Deburgh, 1750; Lord Boyle, 1725; Benjamin Greene, 1757; Isaac Mendes, London, 1746; John Wiltshire, Bath, 1740; John Wiltshire (designed by Ross), 1740; C. Delafaye Wichbury, Wilts, 1743; Musgrave, of Edenhall, 1732. No fancy prices given.—199, Care of Manager.

INDEX.



- Accounts of Henry V., 95-100.
 Agen (Lot-et-Garonne), Ancient Clock at, 80.
 Agricultural Implements (Primitive), 140-145, 189-193.
 "Aizen," Note on, 134-5.
 Alne, Parish Registers of, 246.
 Andermatt, Discoveries at, 267.
 Andermach, Animal Remains found at, 38.
 Anderson (J.), *Scotland in Pagan Times*, Review of, 28-29.
 Anglo-Saxon Objects found in Tumulus at Taplow, 266.
 Animals Extinct, 260.
 Anne (Queen), Coinage of Farthings, 64.
 Anthropological Institute, Meetings, 31, 75.
 Antiquarian Discoveries on the Continent, 24-27.
 Antiquaries, Society of, Meetings, 31, 74.
 Antiquaries (Scotland), Society of, Meetings, 34, 75-76.
 Apulia, Rock-hewn Monastery at, 52-57.
 Archaeological Association Meetings, 32, 171.
 Archaeological Institute Meetings, 32, 74-75, 121, 168-170.
 Architecture, Italy, Early Renaissance, 33; Scottish, 33-4.
 Ariccia, Marbles discovered in the "Torione di Chigi," 133.
 Armenian Art (Ancient), Relics of, 131.
 Armour, Ancient, worn by "Belted Will," 147.
 — Ornamental, found at Vettorsfelde, 26.
 Arms and Armour, A Transitional Period in, 1-5.
 Arrowhead (Flint), found at Shrowner, Winchester, 79.
 Arts (Industrial), Ancient Venetian, revival of, 223-225.
 Ashley (Market Drayton), The Ancient Registers of the Parish of, 201-204.
 Asiatic Society Meetings, 31.
 Assyrian Collection in British Museum, 178; Inscriptions, 229.
 Aston, Oxfordshire, Land Tenure in, 207.
 Athens, Proposed School of Archaeology at, 75.
 Augsburg, Frescoes discovered at, 81.
Aungervyle Society Publications, Review of, 73.
 Avebury, Restoration of St. James's Church at, 132.
 Axe-heads (Bronze), discovery of at the Maidens, Ayrshire, 76.
 Barnborough Church, Account of, 171-2.
 Barnstaple Church, Account of Restoration of, 133-134.
 Barrow Church (Chester), Restoration of, 83.
 Bath, Roman Bath at, 84.
 — Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club Meetings, 35, 76.
 Battle Church, Account of, 170.
 Beaconsfield Church, Account of, 126.
 Beads Manufacture, Ancient Venetian, 224.
 Bedsteads, Old Oak, 43-44.
 Beehive Huts, Cornwall, 222.
 Bells, Inscriptions on, in German Churches, 32.
 "Belted Will," The Home of, 145-149.
 Bent (J. Theodore) on Ireland in 1600, 106-110.
 — on a Description of England sent to Philip II. of Spain, 151-153.
 Berkeley Square, London (1756), 265.
 Bermuda Hog Money, 31.
 Bervie Churchyard, Sepulchral Chalice found in, 34.
 Bexley, St. Mary's Church at, 268.
 Biblical Archaeology, Society of, Meetings, 32, 75, 256.
 Bicester, Romano-British Remains near, 156-159.
 Bilton, Parish Registers of, 248.
 Birch (W. de G.), *Cartularium Saxonicum*: Collection of Charters relating to Anglo-Saxon History, Review of, 216.
 "Bleak House," Sale of, 178.
 Bograra, Excavations at, 266.
 Bones, Animal, found at Andermach, 38; at Bicester, 157-8; at Bræbustur, 38; near Greenhead, 173; in Poole's Cavern, 77; of Mammoth Rhinoceros found in Wales, 226.
 Bonn, Roman Inscriptions found at, 25.
 Bootle's Houses, London, Demolition of, 180.
 Borough English, 243-246.
 Borzece, Silver Coins found at, 177.
 Bosworth Park Estate, Sale of, 177.
 Bothal, Ogle Tomb at, 105-106.
 Botocudo Indians, 75.
 Boulton (E. E.), on Insects in Oak Furniture, 135.
 Boxley Abbey, 48-52; Boxley Rood, 135.
 Bræbustur (Orkney), Prehistoric Mound at, 38.
 Brailsford (W.), on a Transitional Period in Arms and Armour, 1-5.
 Brass, Suffolk, Restoration of, 135, 242-243.
 Brasses of St. Christopher in English Churches, 194.
 Brent Knoll Church, Somerset, Account of, 35.
 Bridle Roads, 260.
 Brighton, Natural History Society Meetings, 259, 260.
 British Fort discovered in Grass Wood, Grassington, 37.
 British Islands, Coinage of the, 8-12.
 British Museum, Illuminated MSS. in the, 187-189; Map-making in, 212-215.
 British Remains near Bicester, 156-159.
 Broadwas Church, Worcestershire, Restoration of, 228.
 Brocade, Ancient Venetian, 225.
 Brock (R.A.), *Official Records of R. Dinwiddie*, Review of, 255.
 Bronze Age, Agricultural Implements of the, 189.
 — Colossal Horse discovered near Delos, 84.
 — Object (Curious), Query on, 231.
 Brown Clee Hill Encampment, 77.
 Brownbill (Rev. J.), on Boxley Rood, 135.
 Buckinghamshire. See "Taplow."
 Bucks Architectural and Archaeological Society Meetings, 126-128.
 Buildings (Ancient), Society for Protection of, 134.
 Bulstrode Family, Account of, 126.
 Buryghley, Lord (W. Cecil), 16-21.
 Burial by Torchlight, 265; in Woolen, 249.
 Burke (Edmund), Relics of, 128.
 Burne (Miss C. S.), *Shropshire Folk-lore*, Review of, 30.
 Bury Ditches, near Walcot, British Encampment, 78.
Butterfly's Ball, etc., Review of, 254.
 Butterwick Church (Yorks), Reopening of, 80-81.
 Buxton, Poole's Cavern at, 77; Excavations at, 77.
Bygones relating to Wales and the Border Counties, Review of, 73.
 Cabinets, Old Oak, 41-43.
 Caer Pensaulcot, Site of, 221-222.
 California (Sonoma County), Petrified Forest discovered at, 84.
 Calleva-Attrebatum, Note on, 39, 85, 86.
 Cambrian Archaeological Association Meeting, 174-5.
 Cambridge Antiquarian Society Meetings, 261, 262.
 Camps, Roman and Pre-Roman at Ransston, 76.
 Candle, Custom of Sale by, 179.
 Cannon, Early Experiments with, Note on, 175.
 Canoe, Ancient, found in the Tyne, 123, 129.
 Canterbury, Account of, 171; Roman Pavement found at, 266.
 Caradoc Field Club Meetings, 76-77, 223.
 Cardiff, Cromlech at, 174.
 Cartographers (Elizabethan) 212-215.
 Carvings, Early, at Donyatt Church, 228.
 Casley (H. C.), on a Suffolk Brass, 242, 243.
 Castings (Artistic), Ancient Venetian Manufacture, 225.
 Cave Discovery in North Wales, 226.
 Caverns, Formation of, 77.
 Caxton's *Game of Chess*, 110-112.
 Celt found at Elmsale, Kingston, 33; at St. Leonards, 32.
 Celtic Nations, Account of, 75-76.
 Cemetery, Old, at Mandan, Dakota, discovered, 37.
 Chairs, Historical, Query on, 271; Old Oak, 45-46.
 Chapman (J. H.), Note by, 87.
 Charles I., Coinage of, 62-63.
 Charles II., Coinage of, 63-64.
 Charles VIII., France, Coins of, discovered, 267.
 Chart, Ancient, found in Iceland, 227.
 Charters, Unedited, at Exeter, 32; Newbury, 36; of Rushford College, 221.
 Chatsworth, Drawings at, 177-8.
 Chaucer's Ten-Syllable Verse, 5-8, 86.
 Chess, Caxton's *Game of*, 110-112.
 Chetham Hospital, History of, 33.
 Chichester Cathedral, Date and Style of, 265.
 Chiddingfold, Roman Remains at, 74, 84.
 Chinese Works Printed, temp. 13th Century at British Museum, 83.
 Church (Saxon) discovered at Peterborough, 267.
 Churches, Dates and Styles of, 175-6, 265.
Clarendon Historical Society Publications, Review of, 73, 167.
 Clee, St. Margaret, Church at, Account of, 77.
 Clock (Ancient), at Agen (Lot-et-Garonne), 80.
 Clothall (Herts), "Linces" at, 205-206.
 Clothworkers' Company and Pepsys, 236.
 Cobham Park, Roman Coins found at, 134.
 Coinage, of the British Islands, 8-12, 61-64; Mohammedan, 159-164; Early Oriental, 100-105.
 Coins, found at Andermatt, 267; at Borzece, 177; at Bratzenheim, 25; at Ercall, 125; British, 8-12; Mediæval, exhibited at Numismatic Society Meeting, 31-32; Mohammedan, 159-164; Early Oriental, 100-105; Roman, found at Cobham Park, 134; of Varus, 226.

- Collier (John Payne), Obituary Notice of, 225.
- Collins (Francis) on Yorkshire Parish Registers, 216-220.
- Collyngton, Note on, 87, 182.
- Cologne, Roman Coffins found at, 24.
- Colonial Coinage (English) first used, 11.
- Colouring of Illuminated MSS., Accuracy of, 185-189.
- Commonwealth, Coinage during the, 63-64.
- Cootne (H. C.), on Chaucer's Ten-Syllable Verse, 5-8.
- Cope (Sir W. H.), *Bramshill: its History and Architecture*, Review of, 119.
- Copper Coinage, Introduction of, 12.
- Corbet Family, Account of, 125-6.
- Cornwall. See "St. Teath."
- Coventry, Godiva Procession in, 177.
- Cowper (H. S.), on Essex Family of Lambourne, 230.
- Cromwell, Anecdote of, 176.
- Cross (Buddhist) found at Whitestaunton, 226.
- Crosses and Oghams found near St. Edrens, 174.
- Crossley (J.), Obituary Notice of, 130.
- Curling, Game, Work on, 266.
- Cure's Alms Houses, Query on, 182.
- Customs, Old, in London, 229; Hunting, in London, 133; of Dyott Family, 266; of Over, Cambridgeshire, 208-212.
- Dev (Rev. Lal Behari), *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, Review of, 73.
- "Delighted Spirits," New Reading of, 200.
- Delos, Isle of, Discoveries during Excavations, 84, 171.
- De Montfort (Simon), and the English Parliament, 66-72.
- "Dene Holes," 134.
- Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Meetings, 171.
- Diddlebury Church, Restoration of, 181.
- Documents relating to Gaeta, 228.
- Dolben (Bishop), Notes on, 38-39.
- Don, the River, 250.
- Donyatt Church, Restoration of, 228.
- Dorchester Abbey Church, Oxon, Note on, 268-269.
- Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club Meeting, 221-222.
- Down Castle, 223.
- Drayles (J.), Brass of, 242.
- Dredge (J. L.) on Bishop Dolben, 39.
- Ducking Stools, 47-48.
- Dudley, Mayoral Chain for, 79-80.
- Dunstable Priory Church, 256.
- Durham Archaeological and Architectural Society Meeting, 171-173.
- Durham and Northumberland Archaeological Association Meeting, 34-5.
- Durrant (Ed.), on a Font or Piscina, 183.
- Dyott Family, Ancient Custom of the, 266.
- Earl Marshal, Office of, 135.
- Earthenware Jars discovered in Dundee, 76.
- Earthworks, at Cornwall, 81; Skipsea Whitlow, 123.
- Easingwold, Parish Registers of, 247.
- Eaves, 134.
- Edinburgh Architectural Association Meetings, 33, 77-78.
- Edinston Church, Reopening of, 82.
- Edward IV., temp., Armour of, 2-4; Coinage of, 10; Sale of Sovereign of, 38.
- Egyptian Obelisk found in Santa Maria Church, Rome, 83.
- Elizabeth, temp., Coinage of, 11.
- Elizabethan Cartographers, 212-215.
- England, Land Tenure (Archaic) in, 204-208.
- England, A Description of, sent to Philip II. of Spain, 151-153.
- Ephesus, Account of Excavations at, 180.
- Epitaph of Weever, the Antiquary, 269; of Ralph Tirer, 269.
- Erith and Belvedere Natural History Society Meeting, 78.
- Essex, of Lambourne, Pedigree of Family of, 230.
- Essex. See "Toppsfield Church."
- Etruscan Tomb, Model of, 32.
- Esquimaux, Scandinavian, Civilization among, 75.
- Evans (D. S.), on Bishop Dolben, 38.
- Eveshowe, Prehistoric Mound at Bræbaster, 38.
- Exchange, Antiquary, 40, 88, 136, 184, 232, 272.
- Fairs at Halesowen, Revival of, 229; May Fair, 238-242; Old, 231; Southwark, 137-140.
- Fawley (North and South), Berks, Roman Remains at, 74.
- Females, Succession through, 229-230.
- Fiji, Agricultural Implements of, 143-144.
- Firebasket, Cast-iron, 32.
- Fishing, 250.
- Folk-lore. See "Thumb-lore," "Iron."
- Folk-names, Mammal and Bird, 260.
- Font, or Piscina, Note on, 183.
- at Brent Knoll Church, 35; in Butterwick Church, 80, 81.
- Fordington, Dorset, Sculpture of St. George at, 34.
- Forest (Petrified) discovered in California, 84.
- Fortifications in Ross-shire, Account of, 75-76.
- Foster (J. J.) on Human Hair Superstition, 230; on Curious Bronze Object, 231.
- Foster (N. S.) on British-Romano Remains near Bicester, 156-159.
- Freeman (E. A.), *English Towns and Districts*, Review of, 166.
- Frescoes discovered at Augsburg, 81; in St. Blaize's Chapel (Apulia), 54-55; in St. Maria della Rotunda, 181; at Rome, 131.
- Fry (D. P.) on the Hawick Slogan, 164-166, 269-270.
- Furniture, Old Oak, 41-48; Ancient Venetian, 225; Insects in, 135.
- Furnivall (F. J.), *The Fifty Earliest English Wills*, Review of, 167-8.
- Gaeta, Publication of Parchments of, 228.
- Gardner (Prof. Percy) on Early Oriental Coins, 100-105.
- Garrison (W. P.) on Pewter Marks, 86.
- Gascoign (John), Query on, 181.
- Genealogist, The, Vol. III., Review of, 121.
- Geology, 32-33.
- Gibbs (R.), *History of Aylesbury*, Review of, 168.
- Glacier Garden and Mill-stones discovered, 177.
- Glasgow Archaeological Society Meetings, 223.
- Glass Manufacture, Ancient Venetian, 223.
- Glasscock (J. L.) on "Collynton," 182.
- Gloucestershire Notes and Queries, Review of, 216.
- Gold Articles found on the Amu Darya, 83.
- Gomme (G. L.) on Rhythmical Laws, 12-15; on Primitive Agricultural Implements, 140-145, 189-193; on Succession through Females, 229-230.
- Gostwick and Harrison's *Outlines of German Literature*, Review of, 256.
- Gotch (J. A.), *A Complete Account of the Buildings erected in Northamptonshire by Sir Thomas Tresham*, Review of, 30.
- Grassington, British Fort discovered in, 37.
- Gray's Inn Lane, Residence of Hampden and Pym in, 180.
- Greenhead, Turret of Roman Wall discovered near, 173.
- Greenstead Church, 227.
- Greenstreet (J. H.) on John Gascoign, 183.
- Groat's (John o') House, Note on, 128-129.
- Gunpowder Plot, Rhyme on, 271.
- Hagenau, Inscription at, 85, 134.
- Hair (Human), Superstition connected with, 230.
- Hale, Roman Altar found at, 181.
- Halesowen, Revival of Old Custom at, 229.
- Hall (H.) on Public Rights in the Thames, 57-61, 112-116; on River Conservancy, 250-252.
- Harris's Cabinet, Reprint, Review of, 254.
- Harrow, Highland, 192.
- Hat Makers (Medieval), Query on, 230.
- Hawick Slogan, 164-166, 231, 269-270.
- Hawker (J. M.) on Inscription at Hagenau, 85.
- Haydon Church, Roman Altar in, 35.
- Hayman (Henry) on Ivelchester, 89-94.
- Head, Colossal Marble Female, found at Sarotis, 83.
- Hellenic Society Meetings, 75.
- Henry V., Accounts of, 95-100.
- Henry VI., temp., Armour of, 1-2.
- Henry VII., temp., Armour of, 5; Coinage of, 8, 9, 61, 62.
- Henry VIII., temp., Coinage of, 9, 10.
- Heraldic Problem, Query on, 182.
- Hereford, "The Old House" at, Restored, 81.
- Hexham Priory Church, Architecture of, 173.
- High Erccall, Account of, 124-125.
- Highlands, Old Agricultural Implements of the, 143-144, 189, 193.
- Hoby (Sir P.), Note on, 87.
- Hodnet Church (Salop), Discoveries during Reparation of, 130.
- "Holey Dollars," 32.
- Hollington, near Preston, Ancient Walls and Relics at, 32.
- Holt, Denbighshire, Action for Corporation Rents, 267.
- Holy Island, Account of, 172.
- "Holy Rood," of Boxley, 52.
- Hope (R. C.), Glossary of Dialectal Place-Names, Review of, 216.
- Horse, Bronze Colossal discovered near Delos, 84.
- Horse-Armour, 2.
- Hotel Royaumont, Account of, 37.
- Houses, Timbered, at Walton, 125; Old Country, 252-254.
- Howard (Lord W.), "Belted Will," Home of, 145-149.
- Howth, The Book of, 21-24, 116-119.
- Hull Antiquarian Society, proposed Formation of, 268.
- Human Remains found in Chancery Lane, 226.
- Hun's Grave discovered, 27.
- Hunting (Ancient) Custom at London, 133.
- Idle, the River, 250.
- Illuminated MSS., the Accuracy of the Colouring of, 185-189.
- Implements, Primitive Agricultural, 140-145, 189-193.
- Inns, Ancient, Note on, 225.
- Index Society Meeting, 121.
- Inscriptions, Ancient Christian, found at St. Peter's, Mayence, 25; of Roman Emperors, 268.
- Assyrian, 229.
- Insects in Oak Furniture, 135.
- Inventory, Church, 247.
- Ipswich, St. Mary le Tower Church, Brass in, 135.
- Ireland in 1600, 106-110, 182. See "Howth."
- Iron, Superstitious Use of, 154. See "Osemund."
- Iron-working, 260.
- Italy, Early Renaissance Architecture of, 33.
- Itchen Abbas, Roman Villa at, 36.
- Ivelchester (Ilchester), 89-94.
- Jacob (W. H.) on Winchester Castle, 176-7.
- James I., temp., Coinage of, 12, 61-62.
- Jewels (Russian Imperial), Value of, 37.
- John o' Groat's House, Note on, 128-129.
- Keary (C. F.), on Coinage of the British Islands, 8-12, 61-64.

- Keary (C. F.), *The Mythology of the Eddas*, Review of, 120-121.
- Keith Field Club Meetings, 260.
- Keith (Major J. B.), *Preservation of Ancient Monuments*, Review of, 255.
- Kendal Church, Epitaph in, 260.
- Kent, Roman Remains found in, 74.
- Kerry (Rev. C.), *The History of the Municipal Church of St. Lawrence*, Reading, Review of, 166.
- Kersall Cell, Account of, 124.
- Keyser (C. E.), on Christopher, as Portrayed in England during the Middle Ages, 193-200, 271.
- King-Walker (R.), on Date and Style of York Minster, 175-6.
- Kitchen Middens in Yorkshire, 123.
- Klazomena (Asia Minor), Archaic Sarcophagi discovered at, 274.
- Knarborough Castle, 137.
- Knights Templars, Relics of found in Chancery Lane, 226.
- Lace, Ancient Venetian, 225.
- Lach Szymra (Rev. W. S.) on John Sobieski, 231; on Old Pairs, 231.
- Lambeth Palace and its Associations, Review of, 168.
- Lamps (Glass), Arab, at South Kensington, 82.
- Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Notes, Review of, 217.
- Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society Meetings, 33, 123, 174, 222-223.
- Land Customs in Over (Cambridgeshire), 208-212.
- Land Tenure (Archaic) in England, 204, 208.
- Land Tenures, Rhyming Charters of, 14.
- Lang (A.) on the Hawick Slogan, 231.
- Langley Castle and Barony, History of, 35.
- La Pérouse, Relic of, discovered, 38.
- Largo (Pifeshire), Early Scotch Ornaments found at, 266.
- Laws in Rhythm, 12-15.
- Lea, the River, 250.
- Le Despenser Family, Tomb of, discovered, 267.
- Legend of St. Blaise, 56.
- Leland, the Antiquary, Note on, 176.
- Leopardi, Tragedy by, discovered, 266.
- Lewes Castle, Account of, 169.
- Leyden, Congress of Orientalists at, 181.
- "Litches" at Clothall (Herts), 205-206.
- Lincoln's Inn, Alterations at, 268.
- Linton (Roxburghshire), Sculpture of St. George at, 34.
- Literature, Society of, Meeting, 75.
- Llangadfan, Ancient Tomb discovered at, 131-132.
- Lobby, Origin of, 265.
- Locks and Keys Exhibited, 74; from China, 76.
- London, Berkeley Square (1756), in, 265; History of, 65-66; Old Paving Acts of, 265; Pepps as a Citizen of, 233-238; Riverside at, 251; St. Olave's Church, Hart Street, 233, 238.
- London and Middlesex Archaeological Society Meeting, 219.
- Lorsch, Ancient Monastery at, 25; Roman Altar found at, 25.
- Louvre, Statue of King Gudea in, 181.
- Low Sunday, Note on, 86.
- Luther's Table Talk, Review of, 256.
- Lydbury, North (Shropshire), Church, Account of, 78.
- Macclesfield Church, Discoveries during Restoration of, 130, 222.
- McDaniel (S.) on Low Sunday, 86.
- Maclean (Sir J.), *Annals of Chepstow Castle*, Review of, 120.
- Madeley Court, Shropshire, Original Deed Relating to, 129-130.
- Mainz, Roma Buildings discovered at, 177.
- Malden (H. E.) on Gunpowder Plot, 271.
- Malton, St. Michael's Church, Restoration of, 227.
- Manchester Corporation Records, 267.
- Manchester Field Naturalists Meeting, 222.
- Scientific Student Society, Meetings, 77, 124.
- Mandan (Dacota), Cemetery discovered at, 37.
- Manners and Customs, Ireland, temp. 1600, 106-110.
- MSS. (Illuminated), The Accuracy of the Colouring of, 185-189.
- Map-making, Elizabethan, 212-215.
- Maria-Munster, Roman Burying-Ground at, 25.
- Market Drayton Church, Discoveries during Restoration of, 84.
- Marshall (T. P.) on Ancient Registers of the Parish of Ashley, 201-204.
- Marston, Parish Registers of, 249.
- Martine (J.), *Reminiscences of the Royal Burgh of Haddington*, Review of, 72.
- May Fair, 238-242.
- Mayence, Sarcophagus found at, 24; Statuette of Mercury found at, 24; Gold Coins found near, 25; Remains of Old Bridge at, 81.
- "Measure for Measure," Note on Shakespeare's Play of, 200-201.
- Melancthon, Inscription at House occupied by, 85.
- Melrose Abbey, Restoration of, 229.
- Melverley Church, Llanymynech, 34.
- Michaelis (A.), *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, translated by C. A. M. Fennell, Review of, 27-28.
- Michaelmas Sermon, Custom of Giving at St. James's, Clerkenwell Green, 229.
- Milestone (Roman) found on Rhiwfa Farm, 130.
- Miller's Thumb, Query on, 231.
- Mohammadan Coins, 159-161.
- Monastery (Greek) Hewn in Rock, 52-57.
- Monuments in Butterfield Church, 80-81.
- Moreton Corbet, Account of, 125-6.
- Morton (I. W.) Discovers at Roman Villa at, 228.
- Mosaic Manufacture, Ancient Venetian, 224.
- Mound at Castle Hill, Thetford, 220.
- Mucklestone Church, Discoveries during Restoration of, 85.
- Mull, Sculptured Slabs of, 34.
- Municipal Insignia, Dudley, 79-80; Records, Manchester, 267.
- Murray (David), *The York Buildings Company*, Review of, 120.
- Myrina, Terra Cotta Figures found at, 226.
- Naples, Roman Watercourse discovered at, 26-27.
- Napper (H. F.) on "Calleva Attrebatum," 39.
- Naworth Castle, 145-149.
- Neville's Cross (Durham), Preservation of, 226.
- Newburn Hall, 263.
- Newbury Charters, Recovery of the, 36.
- Newcastle Society of Antiquaries Meetings, 36, 123, 173, 174, 263.
- News, Antiquarian, 36-38, 87-85, 130-134, 177-182, 225-229, 266-268.
- "No Man's Land," Land called, 35.
- Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society Meetings, 219-221, 256-257.
- Norman Walls discovered in Chancery Lane, 226.
- Norman Window found in St. Ann's Church, 227.
- Northamptonshire Notes and Queries, Proposed issue of, 268.
- Nostel Priory, 171-172.
- Note Book, 36, 78-80, 128-130, 175-177, 223-225, 263-266.
- Numismatic Society Meetings, 31-32.
- Numismatics. See "Coinage."
- Nun's Burial, Note on, 229.
- Nyons, Roman Antiquities found near, 181.
- Oak, Old, 41-48; Carving at Shrewsbury, 86; Chest, 264; Panels from Titsey Place, 37.
- Obelisk found at Rome, 134-182.
- Obituary Notices, 135, 225.
- Ogle Tomb at Bothal, 105-106.
- Ordish (T. F.) on W. Cecil, Lord Burghley, 16-21.
- Oriental (Early) Coins, 100-105.
- Ornaments, Anglo-Saxon, found in Tumulus, 266; Early Scotch, found at Largo, 266.
- Osemund, 153-156.
- Oswestry and Welshpool Naturalists' Field Club Meeting, 34.
- Ouse, the River, 250.
- Over (Cambridgeshire), Customs of, 208-212.
- Owen (T. M.) on Two Old Country Residences, 252-254.
- Owen's College Geological Field Lectures Meeting, 32.
- Oxfordshire. See "Dorchester Abbey Church."
- Oxted Church, Account of, 122.
- Oysters, 252.
- Pageants (London), 235.
- Paintings of St. Christopher in English Churches, 193, 222.
- Palaeolithic and Neolithic Man, Remains of, found, 220.
- Palla Strozzi Family, Archives of, 226.
- Paris, Destruction of Rue de Jour, 37.
- Parish Registers. See "Registers."
- Parker (J.), *The Archaeology of Rome*, Part IV., Review of, 72-73.
- Parker (J. H.), on Dorchester Abbey Church, Oxon, 268-269.
- Parliaments, Elections to, temp. Edward III., 66-72.
- Parr (Bishop), Query on, 231.
- Pavement, Roman, found in Canterbury, 266.
- Paving Acts of Old London, 265.
- Peacock (E.) on Osemund, 153-156.
- Peet (S. W.), *American Antiquarian*, Edited by, Review of, 167.
- Penny Lands, 211.
- Penselwood Pits, Account of, 221.
- Penzance Antiquarian Society Meetings, 222.
- Pepps (S.) as a Citizen, 233-238.
- Peterborough, Saxon Church found at, 267.
- Pevensey Church, Account of, 169.
- Pewter Marks, Note on, 86.
- Pharaoh, Expedition to discover the Chariots and Treasures of, in the Red Sea, 84.
- Philip II. of Spain, Description of England sent to, 151-153.
- Philological Society Meetings, 32, 75.
- Pictures (Gothic), discovered in Seitendorf Wooden Church, 181.
- Pile Dwelling at Ulrome, Account of, 123-124.
- Piraeus, Statuette of Athena found in the, 27.
- Plague, Remedies against the, 230.
- Plough, Old Scots, 192.
- Ploeden Hall, Account of, 78.
- Powle (S. L.) on Mohammadan Coins, 159-164.
- Porter (J. A.) on Bishop Dolben, 38-39.
- Potters' Marks, 32.
- Pottery, found in Trenches near Bicester, 157-158; near Greenhead, 173.
- Powell (Thomas), on Oak Carving at Shrewsbury, 86; on Dates and Styles of Churches, 265.
- Prehistoric Tools, Note on, 78-79.
- Pyramid Builders, Tools of the, 78-79.
- Raleigh (Sir W.), Personal Effects of, at Cork Exhibition, 82.
- Raleigh's (Sir W.) Case, Note on, 129.
- Ramsay (Sir J. H.) on Accounts of Henry V., 95-100.
- Ranston, Roman camps at, 76.
- Reaping, Primitive Implements for, 190-191.
- Registers (Ancient Parish) of Ashley, 201-204; of Yorkshire, 225, 246-250.
- Renagen, Roman Graves and Skeletons found at, 24.

- Reptiles, Names of, in Latin Languages, 75.
Reviews of New Books, 27-31, 72-74, 119-121, 166-168, 215-217, 254-256.
Rheims, Gallo-Roman Antiquities at, 121.
Rhythm, Laws in, 12-15.
Richard III., *temp.*, Armour of, 2-4.
River Conservancy, 250-252.
Rivington (C. R.), *The Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers*, Review of, 31.
Robinson (Rev. C. J.), *Register of the Scholars admitted into Merchants Taylors School*, A.D. 1562-1874, Review of, 215.
Rochester Castle, 180.
Rolfé (Clapton), *The Accuracy of the Colouring of the Illuminated MSS.*, by, 185-189.
Roman Army in Britain, 74, 75.
Roman Remains discovered at Bicester, 156-159; Berkshire, 74; Bograra, El Kantara, 266; Brading, 228; Canterbury, 266; Chiddingfold, 74, 84; Cobham Park, 134; Cologne, 24, 25, 26; Cottenham, 262; Hale (Cumberland), 181; Harton, 263; Haydon Church, 35; Itchin Abbas, 36; Kent, 74; Mayence, 24, 25, 26; Morton (Isle of Wight), 228; Newcastle, 263; Nurdy Bank, 77; Nyons, 181; Reimagen, 24, 25, 26; Rhivia, 130; Rome, 268; Tarragona, 266; Towcester, 87; Ulroma, 124; Whitestaunton, 217, 225, 226.
Rome, Ancient Drawings of, in Ashmolean Museum, 133; Frescoes discovered at, 131; House of Vestal Virgins discovered at, 268; Inscriptions to Roman Emperors discovered, 268; Obelisk discovered at, 53, 134, 182.
Ross-shire, Account of Ancient Forts in, 75-76.
Round (J. H.), on the Book of Howth, 21-24, 116-119; Succession through Females, 183, 270-271; St. Christopher, 271.
Rushford College, Norfolk, Accounts, 221.
St. Ann's Church, Norman Window discovered at, 227.
St. Albans Archaeological Society Meetings, 259-259.
St. Blaise, Chapel Dedicated to, 52-57; Legend of, 56.
St. Christopher as portrayed in England during the Middle Ages, 193-200, 271.
St. Cuthbert of Hala, Church of, Early History of, 34.
St. David's Shrine, Account of, 174-5.
St. George, Description of Representations of, 34.
St. James's Church, Avebury, Discoveries during Restoration, 132.
St. Olave's Church, Hart Street, 233, 238.
St. Osyth, local pronunciation of, 231.
St. Teath (Cornwall), "The Rounds," Account of, 81.
Sale by Candle, 179.
Salmon Fisheries, 250.
Sanskrit MSS. in Japan, 131.
Sarcophagi, Archaic, of Pottery Ware, discovered, 27; Saxon, discovered at Peterborough, 267.
Saxon Church discovered at Peterborough, 267; Pottery discovered in Chancery Lane, 226.
Scottish (Early) Ornaments found in Fife-shire, 266.
— Architecture, 33-4.
— Castles and Houses, Account of, 77-78.
Scrivelsby Court (Lincolnshire), Sale of, 80.
Sculpture discovered at Ephesus, 180.
Seal (Antique) of Mahomed Ghazi, 82.
Sedgmoor (Battle of), Relic of, 84.
Seitendorf, Wooden Church, Gothic Pictures discovered in, 181.
Sermon on Michaelmas Day at St. James's Clerkenwell, 229.
Severn, the River, 250.
Severn Valley Naturalists' Club Meetings, 124.
Shadwell (A.) *Architectural History of the City of Rome*, Review of, 167.
Shadwell Court, 257.
Shakespeare, Proposed Exhumation of Letter of J. C. Halliwell Phillips on, 179.
Shakespeare's "Measure for Measure," 200-201.
Shakspeare (New) Society Meetings, 75.
Shapira MSS., 131, 179.
Sheaf, the River, 250.
Shrewsbury, "See St. Julian's Church, Restoration of, 83."
Shropshire Archaeological Society Meetings, 78, 129-130.
Shrowner (Winchester), Discoveries at, Note on, 79.
Silchester, Date of Building of, 134.
Skeat (Rev. W. W.) on Chaucer's Ten-Syllable Verse, 86.
Skeletons found at Andermatt, 267; Canterbury, 266; Rope, Nantwich, 83; at Island of Shapinsay, 83.
Skelton Church, Yorks., Restoration of, 179.
Skull of an Ancient Briton found in Holy Island, 172.
Slogan, Hawick, 164-166.
Sobieski (John), Note on, 231.
Somersetshire, Land Tenure in, 206. See "Ivelchester."
Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Meetings, 217.
Sompston Church, Account of, 170.
Southover Church, Account of, 169.
Southease, Land Tenure in, 207.
Southwark Fair, 137-140.
Sowerby, St. Oswald's Church at, Restoration of, 131.
Standlake Church, Restoration of, 82.
Stephens (Dr. G.), *Professor Buggé's Studies on Northern Mythology Examined*, Review of, 119.
Stevenson (T. G.) *Bibliography of James Maidment*, Review of, 30-31.
Stirling, Town Chest of, 264.
Stocks, Ancient Representation of the, 175.
Stone Circle at Avebury, 75.
Stone Implements from South Africa, 31; Paleolithic, found in Banda, India, 75.
Stone Monument (Funeral) discovered at Shrowner, 79.
Stones, Sculptured, 262.
Succession through Females, Notes on, 183, 229-230, 270-271.
Suffolk Brass, Notes on, 135, 242-243.
Surrey Archaeological Society Meetings, 121-122.
Surrey, Guy Fawkes Rhyme in, 271.
Surtees (F. R.) on Boxley Abbey, 48-52.
Sussex, Guy Fawkes Rhyme in, 271.
"Swastika" Cross found at Whitestaunton, 226.
Talargoch Lead Mine, Sale of, 227.
Tandridge Church and Priory, 121.
Taplow Churchyard, Opening of Tumulus in, 266.
Tarragona, Marble Column discovered at, 266.
Temple (Capt. R. C.), *Panjab Notes and Queries*, Review of, 255.
Tenures. See "Land."
Terra Cotta Figures found at Myrina, 226.
Thackeray (W. M.), *On the Genius of G. Cruikshank*, Review of, 254.
Thames, Public Rights in the, 57-61, 112-116, 251.
Theobald's Palace, 19, 20.
Thetford, The Priory Ruins at, 219-220; Castle Hill at, 220.
Thrapston, Pottery Vase discovered at, 31.
Thumb Lore, 149-151, 231.
Tirer (Rev. R.), Epitaph of, 269.
Tokens, Tradesmen's, 12.
Tomb, Ancient, discovered at Llangadfan, 131-132.
Tomlinson (G. W.), on the Ogle Tomb at Bothal, 105-106.
Tools of the Pyramid Builders, Note on the, 78-79.
Toosy, Local Pronunciation of St. Osyth, 231.
Toppesfield Church, Discoveries at, 267.
"Torrione de Chigi" (Ariccia), Blocks of Marble found at, 133.
Towcester, Roman Remains at, 87.
Tozer (Rev. H. F.) on a Rock-hewn Greek Monastery in Apulia, 52-57.
Trent, the River, 250.
Tumulus in Taplow Churchyard, Opening of, 266.
Udal (J. S.) on Old Oak, 41-48.
Ulrome, Pile Dwelling at, 123-4.
Urfah, Archaeological Discoveries at, 80.
Vale Royal Abbey, Account of, 222.
Varus, Coin of, discovered, 226.
Venetian (Ancient) Industrial Arts, Revival of, 223-225.
Vestal Virgins, House of, Discovered at Rome, 268.
Vettersfelde, Ornamental Armour found at, 26.
Wagner (L.) on Thumb Lore, 149-151.
Wake (C. S.) on Succession through Females, 230.
Wale (Rev. H. J.), *My Grandfather's Pocket-Book*, Review of, 255.
Wales (North), Cave discovered in, 226.
Walford (Cornelius), *Fairs Past and Present*, Review of, 73-74.
— on May Fair, 238-242; on Southwark Fair, 137-140.
Warkworth, Northamptonshire, 207.
Wars of the Roses, *temp.*, Armour of, 1-5.
Weapons (Flint Neolithic), Collection of, 76; from Honduras, 32.
Webster (Rev. W.) on Simon de Montfort and the English Parliament, 66-72.
Weever's Epitaph, Note on, 269.
Wheatley (H. B.) on "Measure for Measure," 200-201; on Pepys (S.) as a Citizen, 233-238.
Whiston Church, Restoration of, 227.
Whitchurch, Description of Old Church at, 219.
Whitestaunton, The Roman House at, 217, 225.
Will of J. Drakes (1464), 242.
Williams (M.), *Some London Theatres*, Review of, 30.
Wilmington Giant, 169.
Wiltshire, Land Tenure in, 205.
Winchelsea Church, Account of, 170.
Winchester Castle, Note on, 176-7.
Witchampton, Skeleton and Roman Pottery discovered at, 182.
Witts (G. B.), *Archaeological Handbook of Gloucester*, Review of, 216.
Wooden Church, near Ongar, 227.
York Minster, Date and Style of, 175-6.
Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Society Meeting, 173.
— Geological and Polytechnical Society Meetings, 32-33, 123.
— Parish Registers, 246-250.
Zephyr, Temple dedicated to, 266.
Zennor Church, Cornwall, 222.





GETTY CENTER LIBRARY



3 3125 00694 4470

